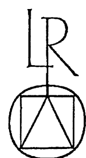
Jan-Ulrich Sobisch

Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism



Sobisch

Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism



Contributions to Tibetan Studies

Edited by David P. Jackson

Volume 1

WIESBADEN 2002
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism

A Comparative Study of Major Traditions
from the Twelfth through Nineteenth Centuries

by
Jan-Ulrich Sobisch

WIESBADEN 2002
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der
Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft
(D 18)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Ein Titeldatensatz für diese Publikation ist bei
Der Deutschen Bibliothek erhältlich.

ISBN 3-89500-263-1

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier
(alterungsbeständig – pH7 –, neutral)
Druck: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany

Contents

List of Abbreviations

In addition to a few traditional Tibetan abbreviated titles, I have only abbreviated titles of a few major works of the three-vow genre that are constantly cited.

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge	Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, *Theg pa'i kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab (Shes bya kun khyab mdzod).*
Awakening of Vairocana	*Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi[tantra]* (P vol. 5, no. 126).
Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows	mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal, *Rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po'i lam gyi cha lag sdom pa gsum rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos.*
Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows	Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *sDom pa gsum rab tu dbye ba.*
Commentary to the Clear Comprehension	Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *sDom gsum rnam par nges pa'i 'grel pa legs bshad ngo mtshar dpag bsam gyi snye ma.*
Detailed Exposition	Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge, *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba.*
Garland of Rays	Vibhūticandra, *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālānāma* (*sDom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*).
General Topics	Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge, *sDom gsum rab dbye'i spyi don yid bzhin nor bu.*

Golden Key	Shākya-mchog-ldan, *sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos kyi 'bel gtam rnam par nges pa legs bshad gser gyi thur ma.*
Good Vase	Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin, *sDom gsum rnam par bstan pa nyer mkho'i bum bzang zhes bya ba rang 'dra'i rgyud la 'tshams par 'khril(!) ba'i bstan bcos.*
Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions	Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, rJe btsun, *rTsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa gsal byed 'khrul spong.*
Replies to Ngo gro	Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan drang ba dang nges pa'i don gyi snang byed ces bya ba ngo gro bla ma'i dris lan.*
Replies to rGya ston	Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan padma dkar po'i chun po zhes bya ba rgya ston dris lan.*
Same Intention	rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa yig cha.*
sGam-po-pa *Work A*	sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, *Collected Works* (*gSung 'bum*), vol. 1, pp. 163-168.
sGam-po-pa *Work B1*	*ditto*, vol. I, pp. 158-159.
sGam-po-pa *Work B2*	*ditto*, vol. II, pp. 287-288.
sGam-po-pa *Work B3*	*ditto*, vol. II, pp. 294-295.
Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary	*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo.*
Vajra-Peak Tantra	*Vajraśekharamahāguhyayogatantra* (P vol. 5, no. 113).

Journals

JIABS	*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies.*
JIP	*Journal of Indian Philosophy.*
JTS	*Journal of the Tibet Society.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
JOAS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

Other Abbreviations

P	Peking Tripitaka.
D	Derge Tripitaka.

Acknowledgments

First of all I would like to express my thanks to my Ladakhi friend Ngawang Tsering of Nurla, the person who first introduced me, a little more than six years ago, to the theme of my present study and who answered my many questions whenever he could. I am also deeply grateful to my revered Tibetan teachers in India who kindly offered me their warm hospitality and their unrivalled understanding of the Buddha's teachings. In particular, I would like to mention the Venerable Nubpa Rinpoche, with whom I studied Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*, and Khenpo Könchog Tashi, who answered some of my questions on Go-rams-pa's *General Topics*, both of the Drikung Kagyu Institute (DKI), Dehra Dun. I am also grateful for the generous hospitality and kindness of H.H. Chetsang Rinpoche, who allowed me to use all the facilities of the DKI during the last eleven years. I must also extend my special thanks and gratitude to the Venerable Khenpo Könchog Gyaltshen for his painstaking explanations of some passages from the *Same Intention*. And for his warm hospitality and deep friendship, I would like to thank Mr. D. Tsondu Senghe, Bir, who furnished me many times with Tibetan books.

The present book, a revised version of my dissertation, has seen the unflagging support and assistance of my teacher Professor David P. Jackson. I am deeply indebted to him for the many hours he has invested reading my translations with me, and for providing numerous invaluable suggestions, both with regard to matters of research and publication. Furthermore I owe much to Prof. Lambert Schmithausen who, as one of my dissertation committee members, carefully read my study and offered solutions for a number of previously unsolved problems. I also would like to extend my gratitude to other members of that committee for their suggestions, namely Dr. Felix Raymond Erb, Prof. Albrecht Wezler, Prof. Ronald E. Emmerick and Dr. Eli Franco.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. D. Seyfort Ruegg, my first teacher, who taught me Tibetan and encouraged me to pursue my studies. It is furthermore with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Burkhard Quessel, now Curator at The British Library, London, who, although never

formally my teacher, revealed many aspects of academic studies to me and never tired of answering my questions over the last thirteen years.

I am also indebted to Geshe Thubten Ngawang, Hamburg, and to Prof. Tom Tillemans, Lausanne, for helping to understand the technical language of Tibetan scholastic debate. Many thanks are also due to Ācārya Tsültrim Namdag, formerly of Rumtek College, Sikkim, for answering my questions on Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies*, and to my colleague Dorje Wangchug, University of Hamburg, for answering my questions on several difficult points of the translation. I would also like to acknowledge my debt to Dr. Dan Martin, Jerusalem, for the references to the "three vows" in Phag-mo-gru-pa's works.

This is also a welcome opportunity to express my thanks to Prof. Albrecht Wezler, Hamburg, who provided me during the five years of my dissertation work with interesting and challenging part-time employment with the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. During this time I had the great pleasure to work with my dear colleagues in the project, Ms. Anne MacDonald and Dr. Maitrimurthi, with both of whom I often had the chance to discuss my work. I am particularly indebted to Ms. Anne MacDonald for improving my English on many occasions. I would also like to thank Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Director of the NGMPP in Kathmandu, who furnished me with the microfilms that I used for this work and who additionally allowed me to take part in one of the project's expeditions.

Since I submitted my dissertation, almost three years have passed. It is a great pleasure to acknowledge the many suggestions which I received in the meantime from Dr. Harunaga Isaacson and Dr. Dan Martin. Both of these scholars, like Prof. Jackson and Prof. Schmithausen before, carefully scrutinized previous versions of the present book. I am very grateful to have been able to work with these extraordinary scholars. Each provided improvements too numerous to acknowledge individually in the text. Needless to say, all errors remain my own responsibility.

Last but by no means least, a word of gratitude to my family. I would like to point out here that scholarship owes much to the patience of spouses and often interferes with parenting. I therefore express my deep gratitude and at the same time my apologies to Nicole, Carina, Maitri and Johanna.

Hamburg, 23rd November 2001

mkhas pas gsung na ci yang bden.
"Anything is true if taught by a learned master."
(Tibetan Proverb)

"Are ... two opposed theories ... to be placed on exactly the same level and accordingly to be treated as incompatible and mutually exclusive? Or are they complementary in the sense that they somehow supplement each other? Or, again, are they perhaps simply incommensurable ...?"
(D. Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 8)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Although all Tibetan Buddhist schools accepted, together with the three vehicles of auditors (*śrāvakas*), bodhisattvas, and Tantric adepts, the existence of three systems of vows, the question about whether these three vows coexist, and if so, how they coexist, often became the subject of intense scholastic discussion and even of sharp controversy. At least as early as the twelfth century, against a background of a great majority of Tibetan Buddhists holding all three vows, Tibetan religious masters began not only to describe the moral codes within the framework of each respective vehicle, but also to discuss the possibility—or indeed, the necessity—for a single person to practice all three systems of vows together. The related doctrinal discussions continue down to the present day. Its contributions form the as-yet largely unexplored "Three Vow" (*sdom pa gsum*) literature, constituting a distinct genre of Tibetan literature (the *sdom gsum bstan bcos*) and also the topic of related discussions in writings of other genres such as instructions (*zhal gdams,* etc.), replies (*zhus lan* or *dris lan*), and notes (*zin bris*, etc.).

Among the earliest Tibetan masters to present their opinions on how the three vows are to be practiced simultaneously were sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153) of the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217) of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pa, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) of the Sa-skya-pa school, and the Indian scholar Vibhūticandra (12th/13th century). Among these, the three-vow theories of the 'Bri-gung-pa and of Vibhūticandra already bear clear signs of being reactions to opinions expressed earlier. All these early views, moreover, triggered a flood of later commentaries, refutations, and counter-refutations reflecting the historical development of traditional Tibetan scholarship on this subject.

But no matter how elaborate these views became later on, they all appear to have been focused on the same vital point, namely on the identifying, controlling, and overcoming of the defilements (*kleśas*).[1] On this particular point, too, a historical process is apparent: In the two cases where the early versions of a particular theory display an emphasis on the Mantra vows to the obvious disadvantage of the "traditional" prātimokṣa,[2] they were either severely attacked by scholars of other traditions (as in the case of Vibhūticandra's doctrine), or were soon supplemented and "developed" by their later adherents (as in the case of sGam-po-pa's doctrine). The relatively late rNying-ma-pa doctrine that was first introduced by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa (1308-1363) and became widely known due to its propagation by mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen (1487-1542), also postulates a certain superiority of the Mantra vows, but right from the beginning it teaches the integration of the prātimokṣa with the higher vows and thereby avoids the danger of appearing to neglect the lower vows. Other systems, too, such as that of the Sa-skya-pas, underwent a high degree of refinement, as later adherents and commentators sought to make their doctrine "watertight" against the challenges of the intense scholastic debate that began in the thirteenth century.

1.1. Previous Research

Given the lack of previous modern scholarly work on the three-vow theme as a doctrinal problem, here I would like briefly to sketch some of the main scholarly work that has been published on the three separate vow systems respectively, namely on the Vinaya prātimokṣa, the bodhisattva vows, and Mantra vows. The Vinaya has been a subject of continued interest for modern scholars from early on. The reason is obvious: The material contained in the vinaya is certainly the single most important source for studies on the life of the historical Buddha and for studies on the historical reality of early Buddhism. Already as early as the last decades of the 1800s, i.e. between 1882 and 1897, the French Société Asiatique published Émile Senart's *Le Mahâvastu* with the Sanskrit text, introduction, and commentary in three volumes.[3] In the following decades of the early twentieth century, a great number of text editions and translations or summaries were made available, such as L. Finot and É. Huber's *Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins* (1913) and C.M. Ridding and L. de La Vallée Poussin's *Bhiksunikarmavacana* (1920),[4] to name only two. Ernst Waldschmidt published his analysis of the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* in 1926, which was

[1] See Schmithausen (1987: 247) for a number of strong arguments for rendering "*kleśa*" not as "affliction" but as "defilement."

[2] For explanations of the term *pātimokkha/prātimokṣa*, see v. Hinüber (1985: 60 ff.).

[3] See Yuyama (1979: 42).

[4] See Yuyama (1979: 1 and 6).

followed in the 1950s by a number of publications such as Pachow's *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa* (1955) and Härtel's *Karmavācanā* (1956). The same year also saw Frauwallner's pioneering *Earliest Vinaya* (1956), which deals with the fundamental problem of the history of the Buddhist vinaya and the "Buddhist church." The stream of publications has continued unbroken up to the present day, including both studies that take a broader approach to the vinaya, exemplified by Charles S. Prebish's *Buddhist Monastic Discipline* (1974), and those that focus on specialized topics, for example, Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber's *Das Poṣadhavastu* (1994).

The beginning of the twentieth century also witnessed an increased interest on the part of modern scholars in Mahāyāna literature. Early examples of the fruit of this interest are Louis Finot (1901), *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā: Sūtra du Mahāyāna*, and Cecil Bendall's 1902 edition of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, followed by his 1922 translation of the same work together with W.H.D. Rouse. In this area, too, publications continue to appear down to the present day.[5] One of the first scholars to mention a certain tension between the ethics of auditors and bodhisattvas was Ernst Leumann.[6] Such a tension has been later also pointed out by Seyfort Ruegg, illustrating it with quotations from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* and the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*.[7] The conflict between their bodhisattva ethics and "orthodox" prātimokṣa becomes apparent through their teaching that one who is involved with the defilements is capable of producing the resolve for awakening, while one who has entered into the complete freedom from moral faults is not.

Two more recent works in particular should be mentioned here, namely Tatz (1986), *Asanga's Chapter on Ethics*, and Pagel (1995), *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka*. Tatz states that bodhisattva ethics has not only one, but three aspects, of which the prātimokṣa aspect "constitutes the bottom third" (p. 16). The other two aspects are the ethics of "collecting virtuous factors" (*kuśaladharmasaṃgraha*) and of "accomplishing the welfare of sentient beings" (*sattvārthakriyā*).[8] Given the bodhisattva's resolve for awakening, his "over-riding concern is to help others." This important side of the bodhisattva's practice underwent such an upward revaluation that now, with the flourishing of the Mahāyāna teachings, he may act with defilement, even when that means "committing what is 'sinful' in terms of prescribed prātimokṣa, or even in terms of natural morality" when the benefit for others can be achieved through that.[9]

---

[5] Pagel (1995: 437-458) offers a detailed bibliography of studies in this field.

[6] Ernst Leumann (1933-1936: 144 ff.).

[7] Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 110 f.).

[8] For these three, see the remarks below in section 2 of this chapter.

[9] Tatz (1986: 24).

Pagel, too, discusses the nature of the relation between the bodhisattva's practice and the code of the Vinaya at length, and he shows convincingly that there has been a movement in the Mahāyāna from a strict adherence to the moral code of auditors to an acceptance of the "advanced" morality of the bodhisattva.[10] A major contributing factor to such an "advanced" morality is the bodhisattva's new epistemological propositions that are perhaps best illustrated through these words of Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*:[11]

> If he sees [in] moral purity an own-being,
> By that very reason, his morality is not pure.

Obviously "moral purity" is now viewed differently in the light of the doctrine of emptiness of own-being: If the bodhisattva understands the lack of own-being in an act that—on a more mundane level—is considered "morally impure," there is no defilement for him. But not only that, for if he furthermore practices with skill in means, the result is universal salvation. This is, for example, set forth in these words of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*:[12]

> Even in the case of [a transgression that] is sinful by nature, the bodhisattva acts with such skill in means that no sin is committed; rather, great merit arises.

With regard to this particular movement towards an "advanced morality," Pagel notes (p. 164):

> That this process was slow is attested in several early Mahāyāna sūtras where we find the treatment of morality still bearing close resemblance to the ideal of early Buddhism.

Thus it appears that, by and by, the bodhisattva gained "practically infinite flexibility in the practice of morality" (p. 180). In later Mahāyāna works, the "traditional" moral integrity is assigned to the mundane surface-convention level (*lokasaṃvṛti*), where the bodhisattva is seen to observe the various commitments and vows and encourages beings to do likewise, and the "advanced morality" is allocated to the ultimate level. As Pagel observes (p. 163 f.):

> The ultimate validity of the transactual *śīla* practice is challenged when "reality as it is" (*yathābhūta*) reveals itself as having the characteristics of same (*sama*), unborn (*anutpanna*) and calm (*śānta*), and to be operating beyond the categories of purity and impurity.

In other words, on the mundane level the bodhisattva practices according to the

---

[10] Pagel (1995: 160-182).

[11] Tibetan text (ch. II, v. 3): *gal te de ni khrims dag rang bzhin lta// de phyir de ni tshul khrims dag mi 'gyur*. See Candrakīrti, *Madhyamakāvatāra*, edited by Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1907-1912: 37).

[12] Wogihara (1930-36: 165.26 ff.). Translation by Pagel (1995: 173).

auditor prātimokṣa, while from the viewpoint of absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*) "all endeavours in morality lose their meaning and become harmful to liberation since they obstruct conceptual 'unbecoming' by superimposing non-existent predicates on reality" (p. 164). This, however, would merely amount to a devaluation of the auditor prātimokṣa, were there not the important integral part of the two truth theory according to which "true realization (...) does not entail dispensation of the relative level but depends on the integration of both facets of reality" (*ibid.*). Thus we may also observe here an effort to integrate both vows into the practice of the bodhisattva.

With the expansion of investigations into Tibetan Buddhism from about the 1960s onwards, modern scholars also turned their attention to Tantric Buddhism. Among the first who published extensive studies on Tantric material were Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, with their translation of mKhas-grub-rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* in 1968. Wayman continued his research in the Tantric field, producing *The Enlightenment of Vairocana* (published together with R. Tajima),[13] *The Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (1977), and other works. A great number of other authors, too, devoted books or chapters to Tantric studies; suffice it here to mention Stephan Beyer (1973), *The Cult of Tārā*; Jeffrey Hopkins (1975), *Tantra in Tibet*; Tadeusz Skorupski (1983), *The Sarvadurgatiparis'odhana Tantra*; and Geoffrey Samuel (1993), *Civilized Shamans*. Although the necessity for a study of the three-vow topic and genre had been recognized earlier, in particular by Tatz,[14] most of those works do not take up the theme of the three vows at all, and those that do rarely allott it more than a sentence, or at the most, a paragraph.

The first author to have published a paper more closely related to the theme of the three vows was Gyurme Dorje (1991). His article, however, deals in its main part chiefly with the commitments (*samaya*) and vows (*saṃvara*) in connection with their definition (p. 73 ff.) or with the views of the nine vehicles (p. 74 f.), or as they exist in the causal vehicles (p. 75 ff.), in the outer and inner tantras, and in the *mahā, anu,* and *atiyogas* (pp. 77-90). Only the last section (pp. 90-92) considers briefly the "Integration of the Three Vows." It consists primarily of a brief quotation from a work that he identifies as "Klong-chen-pa, *Phyogs-bcu-mun-sel*, Chapter 19."[15] Gyurme Dorje's account, however, is not only confined to the reproduction

[13] I have not seen the first edition of this book, but according to a catalogue it was published in 1987. The reprint was done in 1992.

[14] Tatz (1986: 40).

[15] G. Dorje (1987). I presume this to be Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, *gSang 'grel phyogs bcu mun sel dpal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa phyogs bcu'i mun pa thams cad rnam par sel ba,* a detailed commentary on the (continued...)

of a short section of one of Klong-chen-pa's works, but it is also limited by presenting only one of the six topics that constitute the rNying-ma-pa's doctrine of the three vows taught by Klong-chen-pa, as well as by mNga-ris Paṇ-chen, Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, and others (cf. Gyurme Dorje's account with the fifth part of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's final chapter of his *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension"*.)[16]

Finally, two recent publications that treat the three vows directly, namely Ngari Panchen (1996) and Kongtrül Lodrö Tayé (1998), should be mentioned, both truly pioneering attempts to translate important though often difficult treatises. The first is a loose translation or paraphrase of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows* into English. According to its front cover, the book contains the commentary of Dudjom Rinpoche, i.e. the *sDom gsum rnam nges 'bru 'grel*, in English translation by Khenpo Gyurme Samdrub and Sangye Khandro. It appears, however, that the main part of the book is more adequately described as a transcript of the translation of an oral teaching by Khenpo Gyurme Samdrub on Dudjom Rinpoche's work, edited perhaps to some extent on the basis of the Tibetan text. The work is useful as a general introduction to the three vows, but its value for a detailed study of the special rNying-ma-pa doctrines of the three vows is limited. The main problem of the book is, I think, that the English renderings of key concepts of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's root text are often questionable and that—due to the lack of a more precise understanding of some of the vital terms—on occasion passages from the commentary are only translated in a very loose manner. The part from the basic verses, for example, which actually says something like: "[The practice of the vows] is perfectly complete [through that which is to be] prevented [and through] the purpose" (*dgag dgos yongs rdzogs*), where "[that which is to be] prevented" (*dgag*) and "the purpose" (*dgos*) have the same referent, namely the defilements, that are to be prevented (which is the activity that is connected with the vows) and through which one is not to be bound (which is their purpose), is translated on pp. 141 and 172 as "[he] must fully perfect what to reject and what to accept," where "accept" is probably understood through the meaning of the verb *dgos pa*, "to be necessary," and where "what to reject and what to accept" obviously have two referents instead of having only one (and the same).

Another passage from the basic verses whose loose English rendering leads to a number of misinterpretations is found on pp. 142 and 172, where what should

---

[15](...continued)
Guhyagarbhatantra. A reproduction from a print from the A-'dzom 'Brug-pa Chos-sgar blocks was published in Paro, 1975, by Ngodup.

[16] The final chapter of the *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension"* will be translated in chapter 15 of this book. Its fifth part teaches that the three vows are, through their vital points, not incompatible (*gnad kyis mi 'gal ba*).

perhaps be rendered as "since the place [i.e. person] from which [the vows] are taken, [and] the volitional impulses [and] rituals [through which they are taken] are ascertained as separate, [their] distinctive aspects are not mixed"[17] is translated as: "without confusing their distinctions, the vows, the intention, and the ritual are all individually accomplished." Here "the place from which [the vows] are taken" (*blang yul*, i.e. the teacher) is understood as the vows themselves, probably because *blang yul* has been misunderstood as "the object (*yul*) that is taken (*blang*)," "ascertained" (*nges [pa]*) is rendered as "accomplished," the construction with *phyir* ("since") is neglected altogether, and the key concept "[the vow's] distinctive aspects are unmixed" (*rang ldog ma 'dres*)—originally the conclusion—is rendered "without confusing their distinctions."

As a consequence, the passage from Dudjom Rinpoche's commentary that follows in the translation (on p. 142) is hardly understandable. It states:

> Each category of vows is received according to the intention maintained while receiving them. The rituals through which the vows are received are all different. At the time that one receives a vow, one embraces the nature of that vow. Then, as the next vow is received, the essence of what one already holds transforms into the next, without presenting any conflict. Each vow category will never deteriorate if it is maintained according to its own status. For example, the prātimokṣa precepts are taken for the duration of a lifetime, whereas the bodhisattva and Mantra vows are taken until the essence of enlightenment is realized.

The Tibetan text says something more like:

> Now, since the three vows are ascertained as separate regarding their place [i.e. person] from which one takes them, the volitional impulse through which one takes them, [and] the duration for which they are taken, too, through the different rituals for taking them, even though the nature [of the vows] are transformed, the distinctive aspects of each [vow] continue to persist unmixed, because there is no possibility for these distinctive aspects to have a common basis, for after they are obtained, they continue to persist individually without decay. That is the case, because one accepts the prātimokṣa for as long as one lives, and the bodhisattva vows until one fully awakes [to Buddhahood on] the seat [of awakening (Skt. *bodhimaṇḍa*)], but at the time [of] obtaining the Mantra vows, the conditions for damaging or the causes for losing [the two above-mentioned vows] are not taught.[18]

---

[17] The Tibetan text is: *de yang blang yul bsam pa cho ga rnams// so sor nges phyir rang ldog ma 'dres yin.* See part 1 of the translation in chapter 15.

[18] For the Tibetan text see part 1 of chapter 15. My translation represents Lo-chen (continued...)

The second book that I should mention is an English translation of the fifth chapter of Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*. The book is a useful contribution in some ways. It is, for example, very helpful in that it presents the outline of Kong-sprul's work with exactly the same sub-chapters and sections and in that the root-verses are marked (in bold letters). Much effort has also been undertaken in the annotation. The translation, however, is frequently misleading. Often the translators miss the subject of a sentence, even if it is marked with *ni*, or they overlook simple constructions expressing assertion and reason such as ... *ste* ... *phyir*. In sum, the work is far from a word-by-word translation, since in almost every sentence one or more words are left untranslated, or words are introduced into the translation for which there is no equivalent in the Tibetan text. Sometimes one even finds gross distortions of the meaning that were not noticed during the process of later editing. For example, a verse (p. 301) that asserts that "there have been in both India and Tibet many opinions about how [the vows] persist" (*gnas tshul 'phags bod gnyis su bzhed srol mang*), is rendered as "Indian scholars differ from Tibetan scholars in their assertions on how all three vows coexist."

Let me take this opportunity to ascertain that it is not my intention to discredit the efforts of others in an indiscriminate manner. Everyone, including myself, is bound to make mistakes and err on occasion. The point I would like to make is that the authors of both books, like many others, choosing as their subject at least in parts of their works the practices of Tantric Buddhism, aim at English reading Buddhists as their primary target group. And in doing so, these authors accept, in my opinion, a great responsibility. Anyone familiar with tantric studies knows that in the past this delicate subject has more often than not been misrepresented even in scholarly publications, although in theses one is more likely to find an informed and more carefully balanced approach. But the vast majority of non-specialist readers is neither taking note of scholarly studies, nor do they have the means to judge the accuracy of translations from such languages as Sanskrit or Tibetan. As a result, the non-specialist reader for his information is often found depending solely on such books as the ones that are under scrutiny here.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has once said that books on Tantra were never really meant for a larger public. Nowadays, however, he feels that it is better to read a book presenting correct views on Tantra than to continue with one's erroneous ideas on the nature of the Tantric path.[19] Careful studies on Tantra are therefore

---

[18](...continued)

Dharma-shrī's *Commentary on the Clear Comprehension*, fol. 297r, which bDud-'joms Rinpoche, fol. 192r, repeats almost *verbatim*.

[19] See the foreword to Glenn H. Mullin (1991): *The Practice of Kalachakra*. Snow Lion, (continued...)

certainly welcome, but in many cases it would have been better had the author(s) concentrated on single topics rather than to attempt to translate complete works.

1.2. The Meaning of the Term "Three Vows" (*sdom pa gsum*, Skt. *trisaṃvara*)

In general, the Buddhist scholars of Tibet conceived the "three vows" (*sdom pa gsum*) according to the Tantric tradition, namely as referring to the vows of the auditor prātimokṣa, the bodhisattvas, and the Tantric adepts. But there are also other meanings of the term, some of them attested already in Indian literature, all of which were apparently known to most of the Tibetan authors who dealt with the subject in any detail. In the *Abhidharmakośa*, for example, the "three vows" apply to the three moral observances, i.e. the observances of individual liberation (*so thar gyi sdom pa*), of [guarding against] impurity (*zag med kyi sdom pa*), and of concentrative absorption (*bsam gtan gyi sdom pa*).[20] Tibetan authors have also noted the use of the term in the Vinaya as relating to the vows of householders (*upāsaka*), novice monks (*śramaṇera*), and full monks (*bhikṣu*). The *Abhidharmakośa*, commenting on the term as used in the Vinaya, offers an explanation for the possession of these three vows by a single person, which must be regarded as a three-vow theory in itself, for it says: "[The three vows persist] separately, [but] they are not incompatible."[21] This early "three vow theory" of the *Abhidharmakośa* also involves a discussion of the

[19](...continued)
Ithaca, New York, p. 12.

[20] See *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. IV, v. 13cd: *saṃvaraḥ prātimokṣākhyo dhyānajo' nāsravas tathā* . See Pradhan (1967: 205); for the Tibetan text, see *P* vol. 115, no. 5591, *gu* 202b ff. "The observance of prātimokṣa is the morality of the beings of the spheres of desire" (*prātimokṣasaṃvara ihatyānāṃ kāmāvacaraṃ śīlam/*), see Pradhan (1967: 205). "The observance of *dhyāna* is the morality of the spheres of form" (*dhyānasaṃvaro rūpāvacaraṃ śīlam, ibid.*). It is possessed by "the one who possesses that which is produced by *dhyāna*" (*dhyānajena tadanvitaḥ*, see *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. IV, v. 17b). "The persons who are saints are provided with the observance that is without evil influence" (*āryapudgalā anāsraveṇa saṃvareṇa samanvāgatāḥ/*), see Pradhan (1967: 208). See also Pagel (1995: 168, ftn. 226), who includes some interesting remarks on these three categories. For a discussion of the *so thar, bsam gtan,* and *zag med kyi sdom pa* in a Tibetan work of the nineteenth/twentieth century, see Mi-pham (1846-1912), *mKhas 'jug*, pp. 181 ff.

[21] *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. IV, v. 14d, *P* vol. 115, no. 5591, *gu* 203b: *tha dad de dag 'gal ba med*. See also, Pradhan (1967: 206): ... *pṛthak te cāvirodhinaḥ*. For a Tibetan discussion of this point, see Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, *dPal ldan gso ba rig pa'i khog 'bugs*, pp. 475 f.

unmixed (*ma 'dres pa*, Skt. *avyāmiśra*) state of the vows, of their separate defining characteristics (*mtshan nyid tha dad pa*, Skt. *pṛthaglakṣaṇa*), their different occasions [of transgression] (*gzhi'i khyad par*, Skt. *nidānaviśeṣād viśeṣaḤ*), and the greater number of rules (*bslab pa'i gzhi*) of the higher vows respectively, through which a greater number of occasions of transgression are avoided. Here also some undesirable consequences of wrong positions are discussed, for example that from an inclusion (*'dus pa*) of the lower vows within the higher ones, it would follow that a monk who returns his vows would lose all three vows (*gsum char yang btang*). In general, however, if a householder takes higher vows, he does not lose the preceding vow. Therefore, it is said, the vows are also not incompatible (*'gal ba med*).[22]

Other enumerations of "three vows" are also mentioned in Tibetan works:[23] The vows of body, speech, and mind (*lus ngag yid gsum gyi sdom pa*) of the "basket [of scriptures] of auditors" (*śrāvakapiṭaka*), and the vows of refraining from [morally] wrong behaviour (*nyes spyod sdom pa'i tshul khrims*) and of gathering virtuous factors (*dge ba chos sdud kyi tshul khrims*) and establishing the benefit for sentient beings (*sems can don byed kyi tshul khrims*) of the "basket [of scriptures] of the Mahāyāna [i.e. of the bodhisattvas]" (*mahāyānapiṭaka* or *bodhisattvapiṭaka*).[24] Even within the Mantra division (*gsang sngags kyi rgyud sde*) there exist several sets of three vows:[25] The vow of the production of the resolve for awakening (*sems bskyed kyi sdom pa*), the vow of the stage of production (*bskyed rim gyi sdom pa*), and the stage of perfection (*rdzogs rim gyi sdom pa*), again a set of vows of body, speech, and mind (*sku gsung thugs kyi sdom pa*), and finally the vows of the prātimokṣa, the bodhisattva, and the Tantric adept (*so thar byang sems rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa*).

---

[22] See *P* vol. 115, no. 5591, *gu* 202b-3b. Technically this means that when a householder becomes a novice monk, he still possesses the previous householder vows consisting of five rules. The ten precepts of the novice monk include the same five rules of the householder once again, but with a greater number of occasions to observe them, plus five more vows which are specific vows of the novice monk. Although he thus actually received fifteen vows altogether, the novice monk is usually described as holding ten vows.

[23] The following lists of vows can be found in Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 205, fol. 11v-r.

[24] The corresponding Sanskrit terms for the last three vows are *saṃvaraśīla, kuśaladharmasamgrāhakaśīla,* and *sattvānugrāhakaśīla*. Cf. mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, p. 25 l. 6; *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Wogihara (1930-36: 138 ff.); Bodhibhadra, *Bodhisattvasaṃvara*, 168-5-8; and Pagel (1995: 168 ff.).

[25] According to Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 205, fol. 12r.

1.3. The Importance of the Three Vows for Tibetan Buddhism

Already when Tibetans came into contact with Indian Buddhism for the first time, they received either prātimokṣa ordinations, or bodhisattva vows,[26] or Tantric initiation. Very soon, however, the question of whether these vows were always correctly transmitted became a topic of debate.[27] The seventeenth century master Karma-chags-med (1613-78),[28] for example, recorded an early instance of an incorrect transmission of the three vows. According to him, some rNying-ma-pas of a very early period erroneously believed that they had received the three vows merely by obtaining the initiations of the nine vehicles (*theg pa dgu*). As a consequence, they carefully maintained and observed the prātimokṣa vows without actually having received them. This error, however, is not considered to be a major defect since the rules of the Vinaya were observed, but it "does possess one fault, [in so far as] no great benefit will arise [from practicing so]."[29] In the same text he also informs us of a correctly transmitted system which was followed by Padmasambhava, King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, and (twenty-four of) his subjects (who are actually considered to be great adepts):[30]

---

[26] According to Bu-ston's History of Buddhism, it was Śāntarakṣita who ordained the first seven Tibetans (*sad mi mi bdun*). See, János Szerb (1990: fol. 141b). Śāntarakṣita, who was referred to by Tibetans as *mKhan-po* Bodhisattva, also transmitted the bodhisattva vows, for example, to gSal-snang of Mang-yul (fol. 140a). See also, E. Obermiller (1931: 187 ff.).

[27] R.A. Stein (1972: 144), presents an interesting law decreed by the king Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan that already reveals a conflict between monks and Tantric adepts.

[28] Karma-chags-med is best known for his fusion of the Mahāmudrā and *rDzogs-pa-chen-po* traditions (*phyag rdzogs zung 'jug*). His presentation of the three vows in his *Ri chos mtshams kyi zhal gdams*, ch. 5 (*ca*), provides a very interesting summary of different Tibetan systems. Where I was able to investigate his descriptions further, I found that he accurately presented the most essential points. His sketches, however, do not include citations, but rather seem to be recapitulations of the oral teachings he had received. This teaching was given by speaking through a hole in the wall of his cave to one of his disciples.

[29] Karma-chags-med, *Ri chos*, fol. 27v (p. 76): *ma dag snga 'gyur rnying ma'i chos lugs la// mdo dbang la sogs theg dgu'i dbang thob nas// sdom pa gsum ka thob par rlom nas kyang // 'dul khrims sdom pa gzhan ni mi zhu bar// chos gos snam sbyar gyon nas srung sdom gzabs// de ni o rgyan chen po'i lung bstan las// sdom pa dbang gi(s) thob par rtsi ba yin// 'dul ba'i bsten (bstan) pa nyams pa'i rtags su gsungs// 'di la nyes 'gal chen po ma mchis te// 'dul khrims ma zhus 'dul khrims srung ba des// phan yon chen po mi 'byung skyon cig gda'// 'di ni mdo khams shar phyogs mtha' nas dar.*

[30] *O rgyan rje 'bangs [nyer lnga]*, the names of these twenty-four "subjects" are listed in the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, p. 910. "*rje*" denotes the king, thus this compound is to be understood as "Padmasambhava [and the] twenty-five [disciples, i.e.] the king [and] the

(continued...)

The three vows are received in sequence and separately maintained.
At the time when one has acquired adroitness in [the practice of] channels and winds,
one does not lose the prātimokṣa vows
even if one has dwelled in such [practices] as the path of desire;
and the monk vows are not lost
[even] if [enemies of the teachings dwelling on?] the ten fields have been killed through wrathful mantras [and] black magic.[31]

This practice, however, goes completely against both Buddhist monastic ethics and all social norms. It is known that strong reservations about erroneous, literal Tantric practice were expressed by some important figures in early Tibetan Buddhist history, such as the king of mNga'-ris Gu-ge, Ye-shes-'od, the translator Rin-chen-bzang-po, the Indian master Atiśa, and his disciple 'Brom-ston. It would seem that they either had doubts about the authenticity of Mantra practices in general,[32] or they intended

---

[30](...continued)
subjects."

[31] Karma-chags-med, *Ri chos*, fol. 27r (p. 75): *sdom gsum rim gyis zhus shing so sor srung // rtsa rlung las su rung ba de yi tshe// chags lam la sogs brten par byas na yang // so sor thar pa'i sdom pa mi 'chor zhing // drag sngags ngan mthus zhing bcu bsgral ba na// dge slong sdom pa 'chor bar mi 'gyur ba.* Evidently the practice of sexual union and mactation (*sbyor sgrol*) is referred to. Mactation, or "ritual slaughter," is here linked with the term *zhing bcu*. In the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* we find the following explanation (p. 2389): "It is necessary that ten conditions are fulfilled in an enemy of the teachings who is to be 'liberated' (i.e. killed, *bsgral byar gyur pa*) according to the Tantric teachings." These ten conditions are then listed as: *bstan pa bshig pa dang / dkon mchog la smad pa/ dge 'dun gyi dkor 'phrog pa/ theg chen la smod pa/ bla ma'i sku la bsdo ba/ rdo rje spun grogs sun 'byin pa/ sgrub la bar gcod byed pa/ brtse ba snying rje gtan nas med pa/ dam tshig sdom pa dang bral ba/ las 'bras la log lta.* It is interesting to note that this kind of practice is associated with the same King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan who also issued the decrees which restricted Tantric practice. See ftns. 27 and 32.

[32] Tibetan historians repeat again and again the story that lHa-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od became dissatisfied with the abuses or mispractices of the Buddhist Tantric traditions in Tibet in his time, and that as a consequence he sent Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055) to Kashmir to investigate the authenticity of Tantric teachings. See Samten G. Karmay (1979: 150 ff.); see also Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 224 ff.); Chattopadhyaya (1967: 291 ff.).

Rin-chen-bzang-po returned to Tibet as a Mantra practitioner himself, but he remained a critic of the Tantras of the Ancient Tradition; see Roerich (1976: vol. 1, pp. 102, 204 ff.); see also, Chattopadhyaya (1967: 293 ff.). See also Khri-lde-srong-btsan's decree on restricting *vajrayāna* translations, reproduced in N. Simonsson (1957: 260); and Bu-ston, *Chos byung*, fol. 130r-v, for the time of Ral-pa-can = Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan(!); and Padma-dkar-po, *Chos*
(continued...)

to restrict these practices in some way.[33] In particular, several authors voiced their concern about a certain "Red Master" (*Ācārya dMar-po*) and his followers.[34] In the period shortly before Atiśa's coming to mNga'-ris (presumably 1042), the Ācārya dMar-po spread the three vows in that area.[35] Karma-chags-med describes his system of obtaining the three vows as a system where higher vows are obtained succesively by transformation (of the lower ones) and the lower vows are completely abandoned.[36] The monks with Mantra vows are permitted to associate with women. As a result the Ācārya's following "increased greatly" and these so-called

---

[32](...continued)
byung, fol. 168v, for the time of Khri-lde-srong-btsan.

[33] Mi-la-ras-pa and sGam-po-pa are said to have expressed their disapproval of 'Brom-ston's attitude to keep the Mantra practices secret; see Roerich (1976: vol. 1, 261). Atiśa did not allow the *guhyābhiṣeka* and the *prajñābhiṣekha* for celibates, i.e. for the full monk (*bhikṣu*) and the celibate householder (*brahmacārin*); see Atiśa, *Bodhipathapradīpa*, in: Eimer (1978: text edition, l. 259 ff.); see also Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 213 ff.). Other Tibetan authors explain that Atiśa only intended to encourage Vinaya practice and that such teachings were intended to attract those of inferior capacity; see, for example, Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 139v-140r.

[34] See, for example, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, *sDom gsum gnad gcig*, fol. 2r; Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa*, fol. 64r. See also Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 220 ff.); Chattopadhyaya (1967: 291 ff.). Concrete references to the Ācārya dMar-po are scarce and I do not know of any publication that goes beyond the facts presented by Seyfort Ruegg. There is also an interesting note on a blue-robed monk of the Sammitīya school who practiced sexual union. On this see Giacomella Orofino (1992: vol. 2, 622, n. 27). A blue-robed master (*shams thabs sngon po can*) is often associated with the Ācārya dMar-po in Tibetan historiographical literature.

[35] For the date 1042, see for example Paṇ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa, *bKa' gdams chos 'byung*, fol. 3v. The connection of mNga'-ris with Ācārya dMar-po's activities is made for example in 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, *sDom gsum gnad gcig*, fol. 2r.

[36] Karma-chags-med, *Ri chos*, p. 74: *de nas byang chub sems bskyed zhus pa yis// so thar sdom pa byang sems sdom par 'gyur// de nas 'dul khrims gcig kyang srung mi dgos// (...) de nas gsang sngags dbang bzhi zhus pa yis// byang sdom de'ang sngags kyi sdom par 'gyur// de nas byang sdom bslab pa bsrung mi dgos//*

Thereafter, by receiving the [ritual of] producing the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*) [i.e. the bodhisattva vows],
the prātimokṣa vows turned into the bodhisattva vows.
After that, none of the rules of the Vinaya had to be maintained (...)
Thereafter, by receiving the four initiations of the Mantra,
these bodhisattva vows too turned into the vows of Mantra.
After that, the training of the bodhisattva vows did not have to be maintained.

"householder monks" (*gser khyim pa*)[37] spread "everywhere in mNga'-ris, dBus and gTsang." This passage ends with the statement: "All learned ones censure and refute [this doctrine], calling it the 'perverted doctrine of Ācārya dMar-po.'"[38]

1.4. The Key Concepts of the Tibetan Three-Vow Theories

Motivated by feeling the need to reject such incorrect doctrines and to integrate correct Mantra practices into mainstream Tibetan Buddhism, Tibetan scholars began to investigate the three vows seriously, and they began to develop a terminology for discussing their different concepts. I shall not attempt to begin to explain the terminology here in this introduction, but I would like to provide a preliminary idea of the main problems that were considered and discussed in the Tibetan works on the three vows.

At the earliest recorded stage of development there are two essentially different positions on the interrelations of the three vows. The first emphasizes the superiority of Mantra. According to this position, the vows are different and the higher ones are more powerful. Interestingly, however, this particular initial position led again to two quite different concepts of the vows and to correspondingly different terminologies. On the one hand, sGam-po-pa asserts that the natures of the vows are different (*ngo bo tha dad*); he refers, for example, to the fact that the three vows are established in different sections of the teachings and are obtained for different durations, etc.[39]

Vibhūticandra, on the other hand, as the second proponent postulating the vows as different, explains that they are so because they consist of "distinct entities of their own" (*rdzas gzhan tha dad*).[40] Furthermore, the opinion that the higher vows are more powerful is connected by sGam-po-pa with the higher capacity of the

[37] The *gSer-khyim-pa* were people who wore the yellow robes of a monk but lived like householders, thus corrupting the rules of the Vinaya. It is to be noted that a tradition of *gSer-khyim-pas* was still to be found in twentieth-century Ding-ri, where they formed one fifth of the entire population. Whether this particular tradition can be traced back to the time of the Red Master is at present unknown. See Barbara Aziz (1978: pp. 76-94).

[38] That the doctrine of Ācārya dMar-po was rejected in Tibet seems to be the case at least with regard to the system of the three vows that is ascribed to him. On the other hand it appears that certain teachings of the Red Master have survived in Tibet. See, for example, Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 220). Furthermore, a miniature colour picture of him is displayed in the *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, see Samten Karmay (1980: XI, picture no. 4). On p. 74 he is referred to as the person who has introduced the cult of dPal-ldan-lha-mo (of whom the Fifth Dalai Lama had visions) to Tibet.

[39] sGam-po-pa, *Work A* 5.

[40] Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 23.

Tantric yogi. Whenever an "internal conflict arises" (*nang thug byung na*) between the higher and the lower vows, the yogi should prefer to practice according to the higher vow, which, despite the conflict with the lower vows, does not constitute a fault because of the yogi's greater insight (*prajñā*), means, and higher intention.[41] Vibhūticandra, on the other hand, explains the greater power of the Mantra vows in accordance with his postulation of the vows persisting as distinct entities of their own: The Mantra vows, which are like the sun, outshine (*zil gyis gnon*) the two lower vows, which are like the stars and moon.[42] When the Mantra vows are obtained, the lower vows remain in a "dormant mode" (*bag la nyal*).[43]

The second of the two essentially different positions concerning the three vows emphasizes their sameness. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, for example, teaches that all three vows have the same vital point (*gnad gcig*), namely the abandoning of the ten non-virtues through all three vows alike.[44] The vows are three, nevertheless, because "the possessor of the vows has changed" (*bdag po 'phos pa*),[45] i.e. has become a bodhisattva or a Tantric adept. rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, on the other hand, does not directly allude to a sameness of the vows, but he states clearly that in Mantra practice, too, the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows are to be carefully maintained and continued.[46] Later on, Go-rams-pa (1429-1489), for example, elaborates this position and postulates the three vows as having the "same nature" (*ngo bo gcig*).[47] rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan speaks, furthermore, of a change with regard to the three vows. But according to him, it is not the possessor of the vow who changes, instead the respective lower vow turns (*'gyur*) into the respective higher one.[48] Later on this position is again elaborated by teaching the transformation (*gnas 'gyur*) of the vows.[49]

1.5. Purpose and Procedure

Let me now briefly describe the purpose and procedure of my research. My purpose is to carry out three main objectives of doctrinal description and historical

---

[41] sGam-po-pa, *Work A* 8 and 9.

[42] Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 27.

[43] Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 25.

[44] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, vajra utterance 1.24.

[45] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, vajra utterance 1.25.

[46] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 18r-v.

[47] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, for example on fol. 72v.

[48] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 48v.

[49] See, for example, Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 72v ff.

interpretation:

1. To identify and describe the main early three-vow doctrines of Tibet,
2. to differentiate between the different strands of the related doctrinal discussion by identifying the earliest proponents of the different doctrines and their later followers and respondents, and
3. to describe the historical development of the key doctrinal terms, as far as this is possible. Here I will try to take into consideration the influences that the different strands may have exercised on each other.

When attempting to trace the different strands of doctrine, the development of the terms within them, and the influences between them, one immediately is faced with the problem of concretely documenting the later influence of early authors. Here, even though all our authors and their dates are fairly well known (and even the dates of composition of many of their works can be established), our conclusions in these regards must remain tentative, for the accessibility of each work even to scholars of the same tradition remains still very much unknown. Thus we face not only the problem of whether, for example, the works of the slightly earlier seventh Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506) and of Karma-'phrin-las-pa (1456-1539) were actually known to mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen (1487-1542) of the rNying-ma-pas, but also whether, for example, Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin (1700s) drew from the same sources as Karma-'phrin-las-pa, for the latter identifies as the originator of what he accepts as his "own tradition" (*rang lugs*) sGam-po-pa, while the first says that he derives his almost identical doctrine from the third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339). Even though it appears that the third Karma-pa was more likely the originator, since the terms and concepts used by both Karma-'phrin-las-pa and Karma-nges-legs are already quite developed and point rather to the thirteenth than to the twelfth century, one still has to be quite careful about this conclusion, since we still have much more to learn about sGam-po-pa and his works, and no treatise on the three vows of the third Karma-pa has turned up as yet.

Another factor limiting the strength of my conclusions is that since this is the first time the problem of the three vows is addressed in a Western academic work, my investigation to a large extent consists of the mapping out of wide, previously unexplored terrain, and that this wide comprehensiveness can only be gained at the expense of less attention to every detail and particular (which is not the case when one concentrates on a single textual tradition). Once I decided to write a dissertation on the theme of the three vows, my first aim was to find out whether there exist different competing doctrinal systems. These I found in abundance. I very soon discovered that in order to appreciate properly even one author's work, I would have to investigate the rivalling doctrines as well. I therefore undertook to identify the most prominent proponents of Tibetan three-vow doctrines and then began to translate the relevant passages of their works. During the process of translation, I

mainly directed my attention to the first two of the three above-stated objectives. The third objective—namely, describing the historical development—was dealt with only after the translations were completed.

Even though I cannot hope in my translations to convey all of my authors' profound intentions in each and every aspect, I nevertheless have tried to render their works as faithfully as possible. In those cases where the full meaning of a passage remained unclear to me, my aim was still to follow in the translation the structure of the Tibetan text as closely as possible and to translate each Tibetan word with what seemed to me the most suitable English equivalent. While translating I tried, whenever time and opportunity allowed it, to consult learned Tibetans of different traditions. Among the numerous scholars who were kind enough to submit themselves to my pestering with many questions the first was, at the beginning, my friend Ngawang Tsering of Nurla, Ladakh, who also was the one who first introduced me to the theme of the three vows. Although his primary focus is very much as an adherent of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pa, he is also well versed in other bKa'-brgyud-pa and rNying-ma traditions. Later on I consulted Nub-pa Rin-po-che and mKhan-po dKon-mchog-bkra-shis of the Drikung Kagyu Institute in Dehra Dun, India, as well as mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan of the 'Bri-gung tradition, dGe-shes Thub-bstan-ngag-dbang, Hamburg, Ācārya Tshul-khrims-rnam-dag, formerly of Rumtek College, Sikkim, and my colleague rDo-rje-dbang-phyug of the University of Hamburg. I also had the opportunity to go through most of my translations with my teacher Prof. David P. Jackson, Hamburg.

The above sketch of my purpose and procedure readily reveals certain limitations of my work. First of all, it would have been desirable to investigate each tradition in much more detail through the many commentaries that exist on them, instead of using only two or three of the most prominent works of each tradition. But the lack of time and the already alarming bulkiness of my materials prevented me from further probing into them. I also had to give up following one particular and very promising strand of the discussion in Tibet, namely that which began with Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa's (1357-1419) reply to rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*,[50] and was furthered by Śākya-mchog-ldan's (1408-1507) reply to the Tsong-kha-pa.[51] An investigation that would have done justice to these three eminent masters could have easily doubled the time I had already spent and would certainly have doubled the number of pages of the final study, too. Yet another obvious limitation is that Indian works have largely been excluded. Here the main reason is simply that, except for

[50] In: Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa, *gSang sngags kyi tshul khrims,* vol. 1, pp. 375-512.

[51] In: Śākya-mchog-ldan, *'Khrul spong gi brgal lan,* vol. 23, pp. 105-296.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*, no "proper" three-vow treatise of Indian origin came into my hands (and even that work is said to have been composed in Tibet), although we have ample reason to believe that discussions of the theme existed in India.[52] Many other Tibetan three-vow treatises turned up during my work, but their proper investigation must be postponed because of limitations of time and space. A few of the works that had to be left out are:

Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa's (1357-1419), *gSang sngags kyi tshul khrims*, containing a reply to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong*.

Shākya-mchog-ldan's (1408-1507), *'Khrul spong gi brgal lan*, containing Śākya-mchog-ldan's reply to Tsong-kha-pa.

Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, Karma-pa VIII (1507-1554), *'Jig rten gsum mgon dgongs gcig rnam bshad*, a large commentary on 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's *Same Intention.*

Padma-dkar-po, 'Brug-chen IV (1527-1592), *sDom pa gsum gyi rgyan*. 3 vols., basic verses and autocommentary. A basic work of the 'Brug-pa tradition.

sDom pa gsum gyi snying po. A large work despite the title.

Rang zhin(!) rdzogs pa chen po rnam nges bstan bcos. This is a commentary of doubtful authorship on mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*.

Dharmabhadra, dNgul-chu (1772-1851), *sDom gsum gyi bslab bya'i sdom tshig*, dGe-lugs-pa.

Grub-pa'i-rdo-rje, dByangs-can (1809-1877? 1887?), *sDom pa gsum gyi mi mthun phyogs dran tshul*, dGe-lugs-pa, disciple of dNgul-chu Dharmabhadra.

Mi-pham (1846-1912), *sDom gsum ngo bo gcig*, which, although it clearly stands in the tradition of the rNying-ma-pas, appears to include reflections of masters from other lineages, such as of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po of the 'Bri-gung-pas.

Karma-nges-don-bstan-rgyas, sMan-sdong-mtshams-pa (1879?-1921? 1960?), *sDom gsum rags bsdus* and *sDom gsum 'rags(!) bsdus byang chub*, a Karma-bka'-brgyud-pa work and autocommentary with obvious rNying-ma-pa influences.

dGe-'dun-rin-chen, dGe-bshes Brag-phug (1926-), *sDom gsum rgyan gyi*

---

[52] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 4, and Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 3, for example, report of a three-vow theory of Abhayākaragupta, and of several different systems having existed in India.

mchan 'grel, a word-by-word commentary of Padma-dkar-po's *sDom gsum gyi rgyan*.

bSod-nams-chos-'grub, Glag-bla (20th c.), *sDom gsum gyi dris lan nyi 'od snang ba*, a modern reply in the tradition of the rNying-ma-pas.

Karma-sangs-rgyas-chos-'phel (?-?), *gZhung lugs bshad bya'i yan lag sdom gsum zur rgyan*.

?, *sDom gsum kha khong gi rnams bshad*, Microfilm NGMPP. Commentary on Go-rams-pa's *sDom gsum kha skong*, maybe by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags?

?, *sDom gsum ldan pas nyin zhag phrugs gcig*, Microfilm NGMPP.

?, *sDom gsum rnam nges las 'phros*, Microfilm NGMPP, a further discussion on mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*.

?, *sDom gsum rnam nges mchan 'grel*, Microfilm, NGMPP, a word-by-word commentary on mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*.

* * *

I did not attempt to establish by philological criteria any lineages of textual transmission. Except in a very few cases, the authors of the sources that I have used mention only the originator of their teaching such as "sGam-po-pa," "Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan," etc., and additionally perhaps the teacher from whom they have received teachings on the three vows. And even in these cases, the naming of alleged "originators" has to be taken with a grain of salt—in some cases their mention appears to be rather an act of devotion than a record of historical truth. For the Sa-skya-pa lineage, for example, we read again and again in treatises of all the various traditions that the Sa-skya-pa doctrine of transformation (*gnas 'gyur*) and same nature (*ngo bo gcig*) of the vows originated with, or at least appeared in, Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*. This is certainly not the case, for such terms were never used there. In the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition, to take another example, most authors refer to sGam-po-pa as the originator of their teachings. But after sGam-po-pa, the doctrine taught in that tradition appears to be so much expanded and "improved" that hardly a single key term from the works of the later tradition can be found in the relevant passages of sGam-po-pa's collected works. And, as mentioned before, one author of the 1700s, namely Karma-nges-legs, refers in particular to the third Karma-pa as the originator of those same teachings that are ascribed by others to sGam-po-pa. In short, detailed future investigation of such doctrinal transmissions will have to focus more exclusively on single textual traditions.

Vibhūticandra, Go-rams-pa, and Their Works of the Three-Vow Genre: Introductory Remarks

One of the earliest and most widely known treatises of the three-vow genre is Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*. Although it is quoted and commented upon in numerous works by later Tibetan scholars, it certainly received its most detailed attention and criticism from the fifteenth-century scholar Go-rams-pa, in one of his commentaries on Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, namely the *General Topics*. This work also includes a detailed exposition of Go-rams-pa's own tradition on the three vows. Both works, the *Garland of Rays* and the *General Topics*, will also be the subject of the following chapters three through eight. Before going on to discuss the theories and doctrines of these two works (in chapters three to five) and present their texts and translations (in chapters six to eight), I would like here to introduce briefly the authors of both works through some biographical notes and remarks about their writings.

2.1. Biographical Notes on Vibhūticandra[53]

In the history of Tibetan Buddhism, Vibhūticandra is probably best known for his direct transmission of the perfection-stage practices of the six-limbed yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) of the *Kālacakratantra* that had been transmitted to him by the Indian great adept Śavaripa, while his most controversial work appears to be his treatise on the three vows. Vibhūticandra was born in the latter half of the twelfth century in the region of Varendra in East India. He received full monastic ordination and studied in Magadha at the monastic university of Vikramaśīla, and he pursued further studies in the area of Orissa and in Bengal at the monastic complex of Jagaddala. His teachers included Vikhyātadeva, *Dharmadāsa (Chos-'bangs), and the Kashmirian great scholar Śākyaśrībhadra (1140s-1225), who became his principal guru. With Śākyaśrībhadra he travelled for eleven years in Tibet, starting around 1204, learning innumerable topics of Mantra and Mahāyāna. It is known that they spent the summer retreat of 1206 at Srin-po-ri in Central Tibet. During this time the master was invited by, among others, 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217).[54] Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba Byams-pa'i-dpal (1172-1236), the Tibetan interpreter of Śākyaśrī, reports that

[53] These notes are based on Cyrus Stearns pioneering article, "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra," pp. 127-171.

[54] On 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, see the biographical notes in chapter 14, section 1.

Vibhūticandra had made a slanderous remark about the 'Bri-gung-pa, whereupon the master exclaimed: "[He is] a Buddha! It is not right to say that!" And he sent Vibhūticandra to 'Bri-gung to confess his sin and build a temple. According to Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba he did just that.[55]

Śākyaśrī and his entourage spent the rainy season retreat of 1209 (or according to Sa-paṇ 1210) in Sa-skya.[56] During this time they met with rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), then the senior teacher of Sa-skya. His nephew Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), who seems to have received the epithet "Sa-skya Paṇḍita" from Śākyaśrī, received teachings from the master.[57] According to Tāranātha, Vibhūticandra was the only junior *paṇḍita* who refused to prostrate before Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. This story, however, appears to have been fabricated later in order to establish Vibhūticandra's opposition to the Sa-skya-pa doctrinal positions, and its earliest known source is Tāranātha's *Appendix to the Instructions on Vajrayoginī*, written around 1618.[58]

In 1213 Vibhūticandra accompanied Śākyaśrī to Pu-rang in mNga'-ris. In the next year the master returned to Kashmir, and Vibhūticandra may have done the same for a brief while, or he went directly from Pu-rang to Nepal. In the following time in the Kathmandu valley he emphasized intense study and practice of the *Kālacakratantra*. After some time he travelled once again to Tibet, where, having become extremely fluent in the Tibetan language, he translated many works into Tibetan. According to Padma-gar-dbang, Vibhūticandra's treatise on the three vows, the *Garland of Rays*, was composed during this time.[59] Tāranātha (p. 485) says that Vibhūticandra stayed in 'Bri-gung-gling during that time and became very influential. It is not quite clear what "'Bri-gung-gling" refers to (Byang-chub-gling, the name of the monastery that was founded by 'Jig-rten-mgon-po and that is otherwise known as 'Bri-gung-mthil?), and Stearns correctly points out that Vibhūticandra is not

---

[55] For Śākyaśrībhadra's reply to Vibhūticandra concerning the 'Bri-gung-pa, see Jackson (1990: 20-21, n. 10), and (1994: 69 f.).

[56] On that date, see Sa-paṇ, *rJe btsun rin po che'i rnam thar*, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1, fol. 28r, l. 5, *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 5, p. 148-1-4. Cf. Jackson (1987: 35, n. 37).

[57] On receiving that epithet, see van der Kuijp (1983: 100 and n. 290).

[58] Tāranātha, *rDo rje rnal 'byor gyi 'khrid yig mthong ba don ldan gyi lhan thabs 'od brgya 'bar*, p. 484.

[59] Padma-gar-dbang, *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor las paṇ che sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje gsum gyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i rnga chen*, fol. 24b. This lineage history of the Kālacakra teachings is, according to Stearns, by far the most important source on the life of Vibhūticandra.

mentioned in the biography of 'Bri-gung-gling-pa (a.k.a. Shes-rab-'byung-gnas).[60] 'Bri-gung-gling-pa, however, spent most of his time after 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's passing in 1217 in Ti-se and other places and visited 'Bri-gung a few times, but always only for very brief periods.

After this second visit to Tibet, Vibhūticandra returned again to Nepal where the most significant spiritual event of his life occurred, i.e. his vision of the great adept Śavaripa, who taught him the yoga of the six limbs, of which Vibhūticandra eventually became a master and chief transmitter. After this event he spent another three years in Tibet, having been invited by his former disciple Ko-brag-pa (1179-1249). He especially taught the yoga of the six limbs, but it is also said that he taught the *Garland of Rays* to Chos-sku-'od-zer (1214-1292). His biographer reports that after his return to Nepal, Vibhūticandra lived for many more years, obtained the supramundane achievements (*siddhi*) of a yogi and left no body at death.

2.2. The *Garland of Rays* of Vibhūticandra

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays of the Three Vows* (Tib. *sDom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, Skt. *Trisaṃvara-prabhāmālā*) is one of the most controversial writings on the three vows. It covers about three folios in the Peking and Derge *Tanjur* collections, and its short colophon states it was "composed by the great scholar Vibhūticandra of Jāgatala(!), East India, [and] translated by himself (*rang 'gyur du mdzad pa*)." This formulation, which uses the honorific form *mdzad pa*, shows that the colophon for this work was written by someone different from the author himself, possibly the editor of the canon (i.e. Bu-ston). Stearns (p. 147) points out that:

> Vibhūticandra is the author of at least eight texts found in the Peking edition of the *Bstan 'gyur*. Six of those eight he translated by himself or with the help of a Tibetan translator, as well as at least another twenty-five works written by other Indian teachers.

In other words, the *Garland of Rays* is not the only work he translated by himself. Moreover, none of the colophons of the works composed or translated by Vibhūticandra are written in the first person (Stearns, p. 156). Nevertheless, Tāranātha, in his *Appendix to the Instructions on Vajrayoginī* (p. 485), believes for certain the *Garland of Rays* to be a forgery. For this he offers only one reason:

> Since the text of the *Garland of Rays* has clear signs (*sang sngon rtags can*) of being a Tibetan composition (*bod rtsom*), it was certainly not composed by Vibhūticandra.[61]

He is, however, the only one who reports such a suspicion. None of the scholars

---

[60] On Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, see the biographical notes in chapter 14, section 2.

[61] I shall return to the discussion of what such a "clear sign" could be at the beginning of chapter 3, p. 35.

who quoted the work or referred to it, such as the various rNying-ma, Sa-skya, bKa'-brgyud and dGe-lugs masters, expressed such a suspicion.[62] Especially Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, who translated at least one of Vibhūticandra's works from Sanskrit to Tibetan and who certainly did possess the ability to distinguish between Indian and Tibetan compositions, included it in his edition of the *Tanjur* with the statement that it was composed by Vibhūticandra.[63] Also Tāranātha's supposition that it had been written by a dGe-bshes of Srin-po-ri or a partisan of the 'Bri-gung-pa does not ring true, since the bKa'-gdams-pa's position is also criticized, and since the position upheld by Vibhūticandra himself does not bear the slightest resemblance to that of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po. Since Tāranātha's argument is not in the least convincing, I see no reason to assume that the author of the *Garland of Rays* was other than Vibhūticandra.

Vibhūticandra's translation of his *Garland of Rays* is in verses of seven syllables. I have divided the text according to topics into forty-six sections that contain between three and six or seven lines each (section forty-one has eighteen as an exception). Their main topics shall be explained in chapters three and four.

The text comes down to us in at least two quite different traditions. While versions *D* and *P* differ only slightly through some minor orthographical variants, the text given in full in Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* differs not only through orthographical variants, but occasionally also to quite an extent in its wording. Thus, to quote only some examples, we have:

P* and *D	**Go-rams-pa's *General Topics***
[1f] "the lower (or: last) [period] of the teachings" (*bstan pa'i gsham*)	"the tail (or: remainder) of the teachings" (*bstan pa'i mjug*)
[1i] "understood merely a part" (*phyogs re'i cha tsam rtogs*)	"expressed merely a part" (*phyogs re'i cha tsam brjod*)
[1o] "the rays of the sun of my intelligence" (*bdag blo nyi ma'i 'od zer*)	"the sun disc of my intelligence" (*bdag blo nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor*)

---

[62] These scholars include such eminent masters as dGa'-gdong-pa, Go-rams-pa, Karma-'phrin-las-pa, Karma-chags-med, Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, Mi-pham, Tsong-kha-pa and sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho.

[63] Stearns, p. 157. The work translated by Bu-ston is the *sGrub thabs mdor byas kyi dka' 'grel* (*Piṇḍīkṛtasādhanapañjikā*), *P* vol. 62, no. 2701.

[4d] "the Vinaya of the prātimokṣa" (*so sor thar pa'i 'dul ba*)	"the vows of prātimokṣa" (*so sor thar pa'i sdom pa*)
[26c] "at the time of arising" (*shar ba'i tshe*)	"if [it] has arisen" (*shar gyur na*)
[10c] "from a guru who possesses the correct ritual" (*bla ma cho ga tshad ldan las*)	"from a guru who possesses the good marks" (*bla ma mtshan nyid tshad ldan las*)

These few examples are not only cases of synonyms like *gsham* and *mjug*, but also variants that may suggest an intervention in the text such as *'od zer* becoming *dkyil 'khor*, and *'dul ba* becoming *sdom pa*. In addition, we have a number of even greater divergences:

[44e] *tshe 'di nyid la sangs rgyas 'gyur*	*tshe 'dir sangs rgyas 'grub par gsungs*
[4f] *so sor thar pa'i tshul yin no*	*so thar sdom pa'i gtong tshul yin*
[27h] *des thob tshul dang gtong ba'i tshul*	*des na gtong thob gnas pa'i tshul*

All in all, it seems to be quite clear that we are not simply dealing with scribal errors. One possibility is that the original translation has later been revised, perhaps by Vibhūticandra himself, while the first 'draft' was already in circulation. That would explain some corrections that appear to be secondary, such as (27h:) "the way of obtaining and the way of abandoning" and "the way of abandoning, obtaining, and maintaining," and (4f:) "the way of the prātimokṣa" and "the way of abandoning prātimokṣa." It is rather doubtful that these corrections were made to improve the translation from the Sanskrit, since one can hardly imagine that Vibhūticandra—if he indeed translated the work himself—made such gross mistakes (also: *dkyil 'khor/'od zer* in 1o!) in translating his own work. Instead he might have changed the text (perhaps in both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions) on the basis of factual considerations. It is also conceivable that one or even both of our versions underwent a period of oral transmission, which would explain a number of differences that have no relevance for the meaning (such as my examples 1f, i, o, 26c, and even such examples as 4d). In any case, it does not seem likely that Go-rams-pa changed the basic text to fit it in with his 'polemical needs,' since also those parts that are left

uncriticized by him show significant variations.[64]

2.3. Biographical Notes on Go-rams-pa (1429-1489)

Go-rams-pa was one of the most influential Tibetan Buddhist writers of the mid to late fifteenth century.[65] His birth in Kham province in East Tibet in the year 1429 coincided with the founding of Ngor Evaṃ-chos-ldan monastery in gTsang by the great Ngor-pa Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456).[66] He received his first ordination at the age of ten by Kun-dga'-'bum and began his studies under him by learning to read and write, and by learning by heart a great number of writings such as the five treasures of Maitreya, the works of Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449) and g.Yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1348-1414).[67] From him he also received his initial training in epistemology (*pramāṇa*) and the Perfections Vehicle (*pāramitāyāna*). According to the *Ngor Abbatial History* he studied at first under a teacher named Shes-rab-dpal.[68] One time after he had heard many teachings and practiced an evocation ritual of Mañjuśrī he dreamt that a sword came in his hand that he quickly

---

[64] For such a variation, see the example of *Garland of Rays* 4f above.

[65] This account is based on three sources. The main source is the most lengthy and informative of the presently available biographies, the *Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa*, composed by his successor in rTa-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal monastery, Kong-ston dBang-phyug-grub. In my account I mainly rely on its presentation by van der Kuijp (1983: 119 ff.). The other sources I used are Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, *Ngor Abbatial History*, fol. 7rv; and Ko-shul-grags-pa-'byung-gnas and rGyal-ba-blo-bzang, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*, pp. 260 ff.

Other (as yet unexplored) biographies of Go-rams-pa are Glo-bo mKhan-chen (1456-1532, Go-rams-pa's disciple), *rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer* (24 fols.), which is contained in his collected works, vol. *ka*, fols. 178-202 (not available to me); and A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597-1659), *Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa dad pa rgya mtsho'i rlabs phreng rnam par g.yo ba* (138 fols.), which is contained in his collected works, vol. *ya*, no. 2, written during the first half of the seventh month of 1625. This biography has just recently become available through the NGMPP in Hamburg.

[66] His place of birth is given by Kong-ston as 'Bom-lung-mda', located in mDo-khams. Van der Kuijp points out (n. 364) that according to another source his place of birth has been sGom, a district of Go-'o-rong (which should be read Go-bo-rong). Van der Kuijp's source for this is Ngor-chen dKon-mchog-lhun-grub and Ngor-chen Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'byung tshul legs par bshad pa bstan pa rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen zhes bya ba rtsom 'phro kha skong*, New Delhi, 1973, fol. 76 ff.

[67] According to the *Ngor Abbatial History*, fol. 7v, he began these studies at the age of eight.

[68] Kong-ston adds another name, i.e. dKa'-bcu-pa sByin-bzang.

removed from its scabbard and waved around in the sky. It appeared that this (activity?) covered all of dBus, gTsang, and Khams. Thereafter he was known as "Go-ram(sic!)."[69] In 1448, at the age of nineteen, he went to Central Tibet and entered a Na-lendra college where he met Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449).[70] After Rong-ston's death one year later (1449) he headed for sKyed-tshal monastery, which had been founded by Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa Sangs-rgyas-'phel (1411-1485) in the same year. Having stayed there for a little over three years he proceeded in 1453 to Ngor Evaṃ-chos-ldan monastery to embark on Mantra studies. At the age of twenty-six he received full ordination from Ngor-chen, Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1456), then second abbot of Ngor at Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, and Sangs-rgyas-dpal-grub, and heard many teachings from them.[71] According to his disciple and biographer Kong-ston (p. 12), Go-rams-pa received the teachings on Sa-paṇ's three-vow treatise, the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, "many times" from Gung-ru Shes-rab-bzang-po (1411-1476) at Ngor.[72] According to the *Ngor Abbatial History*, Go-rams-pa had also studied at gSang-phu [Ne'u-thog] and 'Bras-yul [rDzong-dkar] sKyed-[mo]-tshal.

According to the *Gangs can*, Go-rams-pa engaged at the age of thirty-one (i.e. in ca. 1460) in controversies with a number of scholars who taught diverging interpretations of tantras. He is said to have kept a tight schedule of ten teaching-sessions per day at that time, while teaching at both sKyed-tshal and Ngor. In 1472 he founded Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal monastery in the rTa-nag valley.[73] In 1483 at the age of fifty-three he became the sixth abbot of Ngor, a position he retained until

---

[69] This should be "Go-rams," the full version of which is "Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa." "Go-bo" is a place near Derge where he was born, and Rab-'byams-pa denotes the highest kind of dGe-bshes degree.

[70] Na-lendra monastery was founded by Rong-ston at Phan-yul in 1436. See Jackson (1989b: 6 ff.).

[71] According to *Gangs can*, p. 261, he entered Ngor already at the age of twenty-five and was fully ordained two years later. It is also mentioned there that he received from Mus-chen the *Path with Its Fruit* (*Lam 'bras*) teachings. When he himself became a master of Sūtra, Mantra, and the sciences, he had altogether studied the *Path with Its Fruit* teachings under eighteen great masters.

[72] Shes-rab-bzang-po was the sixth abbot of Na-lendra. According to Kong-ston, Go-rams-pa received the teachings in 1454 or 1455. Jackson (1989b: 15 f.) describes Shes-rab-bzang-po as an outstanding teacher and scholar who came to Ngor in 1453. Khenpo Appey (p. 56) lists among his works a "General-Topics work on the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, etc." (*sDom gsum rab dbye'i spyi don sogs*).

[73] This is mentioned in all sources. rTa-nag is the valley of the river rTa-nag-po, which flows from the north into the gTsang-po at about 88°35' East. See Ferrari (1958: 157, n. 586).

1486, when he handed over the abbatial throne to dKon-mchog-'phel (1445-1514?).[74] Again according to the *Gangs can* he visited Sa-skya two times, at the age of fifty-one and fifty-nine. Go-rams-pa died after his second visit to Sa-skya on his way back to rTa-nag, when he was not quite sixty.[75]

Go-rams-pa spent his whole life composing treatises that added up to more than a hundred compositions in thirteen volumes. They reflect his wide range of scholarship, covering such topics as epistemology (vols. II-III), Vinaya and Abhidharma (vol. IV), Madhyamaka (vols. IV-V), the Perfections Vehicle (vol. VI-VIII), the three vows (i.e. commentaries on Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, vol. IX), and Mantra (vols. X-XIII).

2.4. Go-rams-pa's Commentaries and Related Works on Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*

The ninth volume (*ta*) of Go-rams-pa's collected works in the Derge edition is entirely devoted to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* and closely related themes. The six treatises that are listed there (nos. 57-62) add up to more than 170 folios. These are:

57. *The Exposition of the Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows: The Shining Intention of the Buddha's Teachings* (*sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba*). This work was written in 1463 at 'Bras-yul rDzong-dkar sKyed-mo-tshal. It is a detailed commentarial exposition that follows Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* verse by verse. For an outline of its subject-headings, see Appendix B.
58. *The General Topics of the Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows: A Wishfulfilling Jewel* (*sDom gsum rab dbye'i spyi don yid bzhin nor bu*). This work was written two years earlier, i.e. in 1461, at the same place as no. 57, and it contains thematic discussions of the general topics of Sa-paṇ's three-vow treatise. Its contents are summarized briefly in section five of this chapter. For an outline of its subject-headings, see Appendix A. Both of these works (i.e. nos. 57 and 58) were, according to Jackson (1983: 16), standard works in the seminaries in twentieth-century Khams.
59. *The Treatise of the Three Vows [Containing] the Replies to Questions: Removing Errors [Regarding] the Three Vows* (*sDom pa gsum gyi bstan bcos dris shing rtsod pa'i lan sdom gsum 'khrul spong*). This work was written about a decade and a half later in 1476 at rTa-nag. It is a writing with "a polemical slant ...

[74] See Jackson (1989a: 53).

[75] For the second visit and his sudden death afterwards, see Jackson (1989b: 20 ff.).

written in reply to questions about or objections to the contents of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*" [i.e. the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*] (Jackson 1983: 16). It was Go-rams-pa's answer to Shākya-mchog-ldan's "challenge," the one-hundred and eight questions about Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation* set down in the *sDom gsum rab dbye la dri ba legs pa* (*Collected Works*, vol. 17, pp. 448-462). Ten other scholars also took up the challenge and wrote answers, but Shākya-mchog-ldan was not satisfied with any of the answers and undertook to write the *Golden Key* (see also Jackson 1983: 17 f.).

60. *The Essential Summary of the Topics of All Sūtras and Tantras That is Completely Removing the Darkness of the Mind* (*mDo rgyud kun gyi don bsdus pa snying po yid kyi mun pa rnam par sel ba*). This work is not dated. Being an outline of the subject-headings of Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* it is also referred to as the *Summary of the Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (*sDom gsum rab dbye'i bsdus don*).
61. *The Supplement for the Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows: The Good Explanation That Clarifies the Basis, Path, and Fruit* (*sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i kha skong gzhi lam 'bras gsum gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad 'od kyi snang ba*). This work was written in 1478 at rTa-nag. Jackson (1983: 16), says: "(This) ... text ... was written to complete the original *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, adding the promised but missing section on the basis (*gzhi*), path (*lam*), and fruit (*'bras bu*). This book later gave rise to other related works by Go-rams-pa: a summary [i.e. see no. 62 below], and his *Dris lan padma bzhad pa* [*Replies to Questions: A Blossoming Lotus*]. This supplement also inspired commentaries by later scholars such as Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho, Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Chos-rnam-rgyal and even the modern scholar mKhan-po Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin."
62. *The Summarized Topics of the Supplements for the [Clear Differentiation of the] Three Vows* (*sDom gsum kha skong gi bsdus don*). This work was written at rTa-nag (after 1474).[76] It is a summary of the above writing (no. 61).

For the present thesis I have used work no. 58 above, which also contains Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* in full and its discussion by Go-rams-pa (cf. chapter 2.2., p. 23 ff.), and a large section on the original position of the Sa-skya-pas according to Go-rams-pa. I have abbreviated this work throughout this study as *General Topics* (*of the Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*). In my footnotes I have often relied on explanations given in Go-rams-pa's work no. 57 above. This

[76] Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal monastery was founded by Go-rams-pa in 1474, so that one would suppose that any work written there was composed after that date.

work is abbreviated throughout as *Detailed Exposition* (*of the Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*).

2.5. Topical Summary of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics*

Before focusing on those sections of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* that deal in a critical manner with Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* and his own doctrines on the three vows, I would like to summarize briefly the contents of the whole treatise. The main part of the work begins on folio 4r with the teaching that all the practices of the Buddhist doctrine are summarized within the practice of the three vows. After a discussion of how the vows of the prātimokṣa, bodhisattvas, and Tantric adepts are taught through scriptures (in seven folios), there follows an exhaustive investigation (*mtha' dpyad*) of the subject to be taught, i.e. the three vows. This is followed by a short exposition of the main topics of the vows in general, referring to other classifications of the vows such as the three observances described in the *Abhidharma*,[77] or the vows of the two stages of Mantra practice, namely of production and perfection (*utpattikrama* and *sampannakrama/niṣpannakrama),* etc. After identifying then the three vows relevant to this treatise as the vows of the prātimokṣa, the bodhisattvas, and the Tantric adepts, these are taught under six headings:

1. identification of the nature of the three vows,
2. the rituals for obtaining the vows,
3. the training for maintaining the vows,
4. the ways to repair damaged vows,
5. the investigation of how the vows are maintained and how lost, and
6. how the three vows are practiced by a person who possesses all three.

The section concerning us most is the fifth, which is also the longest, consisting as it does of thirty-one folios. It has two main parts, of which the first, i.e. the investigation of how the vows are maintained, is divided into three sub-sections:

	— different modes of having the same and different natures
5. Investigation of how the vows are (1) maintained ...	— Go-rams-pa's own tradition
	— refutation of Vibhūticandra's critique

[77] For these three observances, see ftn. 20.

(2) ... and how lost	
6. How the three vows are practiced by a person who possesses all three	

The first sub-section is devoted to an investigation of different modes of maintaining the vows as having the same and as having different natures. Three theories maintaining different natures for the vows, i.e. Vibhūticandra's, Abhayākaragupta's, and the bKa'-gdams-pa's theories, are refuted. This first sub-section furthermore contains a refutation of those Sa-skya-pas who mistake the views of others as their own tradition, such as dGa'-gdong-pa.[78] The refutation of Vibhūticandra's theory (fols. 62v-66r) is presented in translation in chapter six, pp. 97 ff., together with the relevant verses of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*. In the second sub-section of part one Go-rams-pa presents what he accepts as his own tradition of how the vows are maintained (fols. 70v-75v). I will present my discussion of its main topics in chapter five (pp. 89 ff.), and its text and translation in chapter seven, pp. 131 ff. The third sub-section of part one (fols. 75v-77v) is a refutation of Vibhūticandra's critique of the Sa-skya-pa system as found in his *Garland of Rays*. Instead of presenting this after what Go-rams-pa presents as his own tradition (as in his *General Topics*) I have incorporated this part into my translation of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* and its critique by Go-rams-pa (in chapter six, pp. 97 ff.), since this has the advantage of presenting the material following the structure of Vibhūticandra's text (see my "Structure of Presentation" at the end of this chapter).[79]

I have mentioned above that the fifth main section ("investigation of how the vows are maintained and how lost") has two main parts, the first of which is

---

[78] dGa'-gdong-pa Chos-rgyal-dpal-bzang (1400s). He was a disciple of sPos-khang-pa Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan (1400s), who was in turn a disciple of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). Both sPos-khang-pa and dGa'-gdong-pa have written extensive commentaries on Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, but only sPos-khang-pa's work, which was written in 1427 towards the end of his life, is presently available: *sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*, vols. 1-3, Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji, Thimpu, Bhutan, 1979.

[79] With regard to this parallel presentation of both texts, however, one must bear in mind that Vibhūticandra wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century, referring to rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's earlier work on the Tantric pledges (i.e. the *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*), whereas Go-rams-pa refuted Vibhūticandra about two-hundred and fifty years later in 1461—i.e. after an intervening period that has been very fruitful with regard to the scholastic refinement of the Sa-skya-pa teachings.

described in the preceding paragraph. The second part, i.e. "investigation of how the vows are lost," and the sixth and last part of the *General Topics*, i.e. "how the three vows are practiced by a person who possesses all three vows" will be presented in this book together with what Go-rams-pa presents as his own tradition (in chapter five, pp. 89 ff.; with summary; and chapter seven, pp. 131 ff., with text and translation). The full subject-heading outline (*sa bcad*) of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* and of his *Detailed Exposition*, together with a concordance to Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* are given in the appendices A and B at the end of this book.

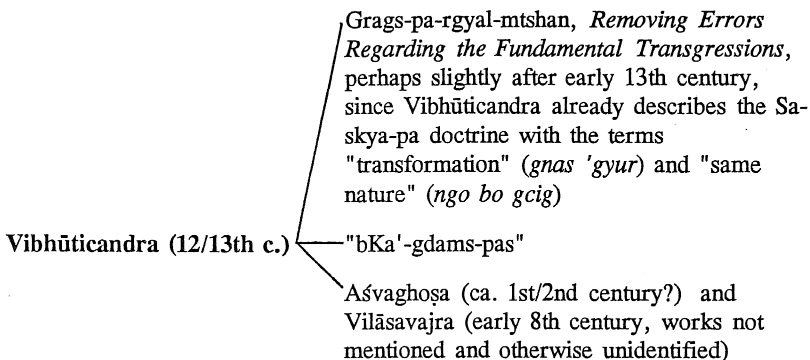
Structure of Presentation

Chapter	*Garland of Rays*	*General Topics*	Theme
3 (summary) and 6 (text and translation)	sections 2-3 section 5 sections 9-12	fols. 62v-63r fol. 63r fol. 63r-v	Vibhūticandra on the three vows and Go-rams-pa's refutation
4.1. (summary) and 6 (text and translation)	sections 14-17 (quotations)	-	Vibhūticandra's refutation of the Sa-skya-pas
ditto	sections 18-24	fols. 75v-77v	-"- and Go-rams-pa's counter refutation
4.2. (summary) and 6 (text and transl.) 4.3. (summary) and 6 (text and transl.) 4.4. (summary) and 6 (text and transl.)	sections 25-30 sections 31-33 sections 34, 36-37	fols. 63v-65v fol. 65v fol. 65v-66r	Vibhūticandra's own theory and his refutations of other theories; Go-rams-pa's refutation; Vibhūticandra's summary

5.1. (summary) 5.2.1. (summary) 5.2.2. (summary) (text and translation of these in 7)		fols. 70v-72r fols. 72r-73v fols. 73v-77v	Go-rams-pa own tradition (*rang lugs*): quotation transformation of the vow's same nature; this part also contains:
		fols. 77v-80r	Go-rams-pa on the loss of vows
8.	remaining sections not discussed in *General Topics*: 1, 4, 6-8, 13, 35, 38-46		

2.6. Preliminary Sketch of Some Historical Key Relationships

In the following diagrams I would like to sketch in a preliminary way some of the historical key relationships that I have found indicated within the main works investigated in the following chapters. Possible predecessors of the authors are shown above the author, the doctrines criticized by him to the right.



Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216)
|
Sa-paṇ (1182-1251)
|
Go-rams-pa (1429-1489)

- On specific points, he refers to 'Bri-gung-pa doctrines, though not by name (for instance on whether monk vows survive death).
- "bKa'-gdams-pas"
- Abhayākaragupta (d. 1125)
- Vibhūticandra (12/13th century)
- dGa'-gdong-pa (a previous—i.e. early fifteenth century—Sa-skya-pa commentator on Sa-Paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*)

Vibhūticandra's Explanation of All Three Systems of Vows, with Go-rams-pa's Reply

Among the earliest works on the three systems of vows that were composed in Tibet was Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*, presumably first written in Sanskrit and then translated by the author himself into Tibetan probably at some time during the 1220s, a work that was destined to become one of the most controversial treatments of the matter.[80] Since the system of vows of the Sa-skya-pas was among those that were criticized by Vibhūticandra, it is not surprising that one of the most competent scholars of that tradition, an outstanding master of both philosophical and Tantric studies, Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge, undertook the task not only to refute the criticism, but also to launch a severe counter attack against what Vibhūticandra accepts as his own tradition of how to practice the three vows together.[81]

In this and the following four chapters, I would like to present a summary and discussion of Vibhūticandra's treatment of the three vows in his *Garland of Rays* and of its refutation in Go-rams-pa's *General Topics*. The present chapter focuses on the first thirteen sections of the *Garland of Rays* in which Vibhūticandra explains individually each of the three vows through seven aspects: their support, purpose, ritual, duration, nature, persistence/maintaining, and loss.[82]

The first part of the *Garland of Rays* contains three passages that are remarkably parallel in their construction, namely sections one to four, five to nine, and ten to thirteen. This parallelism is remarkable, because such a construction is more typical for a Tibetan composition and is not found to the same extent in Indian compositions. If one would find the same kind of systematic organization throughout the whole work, Tāranātha would indeed have had a good point when he observed that the *Garland of Rays* shows "clear signs of being a Tibetan composition." This is, however, not the case, and in weighing the arguments (presented in chapter 2.2., p. 23 ff.), I tend more to believe that Vibhūticandra might have modelled his presentation of the vows in these sections 2-13 after a Tibetan composition, or he

---

[80] Cf. my remarks in chapter 2, section 1.

[81] On the life and works of Go-rams-pa, see chapter 2, sections three through five.

[82] I have divided Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* into forty-six sections according to the subjects discussed in them. The sections contain, in general, between three and six or seven lines (section forty-one contains eighteen lines as an exception).

might have even copied them, or parts of them, from somewhere else, much as he had copied the greater part of section 41 from a Tantric work of Vilāsavajra.[83]

The structure of sections 2-13 can be shown by the following chart:

Theme	prātimokṣa vows	bodhisattva vows	Mantra vows
beings who are the support of the vows	section 2, line 1	5, l. 1	10, l. 1
purpose of the vows	2, l. 2	5, l. 2	10, l. 2
ritual for obtaining the vows	2, l. 3	5, l. 3	10, l. 3
duration for which the vows are obtained	2, l. 4	5, l. 4	10, l. 4
nature of the vows	2, ll. 5-7	6, ll. 1-4 (relative *bodhicitta*) 7, ll. 1-4 (absolute *bodhi-citta*)	11, ll. 1-3
how the vows persist / how they are maintained	3, ll. 1-4	8, ll. 1-4	12. ll. 1-5
loss of vows	4, ll. 1-6	9, ll. 1-4	13, ll. 1-4

***Garland of Rays* 2.** The beings who are the support of the prātimokṣa vows are "men and women of the three continents." They take them for the purpose of liberating themselves from saṃsāra, through the correct ritual of a preceptor (*upādhyāya*) and a master (*ācārya*) for as long as they live. The nature of the prātimokṣa is "restraint of primarily body and speech with regard to harm together with the [mental] basis [for harming others]." Vibhūticandra identifies this tradition of prātimokṣa as in general that of the Vaibhāṣikas.

---

[83] Vilāsavajra, *Dam tshig gsal bkra*, *P* vol. 83, no. 4744. See for this section chapter 8, pp. 165ff. Vilāsavajra, Tib. sGeg-pa'i-rdo-rje, is often erroneously rendered "Līlavajra." The form "Vilāsavajra" is given in the colophon to his *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya Pāramārthā Nāmasaṃgīti*. See Ronald M. Davidson (1981: 6, ftn. 18).

The expression "by men and women of the three continents" refers to the four continents of Mount Meru, excluding the Northern continent of "Harsh Sounds" (*sgra mi snyan*; Skt. *[Uttara]-kuru*), where morality is impossible. The standard scriptural reference on this point is the first part of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa[bhāṣya]*, ch. IV, v. 43:

> Human beings, with the exception of eunuchs,
> hermaphrodites, and [the beings in] Kuru (...).[84]

This is, as is also stated in line seven of *Garland of Rays* 2, and as observed by Go-rams-pa (*General Topics*, p. 218, fols. 38v f.), held by the Vaibhāṣikas. There exists, however, a controversial discussion on whether the restriction "men and women" (i.e. human beings) is meant for each and every aspect of the prātimokṣa discipline. Go-rams-pa, too, remarks (*ibid.*) that the Sautrāntikas hold that the vow of approximation (*upavāsa*)[85] can arise in animals, too, because they take such stories as that of the serpent demon (*nāga*) gZhon-nu-tsam-pa[86] from the *'Dul ba lung*[87] and that of the hare from the *Stories of Former Births* (Skt. *Jātakas*) literally.[88]

Shākya-mchog-ldan (*Golden Key*, fol. 15r), too, refers to "such stories as of the hare, the otter, etc., in the *Stories of Former Births*," but according to him the story

---

[84] Pradhan (1967: 226): *nṛṇām asaṃvaro hitvā śaṇḍhapaṇḍadvidhākṛtīn// kurūṃś ca saṃvaro 'py evaṃ devānām ca nṛṇāṃ trayaḥ*. In Tibetan (*P* vol. 115, 204-4-4): *za ma ma ning sgra mi snyan// mtshan gnyis ma gtogs mi rnams la// sdom min sdom pa'am de bzhin du// lha la'ang mi rnams la gsum mo.*

[85] *Upavāsa* is often translated as "one-day fast." It is a practice of householders that belongs to the prātimokṣa and consists of abstaining from the "four roots" (killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, telling lies), from alcohol, fancy outfits and ornaments, high and vast beds, and the afternoon-meal—therefore *upavāsa* is perhaps more appropriately translated as "approximation," in the sense of imitating the behaviour of ordained persons for the period of one day. In fact already the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* speaks of *arahataṃ anukaromi* ("imitating the arhat," IV, 249, I, 211) and (among other abstinences) of *virato vikālabhojanā* ("desisting from afternoon-meal," IV, 250).

[86] This story is perhaps connected with the story of Nāgakumāra, see Panglung (1981: 8-10).

[87] What Tibetan scholars often describe collectively as the *'Dul ba lung* is the vast body of literature of the *Vinayavastu* (*P* vols. 41-42), the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (vols. 42-43), the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* (vol. 44), and the *Vinayottaragrantha* (vol. 45). As far as I know, no Sanskrit equivalent for *'Dul ba lung* exists. The Tibetan term seems to express a sense of "canonicity" of the works listed above. Cf. *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, "*'dul ba lung sde bzhi.*"

[88] See also Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 132, fol. 26v. For the story of the Hare from the *Śaśajātaka*, see Ludwig Alsdorf (1974): "Kleine Schriften," (Glasenapp-Stiftung Bd. 10), A. Wezler (ed.), Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, pp. 347-363.

of the serpent demon appears in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish.*[89] Additionally he refers to the well-known contemporary of the Buddha, the patron Anāthapiṇḍada,[90] who is said to have conferred the vow of approximation upon others based on the basic scripture of the Sautrāntikas. Unfortunately I could not identify these stories. In general, however, a serpent demon is not admitted to the saṃgha,[91] but the story to which the Sautrāntikas refer seems to relate to a situation where one or more serpent demons were admitted to a vow of approximation ritual.[92]

Another problem is whether the Vaibhāṣika's position that is expressed in the above-cited passage of the *Abhidharmakośa* is also valid for the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa. Vibhūticandra remains silent on this point, but Go-rams-pa observes (*General Topics*, fol. 39r) that the Vaibhāṣika position only holds for the ritual held in common (*cho ga thun mong*) with the auditors, while the case is different for the uncommon ritual of the Mahāyānists (*thun mong ma yin pa'i theg chen gyi cho ga*). When based on the latter, the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa may arise in other than human beings, too, since it arises on the basis of the production of the resolve of the Mahāyānists.

Go-rams-pa also draws some further distinctions (*Detailed Exposition* fol. 27v). He subdivides the uncommon ritual (of the Mahāyānists) into those rituals that have died out and those that have not (*cho ga nub pa dang cho ga ma nub pa*).[93] The still-existent ritual (*cho ga ma nub pa*),[94] that is explained in the *Realization of Amoghapāśa*[95] and resembles the refuge that precedes the production of resolve of

---

[89] *Damamūkonāmasūtra* (*'Dzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo*), *P* vol. 40, no. 1008. A work that has been translated in the ninth century from the Chinese version, the *Hsien-yü-ching* of the fifth century.

[90] Khyim-bdag mGon-med-zas-sbyin, see Panglung (1981: 78 and *passim*).

[91] See Panglung (1981: 8), the story of Nāgakumāra.

[92] The problem is also referred to in Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 20: *mdo sde pa rnams dud 'gro sogs// 'gro ba gzhan la'ang skye bar bshad.* The canonical basis for that story is *Vinaya* I 87: a serpent demon is ordained in human form, but at the end he has to leave and he receives the advice "observe [the vow of] approximation!" (*uposathaṃ upavasa*); see also Frauwallner (1956: 77).

[93] Two examples of the former are the *Cho 'phrul bstan pa'i mdo* (*Āryabuddhabalādhānaprātihāryavikurvāṇanirdeśanāmamahāyānasūtra*), *P* vol. 34, no. 853, and Asaṅga, *Yogācārābhūmiviniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*. This part of Go-rams-pa's commentary alludes to Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 30.

[94] Referring to Sa-paṇ., *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 31.

[95] For the *amoghapāśa* rituals of Śākyaśrībhadra, see *P* vol. 79, nos. 3682-85. These are rituals found in the tantra-commentary section of the canon, consisting of an evocation (*Saṃkṣiptāmoghapāśasādhana*, no. 3682), an offering ritual (*Amoghapāśabalividhi*, no. 3682), an

(continued...)

the Mādhyamikas, is, on the other hand, a prātimokṣa ritual, because it is a refuge vow. But it is also compatible with the uncommon Mahāyāna ritual because the vow is taken until awakening is obtained. Thus it is not a ritual independent from the ritual of the auditors, and it is actually not an uncommon ritual proper, but it is compatible with it because of the duration of its vow. Both kinds of these uncommon rituals (or rituals compatible with the uncommon ones), i.e. those that are no longer in use and those that still are, are summarized as "present-day rituals" (*da ltar gyi cho ga*). It may seem odd to call a died-out ritual a "present-day ritual," and the only explanation that I can think of is that the ones that have died out are probably subsumed under "present-day rituals" because they belong to the teaching period of Śākyamuni Buddha.[96] In contradistinction to those, there also existed rituals of ancient times (*sngon gyi cho ga*)[97] that were performed by the great saints of the past and probably independent from the Buddha Śākyamuni's teaching, such as the one that is mentioned in the sūtra that was requested by the householder Drag-shul-can,[98] where Maitreya and Mañjuśrī confer vows to a multitude of beings. Such sūtras furthermore do not explain how the actual ritual was performed. Thus they belong to the sphere of saints and are not suitable for common beings.[99] Go-rams-pa sums it up by saying that "at present, except for the vow of approximation, there does not exist [any more] a ritual for taking the prātimokṣa that belongs to the system of the bodhisattvas" (*Detailed Exposition* 28r). In other words, the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa is only obtained through the common ritual, i.e. the ritual of the auditors that is then endowed with the production of resolve through which the prātimokṣa vows turn into the Mahāyāna vows.

That the prātimokṣa vows are abandoned at death is without dispute between Vibhūticandra and the Sa-skya-pas. The standard reference is as before *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. IV, v. 38), stating that "the Vinaya prātimokṣa is abandoned

---

[95](...continued)
approximation-vow ritual (*Poṣadhakaraṇīya*, no. 3684), as well as an instruction on the former (*Amoghapāśapoṣadhavidhyāmnāya*, no. 3685).

[96] Here the term "present-day ritual" is explained in the context of the "uncommon [Mahāyāna] rituals" (*thun mong ma yin pa'i cho ga*). In the context of the Vinaya proper, the term refers to the actual ritual for conferring the vows through the master and preceptor, while "ritual of ancient times" (*sngon gyi cho ga*) appears to refer to the way the Buddha himself conferred vows, which is actually not considered to be a "ritual" in the proper sense. See mTsho-sna-pa, *'Dul ṭīk*, pp. 57 ff.

[97] Referring to Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I. v. 31.

[98] *Āryagṛhapatyugraparipṛcchānāmamahāyānasūtra*, *P* vol 23, no. 760.

[99] See Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 33.

(...) because of abandoning the training, at the time of death (...)."[100] Go-rams-pa refers to this verse in his *Detailed Exposition* (fol. 24v), commenting upon Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (ch. I, v. 5b-e), where the verse is quoted in full. Some lines before Sa-paṇ had made the remark: "[The prātimokṣa vow] persists as long as one lives, at the time of death the vow is abandoned."[101]

One of the reasons for Sa-paṇ's statement that the prātimokṣa is lost at death was the teaching of the somewhat earlier master 'Bri-gung-pa sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon (1143-1217), who maintained, according to his main disciple sPyan-snga Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (1187-1241), in one of the better-known vajra utterance's of his *Same Intention* (ch. III, no. 8), that the prātimokṣa is not abandoned at death.[102] This particular topic of the *Same Intention* is closely connected to at least three other topics, i.e. that the nature of the vows is non-information (*avijñaptirūpa*),[103] that conception (*saṃjñā*) is most important with regard to transgressions,[104] and that the three non-virtues of the mind (from among the ten non-virtues) are the main things to be abandoned.[105] It is again noteworthy with regard to Tāranātha's claim that the *Garland of Rays* might have been forged by the 'Bri-gung-pas that the *Garland of Rays*, too, concerning the duration of the prātimokṣa and through its statement that the vows are "restraint of primarily body and speech" does not accord with this particular 'Bri-gung-pa teaching (cf. chapter 2.2., p. 23).

That the practitioner of prātimokṣa vows abandons "harm together with [the mental] basis [for harming others]" has become the standard formulation in probably all

---

[100] *P* vol. 115, *gu*, 218-3-4: *bslab pa phul dang shi 'phos dang // ... so sor thar pa'i 'dul ba gtong.*

[101] Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 2cd: *ji srid 'tsho yi bar du yin// shi ba'i tshe na sdom pa gtong .*

[102] For the *Same Intention*, see chapter 14, section 3.

[103] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, ch. III, no. 5: *sdom pa'i ngo bo rnam par rig byed ma yin pa'i gzugs su bzhed.* On the nature of the vows with regard to *vijñapti* and *avijñaptirūpa*, see my remarks below, pp. 41 ff. on "non-information" (*avijñaptirūpa*) see Schmithausen (1986) n. 137.

[104] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, ch. III, no. 6: *ltung ba mtha' dag la ... 'du shes gtso bar 'gyur bar bzhed.*

[105] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, ch. III, no. 7: *yid kyi rnam pa gsum gtso bor spong dgos par bzhed.* These points are especially opposed in Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, vv. 1-4. Furthermore, the discussion has been picked up in a controversial manner by Shākya-mchog-ldan, too. For this, see his *Golden Key*, fols. 2r-10v, questions I, 1-3. For Go-rams-pa's comments on these, see his *Treatise of the Three Vows [Containing] Replies to Questions* (see p. 29), fol. 3r-4r.

Tibetan traditions,[106] and it appears to reflect a formulation of the *Awakening of Vairocana.*[107]

Vibhūticandra himself has identified the tradition of his teaching of the prātimokṣa vows as being that of the "Śrāvaka-Vaibhāṣikas." In this connection, Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899) has made some interesting summarizing remarks in his great "encyclopedia," the *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* (vol. II, pp. 36 f.), with regard to the positions of the different philosophical schools of Buddhism. He sketches the Vaibhāṣika position on the prātimokṣa vows in the following way:

> The Vaibhāṣikas [hold] the nature of the [prātimokṣa] vows to be material, [depending on the particular moment of their existence] consisting in both information (Skt. *vijñaptirūpa*) and non-information (Skt. *avijñaptirūpa*).[108] [The vows] are connected [to] the person by means of the rope consisting in 'possession' (*prāpti*).[109]

A little further down he explains in more detail:

> Based on a information of others, such as of the master and the preceptor, the first moment of the correctly obtained morality of the prātimokṣa vow arises as [having] the nature of both, i.e. information and non-information. From the second moment onwards [the vow] is possessed within the mental stream of consciousness as [having] the nature of non-information as long as no cause of losing the vow occurs. And the seven material [bodily and vocal] courses of deeds such as abandoning killing [that are] a section of this vow, too, exist by that reason in the first moment as both [information and non-information], and from the second [moment] onwards as non-information; therefore, intending that first moment [of the obtainment of the vows, the Vaibhāṣikas] say: "[The vows] are both [information and non-

---

[106] Cf. for example Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 234, fol. 70v, p. 236, fol. 73v; Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension,"* fol. 301r; sGam-po-pa, *Works* A 3; Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to rGya-ston 2.*

[107] For the *Awakening of Vairocana* tantra, see ftn. 508.

[108] "Information" (*vijñaptirūpa*) is with regard to the vows for example the oral transmission of the vows from master to disciple and the disciple's accepting of the vows. "Non-information" (*avijñaptirūpa*) is the immediate consequence of the manifest action that conditions the eventual effect of that action. Cf. Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa [and Bhāṣya]*, ch. IV, vv. 2 ff. See also Schmithausen (1986) n. 137.

[109] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 36: *bye smras sdom pa'i ngo bo rnam par rig byed dang rig byed ma yin pa gang rung gis bsdus pa'i gzugs can/ gang zag dang thob pa thag pa lta bus sbrel ba/* [read *'brel ba*]. See p. 49 (*Garland of Rays* 3).

information]."[110]

Kong-sprul also explains other systems (pp. 36-37):

[The system of the Sautrāntikas]: The arising of a later mental stream of consciousness from an earlier one, such as the thought "I am a householder (*upāsaka*)," and "I am a novice monk (*śramaṇera*)," [etc.], that arises anew through the activity of the respective three words[111] that precede the [formal] ritual, is a complete transformation. They accept just that as the nature of the vows.[112]

[The system of the Yogācāras]: Since the *Vijñaptivādins (*rnam rig smra ba*) maintain the basic consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), they accept bodily activities, too, such as vows, to be the continuation of mind. If, however, they say that the nature of the vow is purely the resolutiuon [to abandon non-virtue], the continuation [of the vow] would be interrupted at occasions such as distraction and unconsciousness.[113] And if they say that [the nature of the vows is that they are] merely propensities, [the vows] would not be lost even when the cause of loss occurs.[114] Therefore they assert that [the vows] are both the continuum of the resolution to abandon [non-virtue] and the seeds that are its traces deposited in the basic consciousness.[115]

---

110 Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 36: *yang dag par blangs pa'i tshul khrims so thar gyi sdom pa skad cig dang po de/ mkhan slob sogs gzhan gyi rnam par rig byed la brten nas/ rnam pa rig byed dang rig byed ma yin pa gnyis ka'i ngo bor skye/ skad cig gnyis pa phyin nas sdom pa gtong ba'i rgyu ma byung gi bar du rnam pa rig byed ma yin pa'i ngo bor rgyud la ldan pa yin la sdom pa de'i nang gses srog gcod spong ba sogs las lam gzugs can bdun yang de'i rigs pas skad cig dang por gnyis ka dang / gnyis pa phyin chad rig min gyi gzugs su yod pa'i phyir skad cig dang po der dgongs nas gnyis ka yod do zhes pa'o.* Cf. also Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. IV, vv. 13, 16.

111 In Tibetan: *dge bsnyen yin no* and *dge tshul yin no.*

112 Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 36: *tshig gsum so so'i las cho ga sngon du 'gro ba'i sgo nas/ sems phyir zhing 'byung bar dge bsnyen yin no/ dge tshul yin no snyam pa lta bu'i sems kyi rgyud snga ma las phyi ma skye ba ni yongs su 'gyur ba ste de tsam sdom pa'i ngo bor 'dod.*

113 On the problem of a connecting link between the last moment of mind before and the first one after unconscious states, see Schmithausen (1987: 4, 245, n. 16).

114 On propensities not getting lost, see pp. 81 f. for my reference to Vasubandhu's verse in my remarks on Go-rams-pa's refutation of *Garland of Rays* 25 and 26.

115 Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 36 f.: *rnam rig smra bas kun gzhi 'dod pa'i phyir sdom pa sogs lus kyi las kyang sems kyi rgyun du khas blangs te sdom pa'i ngo bo sems pa kho na la byas na g.yeng ba dang sems med pa'i skabs sogs su rgyun chad par 'gyur zhing / bag chags tsam la byas na gtong rgyu byung ba'i tshe na'ang*

(continued...)

[The system of the Mādhyamikas who proclaim] "own-emptiness:" Because they do not accept a basic consciousness, they assert [the vows] accompanied by the resolution to abandon.[116]
Candrakīrti maintained[117] in his *[Madhya?]pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*[118] [the nature of the vow] as the matter that consists in non-information and the Lord 'Bri-gung-pa and sTag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba [Shes-rab-rin-chen] (1405-?), too, have taught them emphatically in this way.[119]

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (*General Topics* 62v). Go-rams-pa discusses two points in his refutation, namely the "motive for taking up the prātimokṣa [vows]" and Vibhūticandra's statement that the vows are obtained "through the correct ritual of a preceptor (*upadhyāya*) [and] a master (*ācārya*)." With regard to "the motive for taking up the prātimokṣa," Go-rams-pa argues that "it is also not necessary that thinking about one's benefit be an element of the motive for taking up the prātimokṣa [vows], because in general if one is endowed with a motive of renunciation [i.e. the intention to attain freedom], that will be prātimokṣa, and with that renunciation there are three kinds of production of the resolve to attain awakening (*bodhicitta*) [according to the three different goals aimed at]."[120] Referring to Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (ch. III, v. 145) Go-rams-pa says in another work (*Detailed Exposition*, p. 169, fol. 101v): "If one is not endowed with the resolution to renounce saṃsāra, even though one takes the vows of ordination, it will not become prātimokṣa, as in the biographies of Ānanda's two nephews and of gCung-mdzes-pa'i-dga'-bo (Sundarānanda)."[121]

The view that prātimokṣa vows are obtained through renunciation is also expressed in the *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. IV, v. 15):

---

[115](...continued)
mi gtong bar 'gyur bas spong ba'i sems pa'i rgyud dang / bag chags kyi sa bon kun gzhi la bzhag pa dang bcas pa la 'dod do.

[116] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 37: *rang stong pas kun gzhi khas mi len pas spong ba'i sems pa de dang mtshungs ldan dang bcas pa la 'dod pa yin no.*

[117] Here Kong-sprul uses the honorific form *mdzad*, indicating that he follows this position rather than the ones listed before.

[118] *P* vol. 99, no. 5267.

[119] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 37: *zla grags kyis dbu ma phung po lnga par rnam par rig min gyi gzugs su mdzad la/ rje 'bri gung pa stag tshang lo tsā rnams kyis kyang de ltar rtsal du bton nas bshad do.*

[120] For the Tibetan text, see p. 98.

[121] For "Ānanda's nephews," see Panglung (1981: 7). Sundarānanda took the vows to please the Buddha, but thought constantly of his wife; see Tucci (1949: 454).

Through undertaking the abandoning of the five things,
the eight things, the ten things, all of the things to be abandoned,
[one obtains the qualities of respectively] a householder (*upāsaka*), the vow of approximation (*upavāsastha*),
a novice monk (*śramaṇera*), and a full monk (*bhikṣu*).[122]

In short, Go-rams-pa says that "renunciation" is the proper volitional impulse of prātimokṣa, but not "thinking about one's benefit" (*rang don yid byed*). In this regard I would like to make two observations. The first is that Vibhūticandra, like other masters, too, mentions a purpose of the prātimokṣa vows. Note for example Atiśa's *Sarvasamayasamgraha*:

> Furthermore the first vow [i.e. the prātimokṣa vow] is for the sake of oneself alone, the middle vow [i.e. the bodhisattva vow] is for the sake of others alone, and the last vow [i.e. the Mantra vow] is for the sake of both.[123]

Or Karma-nges-legs, who mentions in his *Good Vase* (fol. 2r) that the Hīnayāna has the small burden of only one's own purpose (*rang don kho na'i khur chung ngu*), while the Mahāyāna has the great burden of both one's own benefit and that for all others (*rang gzhan gnyis ka'i don gyi khur chen po*).

Let me also point out that in the parallel passages of the bodhisattva vow section (*Garland of Rays* 5b) and of the Mantra vow section (*Garland of Rays* 10b), too, Vibhūticandra states the purpose of the respective vows, using the Tibetan terms *don du* (*Garland of Rays* 2b), *phyir* (5b) and *don* (10b). Such statements of a purpose of the respective vows are also well attested in other works, such as the two works quoted above. Go-rams-pa also does *not* object against the purposes stated for the bodhisattva and Mantra vows.

My second observation is that Go-rams-pa reformulates Vibhūticandra's line. In restating Vibhūticandra, he says "the thinking about one's benefit as a part of the motive [for taking up the prātimokṣa vows]," where Vibhūticandra says "in order to liberate themselves from saṃsāra" (*rang nyid 'khor ba bsgral don du*). In other words, the statement of a purpose appears now as a statement that forms a part of a motive.

---

[122] In Tibetan (*P* vol. 115, 197-5-1): *spang bya lnga brgyad [b]cu dang ni// thams cad spong ba mnos pa las// dge bsnyen dang ni bsnyen gnas dang // dge tshul ched dang dge slong nyid.* And in Sanskrit Pradhan (1967: 206): *pañcāṣṭadaśasarvebhyo varjyebhyo viratigrahāt/ upāsakopavāsasthaśramaṇoddeśabhikṣutā.*

[123] Atiśa, *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha*, *P* vol. 81, no. 4547, 211-5-6: *yang dang po'i sdom pa ni bdag 'ba' zhig gi don no/ bar ma'i sdom pa ni gzhan 'ba' zhig gi don no/ phyi ma'i sdom pa ni gnyi ga'i don no.*

Go-rams-pa, based on *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. IV, v. 15) and the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (ch. III, v. 145), makes a correct statement when he says that, in general, "if one is endowed with the motive of renunciation, that will be prātimokṣa," and that "it is not necessary that thinking about one's benefit be an element of [that] motive." And Vibhūticandra, too, correctly states the purpose of the "[set of] vows of the Śrāvaka-Vaibhāṣikas," namely "to liberate themselves from saṃsāra"—at least in the light of the above statements of Atiśa and Karma-nges-legs. Go-rams-pa, however, appears to find some fault in line 2b of the *Garland of Rays*, namely that it states an incorrect or unnecessary element of the motive for taking up prātimokṣa. And it furthermore appears to me that in restating Vibhūticandra, he slightly changed the intended meaning of that particular line in such a way that it became more vulnerable to his criticism. This and other restatements further down distort the sense, in my opinion, not enough to denounce them as out-and-out polemical, but they certainly do suit Go-rams-pa when he tries to make a point.

In this connection Go-rams-pa also refers to "three kinds of production of the resolve to attain awakening [according to the three different spiritual goals aimed at]" that are connected with the renunciation that he had identified as the proper motive of prātimokṣa. These are the three types of resolve for awakening that might go together with that renunciation, i.e. the resolve of auditors, solitary Buddhas, and perfectly awakened Buddhas.[124]

Generally speaking, Go-rams-pa distinguishes the production of the resolve for awakening of the auditors from that of the Mahāyāna (*Detailed Exposition* p. 152, fols. 67r f.). Of these the production of the resolve of the auditors is furthermore divided into three productions of the resolve by means of the kind of awakening aimed at (*thob bya byang chub kyi sgo nas rnam pa gsum yod*, fol. 67v). Thus there are the productions of the resolve for the auditor-arhat, for the solitary Buddha, and for the perfectly awakened Buddha, but nowadays there is very little observance of these rituals, since the present period is the so-called "period of time of the scriptures(?)" (*lung gi dus*). This seems to be the last one of three periods of the auditors doctrine, the period of its decline.[125]

---

[124] See Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. II, v. 1: *nyan thos rnams la sems bskyed gsum// dgra bcom rang rgyal sangs rgyas so.* See also, for example, E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, *Divyāvadāna* 209.16: *kaiścic chrāvakabodhau cittam utpāditaṃ kaiścit pratyekāyāṃ bodhau cittam utpāditaṃ kaiścid anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittam utpāditaṃ.*

[125] Perhaps it is the "period of time of the scriptures" in that sense, that only the texts survive, but no real practice. The other two periods are the "period of the fruit" (*'bras bu'i dus*) and the "period of achieving" (*sgrub pa'i dus*). The *lung gi dus* is sometimes followed

(continued...)

Go-rams-pa then continues (fol. 67v): "With regard to the production of the resolve of the Mahāyānists there are two, i.e. the Madhyamaka-system and the Cittamātra-system. Only these two constitute the production of the resolve for the highest awakening. The ways of the production of the resolve for the three awakenings [mentioned above] are not [so]."

With regard to the production of the different kinds of resolve for awakening that go together with what Go-rams-pa identifies as the proper motive of the prātimokṣa, i.e. renunciation, he also points out that "according to the Vaibhāṣika's own scriptures, too, there exists the taking up of prātimokṣa by means of the production of a resolve for supreme awakening, for as the *Three Hundred Verses* (*gsum brgya pa*) teaches:

> One is promoted (*dbang bskur*) to the glory of perfect awakening (*rdzogs pa'i byang chub*)."

The work cited here is a commentary from the Vinaya section of the *Tanjur*, the *Triśatakārikāvyākhyāna* by Vinītadeva.[126] The same passage is also quoted by Go-rams-pa in his *Detailed Exposition* (p. 163, fol. 89v), where he comments on the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. III, v. 11, a verse dealing thematically with the question whether certain rituals are properly termed "initiation" (*dbang bskur*). There the intention was to show that the term *dbang bskur* appears also in Vinaya scriptures, though with a different meaning.[127]

The subject of the second point of Go-rams-pa's refutation of *Garland of Rays* 2 is Vibhūticandra's statement that the vows are obtained "through the correct ritual of a preceptor [and] a master." In contradistinction to that, Go-rams-pa remarks that the taking up of prātimokṣa also includes such methods as self-arising ordination,

---

[125](...continued)
by a *rtaks kyi dus* (period of time of mere tokens), when only outer signs (like robes, etc.) are left of the Buddha's teachings. To identify the source for these and for the specific calculation that is connected with them seems to be a hopeless case, since there are more than a dozen rivalling systems. See for example Obermiller (1931: 103 f.), and Lamotte (1988: 192-198).

[126] Vinītadeva, *Tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa*, *P* vol. 127, no. 5628 (commentary on the *Vinayavibhaṅga of the Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvastivādins, cf. Yuyama, 1979: 19 ff.). Text according to *Derge* (no. 4126, fol. 165v): *rdzogs pa'i byang chub ni yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub ste/ de nyid dpal yin la de mnod pa ste/ thob pa'i phyir dbang bskur ba dang/ dbang gtod par byed ces bya ba'i bar du'o.* The "*Three Hundred Verses*" here have of course nothing to do with the "*Three-Hundred Verse Tantra*" that will be mention several times later on.

[127] Go-rams-pa, quoting the *Three-Hundred Verses*, reads *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* in his *Detailed Exposition,* whereas he reads *rdzogs pa'i byang chub* in the *General Topics*.

ordination by gnosis (*jñāna*) realization, and [conferring] ordination by uttering the words "come hither!"[128] This probably refers to a passage of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*,[129] where the Vinaya-Vibhāṣikas (*sic!*) are quoted to the effect that there exist ten types of ordination (*bye brag tu smra ba 'dul ba pa rnams na re rnam pa bcus bsnyen par rdzogs so zhes zer ba*).

It is interesting to note that Go-rams-pa himself presents a list of the various types of ordinations in his *Detailed Exposition* (p. 164, fol. 90r). The list, however, contains only nine types of ordination and stems from a source simply called "*lung*" (perhaps the *'Dul ba lung*?).[130] It differs in some minor respects from the list presented by La Vallée Poussin in his translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* from Chinese[131] and from that of the Tibetan canonical version. As Go-rams-pa lists them:

1) Self-ordination: *sangs rgyas dang rang sangs rgyas rang byung gyis bsnyen par rdzogs* (i.e. as practiced by the Buddha himself and by solitary Buddhas);

2) By gnosis (*jñāna*) realization: *lnga sde bzang po ye shes khong du chud pa* (i.e. as in the case of the five ascetics who heard the first sermon in Varaṇāsi);[132]

3) By a Message: *mchod sbyin ma phrin gyis* (i.e. as in the case of Dharmadinnā);

4) Accepting [Buddha] as Teacher: *'od srung chen po ston par khas blangs pa* (i.e. as in the case of Mahākāśyapa);

5) Being Summoned: *grags pa la sogs pa tshur shog* (i.e. as in the case of *Grags-pa*=Yaśas);[133]

6) Accepting Eight Heavy Rules: *skye dgu'i bdag mo lci ba'i chos brgyad khas blangs pa* (i.e. as in the case of Mahāprajāpatī);

7) Answering [a?] Question: *bram ze po ta ya na'i bus dris pa'i lan ldon pa* (i.e. as in the case of Po-ta-ya-na[?]);[134]

---

[128] Cf. the list below, nos. 1), 2) and 5). "Self-arising" ordination perhaps in the sense, that a Buddha like Śākyamuni or a solitary Buddha awakens by himself and thus automatically possesses the prātimokṣa vows.

[129] Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. IV, v. 26, *P* vol. 115, 199-3-3; Pradhan (1967: 212).

[130] For the *'Dul ba lung*, see ftn. 87. The most likely source here is the *Vinayavastu*.

[131] La Vallée Poussin (1980: ch. IV, v. 26, pp. 60 ff.).

[132] La Vallée Poussin (1980: 60, n. 3): through *duḥkhe dharmajñānakṣānti*; *P* has *nges par 'jug pas*; the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* specifies: *mthong lam skyes tshe ye shes khong chud kyis*.

[133] In La Vallée Poussin (1980: 60), and n. 4: Ajñāta; *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*: Śāriputra.

[134] In La Vallée Poussin (1980: 61): Sodāyin (also in the Skt. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*), (continued...)

8) Repeating Refuge Three Times: *bzang sde'i tshogs drug cu skyabs gsum khas blangs pa* (i.e. as in the case of the groups of the sixty Bhadravargas);

9) Motion before the assembly accompanied by three such questions: *gsol bzhi'i las* (Skt. *jñapticaturtham karma*), i.e. requesting ordination once and repeating that request three times.[135]

Apart from the fact that similar lists from Go-rams-pa's *Detailed Exposition* and the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* differ in their order from both the *Abhidharmakośa* versions, all sources except the *Detailed Exposition* have as no. 9 "by ten full monks (*bhikṣu*)," as in the case of the people in Madhyadeśa. A tenth point is completely missing in Go-rams-pa's list.[136]

Sa-paṇ in his *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (ch. II, v. 18) also refers to some of these types of ordination, namely nos. 2-5. Both Sa-paṇ and Go-rams-pa accept these types of ordinations as ancient rituals, however, they are said to be no longer practicable today. The modern reader may find it strange that what Go-rams-pa is criticizing in Vibhūticandra's system as being left out are thus only some ancient rituals that are admittedly no longer practiced. But all scholastics strive for theoretical completeness in basic doctrinal formulations, definitions, etc., and this is what Go-rams-pa seems to be doing here.

Go-rams-pa (*General Topics*, p. 217, fol. 37r) has furthermore himself made some observations with regard to the "object [i.e. the person] from whom prātimokṣa vows are received" (*so thar blang ba'i yul*). According to the Vaibhāṣikas the eight prātimokṣa vows (i.e. including the vow of approximation) have to be received from fully ordained monks (Skt. *bhikṣu*).[137] The Sautrāntikas, on the other hand, hold that the vows from the approximation vow (*upavāsa*) up to those of the householders (*upāsaka*) may be taken "from anyone who is able," i.e. including not fully ordained

---

[134](...continued)
P and *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*: *legs (s)byin*.

[135] This is the common ordination, cf. *Śrāvakabhūmi* 42,1 f.; in Tibetan: *P* 110, no. 5537, p. 44-3-4.

[136] Detailed information on probably all ten types of ordination is contained in Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal, *Encyclopedia Tibetica*. Section 15-19 of vol. 21 [pp. 435-661] are devoted to that subject alone. Section 15 deals with the types 1, 2 and 5, section 16 with type 4, section 17 with types 6 and 7, and section 18 with type 3. The last section probably deals with types 8-10. These sections of the *Encyclopedia* were composed by Bo-dong-pa 'Jigs-med-grags-pa himself.

[137] See also Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fol. 26r, and Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase*, fol. 6v.

persons.[138] In the case of the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa there are two rituals. In the case of the first one, the common ritual (*cho ga thun mong ba*), the matter is the same as explained before, i.e. there are the two views of the Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas. In the case of the uncommon Mahāyāna prātimokṣa (*thun mong ma yin pa'i theg chen so thar*) there exist passages in the scriptures according to which the full monk vows were transferred by non-ordained persons such as Maitreya and Mañjuśrī,[139] or according to which some vows were taken up by oneself,[140] excluding, however, the full monk vows, because it is not suitable to accept them "from everyone." This matter, says Go-rams-pa, has been explained by Asaṅga. The uncommon ritual, however, either belongs exclusively to the sphere of the saints (*āryas*), or it has been lost.

***Garland of Rays* 3.** The topic of this section is how the prātimokṣa vows persist. Vibhūticandra continues to explain the prātimokṣa according to the Vaibhāṣikas, i.e. he presents the standard example of "the vow that is like a burden that remains on the person who is like an ox, being connected by the means of the rope of having obtained it."

This explanation is also found in the Tibetan commentaries on the Vinaya, for example in mTsho-sna-ba Shes-rab-bzang-po's *Vinayasūtra* commentary. mTsho-sna-ba explains his own tradition in the following way:[141]

> Here, according to the Vaibhāṣikas, the vow that is like a burden is bound to the person who is like an ox with the rope-like entity of the conditioned factor dissociated [from thought] (*viprayuktasaṃskāra*)[142] [of] possession (*prāpti*), and remains [there].

---

[138] Cf. Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 20: *blang ba'i yul yang dge bsnyen sogs// gang yang rung las blang bar gsungs//*; see also Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 132, fol. 26v, and Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase*, fol. 6v (*mchan*).

[139] Go-rams-pa refers to the *Āryamahāprātihāryanirdeśa*, *P* vol 24, no. 760,22.

[140] Go-rams-pa refers to the *Yogācārabhūmiviniścayasaṃgraha*, *P* vol. 110-111, no. 5539.

[141] mTso-sna-pa Shes-rab-bzang-po, *'Dul ba mdo rtsa'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho*, fol. 238v: *'dir (mchan: rang lugs) bye brag smra ba ltar na gang zag glang po lta bu la/ sdom pa khal lta bu de/ thob pa ldan min 'du byed kyi rdzas nan thag lta bus bsdams te gnas pa'o.*

[142] These forces serve as models of explanation for a number of things, such as transferance of merit, rebirth, or the obtaining of vows. The lists of fourteen or sixteen of such forces in the Abhidharma-literature appear to have no single integrating principle. Collet Cox says: "Often for different doctrinal reasons in the case of each force, a dissociated force is proposed and its existence is accepted in order to account for some experientially accepted or doctrinally necessary activity." See Collet Cox, *Disputed Dharmas*, p. 73.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (*General Topics* 63r). The central point of Go-rams-pa's reply appears to be this: If Vibhūticandra, with the Vaibhāṣikas,[143] accepts such an obtaining of the prātimokṣa vows as he does in *Garland of Rays* 3, namely that "the vow persists after being connected [to the person] by means of the rope of 'possession,'" he must also accept that the higher vows persist in the same way, i.e. "after being connected by possession." Since this "connecting" is understood in the context of the prātimokṣa vows as leading to a possession of the vow as something material, such a way of obtaining the higher vows is unacceptable for Go-rams-pa, since even though the Sa-skya-pas accept the prātimokṣa vows as material (*gzugs can*), they hold the bodhisattva vows to be non-material (*gzugs can min* or *gzugs min*).[144] It *is*, however, Vibhūticandra's position that all three vows exist as "three distinct entities of their own."[145] As is so often the case in such debates, Go-rams-pa criticizes Vibhūticandra's doctrine from the background of his own, i.e. the Sa-skya-pa's doctrine, and not within the framework of Vibhūticandra's own position.[146]

***Garland of Rays* 5.** Exactly parallel to the construction of *Garland of Rays* 2, Vibhūticandra explains that the beings who are the support of the bodhisattva vows are "anyone among gods and men," that the purpose of the vows is the protection of all beings without exception, that they are obtained through the correct ritual[147] of a master, and that their duration is until one arrives at the seat of awakening.

The seat of awakening (Tib. *byang chub snying po*, Skt. *bodhimaṇḍa)* is, according to Edgerton, the platform or terrace under the bodhi-tree on which the Buddha sat when he awakened. "Until [they arrive at] the seat of awakening" means that one takes the bodhisattva vows until oneself has become a Buddha. Other interpretations of that phrase are mentioned in Atiśa's(?) *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā*

---

[143] *Abhidharmakośa* II 36cd (62,18): *prāptyaprāptī svasantānapatitānām.*

[144] Cf. Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 4: "The vows of the auditors are not consciousness (*vijñāna*), they hold that they arise from body and speech. Since the vows are material, they are lost at the time of death." *nyan thos sdom pa rnam rig min// lus ngag las ni skye bar 'dod// sdom pa gzugs can yin pa'i phyir// shi ba'i tshe na sdom pa gtong.* And in the same work, I, 6: "Since the bodhisattva vows arise from mind, they are not material." *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni// sems las skyes phyir gzugs can min.*

[145] See pp. 212 ff. for *Garland of Rays* 23 and my subsequent discussion.

[146] Further interesting material is contained in Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 206, fols. 14v ff., or his answer to Shākya-mchog-ldan's first question in *Golden Key*, fols. 10v ff., i.e. *Dris shing rtsod pa'i lan*, fol. 3r.

[147] See p. 59 for some notes on "correct rituals" in my remarks on *Garland of Rays* 10.

on fol. 284r.[148] The two meanings "seat of great awakening in Bodhgaya," and "*akaniṣṭha*" (Tib. *'og min gyi gnas*) of the *Ghanavyūhasūtra* (*P* 778) are meanings requiring further interpretation (*drang ba'i don*, Skt. *neyārtha*): They are called "pith/essence/heart" (*snying po*, Skt. *maṇḍa*) because the Buddha obtained the final meditative concentration (*vajropamanāmasamādhi*)[149] there. With regard to the definitive meaning (*nges pa'i don*, Skt. *nīthārtha*) one does not say that these places where the final meditative concentration is achieved are "essence of awakening," because in the absolute truth (*don dam pa*, Skt. *pāramārtha*) the "essence of awakening" is the sphere (*dhātu*) of all phenomena (*chos thams cad kyi dbyings*).[150]

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 63r). Go-rams-pa refutes the idea that one needs to obtain the bodhisattva vows through the ritual of a master, because the taking of these vows in front of an image of the Buddha, etc., by oneself alone is taught in both the Madhyamaka system and the system taught by the followers of Cittamātra. Furthermore, he criticizes Vibhūticandra's statement that the bodhisattva vows are taken until awakening is obtained as an internal contradiction in Vibhūticandra's own treatise, though he himself holds this to be generally correct.

Go-rams-pa makes in both his *General Topics* and the *Detailed Exposition*[151] several remarks with regard to the ritual of the bodhisattva vows of the Mādhyamikas and of the followers of Cittamātra. He presents these under three headings, i.e. "ritual," "basis,"and "object." Regarding the ritual (*cho ga*) of the Mādhyamikas, he refers to Nāgārjuna's *Bodhicittotpādavidhi* (*P* vol. 103, no. 5361 and 5405), Jetāri's *Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi* (*P* vol. 103, no. 5363 and 5406), and Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*P* vol. 99, no. 5272). The Cittamātra system is to be known from rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Bodhisattva Vows*[152], a commentary on Candragomin's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃs'aka* (*P* vol. 114, no. 5582) that is based on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The differences between the Madhyamaka and Cittamātra system are to be known in detail from Sa-paṇ's *Great Ritual for Producing the Resolve According to the Madhyamaka System*,[153] and from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*

---

[148] Commenting on verse 8: *byang chub snying po'i mthar thug par// mi ldog pa yi sems (...)//* for which see fol. 274v.

[149] *Mahāvyutpatti* 560: *rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin.*

[150] See also Sherburne (1983: 34).

[151] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 212, fols. 26r-28r; Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition,* pp. 152 f., fols. 67v f.

[152] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Clearly Teaching the Bodhisattva Vows: A Detailed Exposition of the Twenty Verses* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa gsal bar ston pa shlo ka nyi shu pa'i rnam par bshad pa*).

commentary of his disciple lHo-pa Rin-chen-dpal.[154] Go-rams-pa says that those who do not differentiate between these two systems invent their own rituals in order to deceive the poorly educated and to please the ignorant.[155]

With regard to the "basis" (*rten*), Go-rams-pa remarks that according to the Mādhyamikas anyone who understands the sense or meaning may produce the vows.[156] According to those who hold the Cittamātra view, the vows can only be produced by persons who possess one of the seven classes of prātimokṣa vows. In this regard he also refers to Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* (*P* vol. 103, no. 5343).[157]

With regard to the "object" (*yul*), he remarks that both the Mādhyamikas and those who hold the Cittamātra view maintain that the vows may be obtained from a guru or in front of an image of the Buddha.[158] In general, other texts in which these matters are dealt with are the following. For the Madhyamaka system the standard source is Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*P* vol. 102, no. 5336), according to which the bodhisattva vows may also be obtained by meditating that the Buddhas and bodhisattvas are actually present.[159]

For the Cittamātra system the standard source is the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[160] But here the text only refers to a situation where the vows are retaken because something that leads to expulsion from the order (*pārājika*) has occurred.[161]

---

[153](...continued)

[153] Sa-paṇ, *dBu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga*, pp. 264-273.

[154] On lHo-pa see Jackson (1987: 117, n. 23 *passim*). This very rare work, which records the teachings of Sa-paṇ, survives in a Khams xylograph. A photocopy is in the possession of Prof. Jackson.

[155] Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*. p. 169, fol. 101v, commenting on Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. III, v. 146.

[156] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 218, fols. 39r f.; Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, pp. 153 f., fols. 69v ff. See also ftn. 253.

[157] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 219, fols. 39v f.; see also Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. II, v. 5; and Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 153, fols. 68v f.

[158] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 218, fols. 37v f.

[159] Śāntideva, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 186-4-3: *yang na de lta bu'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen med na phyogs bcu na bzhugs pa'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams mngon sum du bsgoms nas/ sdom pa dang bdag gi stobs dang yang sbyar nas blangs ste/ (...)*. See also Bendall and Rouse (1971: 12-13); Tatz (1985: 34); Sherburne (1983: 91 ff.).

[160] Wogihara (1930-36: 181.16-18): *tato bodhisattvena tathāgatapratimāyāḥ purataḥ svayam eva bodhisattvaśīlasaṃvarasamādānaṃ karaṇīyaṃ* (Tib. 98a).

[161] For the term *pārājika*, see v. Hinüber (1985: 62) with further bibliographical notes. See also Atiśa, *Bodhipathapradīpa*, fols. 274v-277v, verses 24-31.

An example for a system where Cittamātra and Madhyamaka are blended is found in Tsong-kha-pa's *Byang chub gzhung lam.*[162] The two works mentioned here that blend the "two great chariots" are Bodhibhadra's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaravidhi* (*P* vol. 103, no. 5362) and Abhayākaragupta's *Bodhisattvasaṃvaragrahaṇavidhi* (*P* vol. 103, no. 5365).[163]

Go-rams-pa, too, explains the differences between the bodhisattva vow ritual of the Mādhyamikas and the followers of Cittamātra in some detail.[164] They differ with regard to their rituals for obtaining them (*ma thob pa thob par byed pa'i cho ga*), their fundamental transgressions (*rtsa ba'i ltung ba*), their methods for repairing them (*phyir bcos kyi tshul*), and their training (*bslab par bya ba*).

Regarding the duration of the bodhisattva vows, Go-rams-pa agrees, in general, that the bodhisattva vows are taken "until awakening is obtained." This agreement seems to be limited to the acquiring of the bodhisattva vows from its own specific ritual, i.e. where one neither has taken the Mantra vows yet, nor acquired the bodhisattva vows through an initiation (where all three vows are obtained through a single ritual). In the latter cases the bodhisattva vows would be of the same nature as the Mantra vows.[165]

Sa-paṇ also says in his *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* that the vows exist as long as the mind is unimpaired.[166] Go-rams-pa remarks with regard to this verse in his *Detailed Exposition*:

> The bodhisattva vows exist as long as the mind that projects the maintaining [of that resolve] is unimpaired, or as long as [the vow] is not destroyed through an opposing factor such as a fundamental transgression, because [the vow] arises from the wish as it is projected [by] the mind, [i.e.] "until awakening."[167]

---

[162] *P* vol. 154, no. 6145, 123-4-3: *slob dpon byang chub bzang po dang a bhya ka ras kyang sdom pa len pa'i cho ga shing rta chen po gnyis kyi lugs bsres nas mdzad pa (...).*

[163] See also Tatz (1986: 138).

[164] Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, pp. 152 f., fols. 67v ff.

[165] For the implications of such subtle distinctions, see p. 139 for the translation of *General Topics*, fols. 72-75, with several models for taking up the three vows in succession.

[166] Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 6cd: ... *ji srid sems ma nyams// de yi bar du sdom pa yod.*

[167] Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fol. 25r: *byang sems kyi sdom pa ni bsrung ba'i 'phen sems ma nyams pa'am/ rtsa ltung sogs mi mthun phyogs kyis ma nyams pa de srid du yod de/ byang chub ma thob kyi bar la sogs pa 'phen sems ji ltar 'dod pa las skyes pa'i phyir.* See also p. 60 for the problem of the duration of the bodhisattva and Mantra vows.

Go-rams-pa's criticism that it is "nowhere at all (...) taught that there is a difference of duration regarding the Mantra and bodhisattva vows" cannot be understood as a difference in the wording alone, because this appears to be the standard wording in other traditions, too. Atiśa, for example, says in his *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha*:[168]

> Furthermore, the first vow persists as long as one lives, the middle vow until [one arrives at the] "seat of awakening" (*bodhimaṇḍa*), and the final vow as long as space persists.

What Go-rams-pa is perhaps aiming at is that the significance of both statements "until awakening" and "as long as space exists" is the same, i.e. that both vows persist until the last being is saved from saṃsāra. This is quite obvious for the bodhisattva vow, but it presupposes a specific interpretation of the formulation "as long as space exists," which I have not as yet been able to find in Go-rams-pa's writings.

Garland of Rays **9.** In this section Vibhūticandra teaches the causes for a loss of the bodhisattva vows. They are: Striving for one's own selfish benefit, indulging in the four black factors—thus abandoning the production of the resolve—and obtaining the result of awakening. While abandoning the vow at the time of obtaining awakening is compared to leaving behind a ship after crossing the water, the other factors are as incompatible with the vow as heat is incompatible with cold.

The "Four Black Factors" are according to Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*:[169]

1) to deceive the preceptor (*upādhyāya*), the master (*ācārya),* the guru, and the object of one's offerings or of one's acquisition of merit, i.e. the triple gem, etc., and living beings;
2) to produce resentment in others;
3) to speak of those who have entered the Mahāyāna with dispraise, etc.;
4) to approach others with deceit, etc.

---

[168] *P* vol. 81, no. 4547, p. 211-5-7: *yang dang po'i sdom pa ni ji srid 'tsho'i bar du gnas so/ bar ma'i sdom pa ni snying po byang chub kyis bar du'o/ phyi ma'i sdom pa ni nam mkha' ji srid gnas kyi bar du'o.* For the "seat of awakening," see p. 50.

[169] Śāntideva, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 199-2-3 ff., quoting a sūtra belonging to the *Ratnakūṭa* collection: *dkon mchog brtsegs pa las/ 'od bsrungs byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan pa'i byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur te/ gzhi* (read: *bzhi*) *gang zhe na/ 'di lta ste/ mkhan po dang slob dpon dang bla ma dang sbyin gnas la slu ba dang / gzhan 'gyod pa med pa dag la 'gyod pa nye bar bsgrub pa dang / theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa'i sems can rnams la bsngags pa ma yin pa dang mi snyan pa dang brjod pa ma yin pa dang / tshigs su bcad pa ma yin pa 'byin pa dang / sgyu dang g.yos gzhan la nye bar spyod kyi lhag pa'i bsam pas ma yin pa zhes gsungs so.* See also Bendall and Rouse (1971: 53).

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 63r). Go-rams-pa is here only concerned with another "internal contradiction" in Vibhūticandra's teaching. Since, according to Go-rams-pa, Vibhūticandra teaches in *Garland of Rays* 2 that the thinking about one's benefit is necessary as an element of the motive of taking up the prātimokṣa vows, any bodhisattva who takes up a prātimokṣa vow will lose his bodhisattva vows, because according to *Garland of Rays* 9 striving for one's own selfish benefit is a cause for losing the bodhisattva vows. He also points out that such a taking up of prātimokṣa vows exists in Vibhūticandra's system, namely in *Garland of Rays* 27: "If a Tantric adept takes a lower vow for the sake of any of his trainees (...)."[170]

This reference, however, rather shows that the bodhisattva vows are not lost, because it is said "for the sake of any of his trainees," which can hardly be interpreted as "own selfish benefit." If "own selfish benefit" really is the necessary motive for taking up the prātimokṣa, the reference to *Garland of Rays* 27 would rather show that a bodhisattva is unable to take up the prātimokṣa vows if he tries to do so for the benefit of others, for example to be able to pass on prātimokṣa vows to one of his disciples.

Go-rams-pa illustrates Vibhūticandra's examples of "heat and cold" and of the "ship" in the section where he paraphrases the content of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*:

> When a mind that consists in the volition of one's own benefit is produced, and one engages in the four black factors, one abandons [the production of the resolve] like contact [with something] cold is lost when [one has] very close contact [with something] hot. When one obtains unsurpassable awakening one abandons [the production of the resolve] like a ship is abandoned when one has reached the other shore of a river.[171]

In other words, one abandons the production of the resolve, since "own benefit" and "indulging in the four black factors etc." on the one hand, and the bodhisattva's resolve on the other are as incompatible as heat and cold; and because the obtainment of perfect awakening is like reaching the other shore where one abandons the ship.

That Go-rams-pa does not accept the abandonment of the bodhisattva's production of the resolve when awakening is obtained is explained in connection with

---

[170] Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 27: *gal te rig pa 'dzin pa yis// gdul bya gang dang gang don du// 'og ma'i sdom pa blangs pa na.*

[171] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 229, fol. 61r-v: *rang don yid byed kyi sems bskyed pa dang / nag po'i chos bzhi la spyod pa na gtong ste/ tsha reg stobs che ba nye ba na grang reg gtong ba bzhin no/ bla na med pa'i byang chub thob pa na gtong ste/ chu'i pha rol phyin pa na gru gtong bzhin no.*

the Mantra vows in his *General Topics* (p. 231, fol. 63v). He overlooks in his criticism that Vibhūticandra's account of the bodhisattva vows is *not* written from the point of view of a threefold possession of the vows, but within the framework of the bodhisattva vows that exist as a vow-system in its own right, and as they have also been taught by many other masters such as Atiśa (see for an example, p. 58).

***Garland of Rays* 10.** The construction of this verse is again parallel to the first four lines of *Garland of Rays* 2 and to *Garland of Rays* 5. Vibhūticandra says that the Mantra vows are obtained by persons who are possessors of the merit of the four classes, etc., that their purpose is the production of perfection of everything desired or needed for oneself and others, that they are obtained from the guru who possesses the good marks, and that they persist as long as space exists.

The expression "possessors of the merit of the four classes" refers to the four caste-classes of India (*rigs bzhi*, Skt. *catvāro varṇāḥ*, *Mahāvyutpatti* 3865 ff). These are the caste-class of priests (Skt. *brāhmaṇavarṇa*, Tib. *bram ze rigs*), rulers (Skt. *kṣatriyavarṇa*, Tib. *rgyal rigs*), farmers, etc.[172] (Skt. *vaiśyavarṇa*, Tib. *rje rigs*), and servants (Skt. *śūdravarṇa*, Tib. *dmangs* or *gdol rigs*). In the Tantric literature these four are sometimes associated with the four classes of tantras (*rgyud sde bzhi*), i.e. action, practice, yoga, and highest yoga tantra (Skt. *kriyā, caryā, yoga* and *nirutta-rayogatantra*, Tib. *bya ba, spyod pa, rnal 'byor*, and *rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud*), in such a way that the highest caste (*brāhmaṇa*) is associated with the lowest of the tantra classes (*kriyātantra*) and so forth.[173] Kong-sprul, for example, quotes in his *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*[174] the *Dur khrod rmad du byung ba*:

> For the sake of improving (*gdul don du*) the castes of the priests,
> rulers, farmers (etc.), and servants,
> the tantras were taught [by the Buddha] as four divisions,
> i.e. the action, practice, yoga, and highest yoga tantra.[175]

But there are also other systems that arrange the tantras differently, which is indicated by Vibhūticandra through "etc." These other systems and their proponents

---

[172] The *vaiśyavarṇa* contains also herdsmen, merchants, and artisans.

[173] Sherburne (1983: 167 ff., 184, n. 9); Wayman (1973: 33, table 1); Lessing and Wayman (1968: 100, n. 1).

[174] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, pp. 572 ff.; especially p. 577.

[175] *Śrīcakrasaṃvaratantrarājādbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāranāma*, *P* no. 57, vol. 3, 32-5-2: *bram ze rgyal rigs rje rigs dang // dmangs rigs gdol pa gdul don du// rgyud kyang rnam pa bzhir gsungs te// bya spyod rnal 'byor bla med do.* Kong-sprul has a mistake in the first line: *bram ze rje'u (? rgyal!) rigs rgyal (? rje'u!) rigs dang* .

or textual sources are according to Go-rams-pa and Kong-sprul:[176]

	2 classes	
outer and inner tantra	Abhayākaragupta, Buddhaguhya	Kong-sprul
outer and secret tantra	*Vajra-Peak Tantra*	Go-rams-pa
action and yoga tantra	*Trailokyavijayamahākalpa-rāja* (*P* vol. 5, no. 115)	Go-rams-pa
	3 classes	
action, combined (*gnyis ka*) or practice, and yoga tantra	Buddhaguhya	Kong-sprul, Go-rams-pa
	Vilāsavajra, Kun-snying	Kong-sprul
	Sarvarahasyanāmatantra (*P* vol. 5, no. 114)	Go-rams-pa
yoga-practice and action tantra, and tantra of the way of the perfections	*sNgags don rnam gzigs* (by dPal-ldan Byang-chub-mchog?)	Go-rams-pa
	4 classes	
action, practice, yoga, and highest yoga tantra	"according to most of the tantras and commentaries"	Kong-sprul
	According to the Tantric songs (*gur las*)	Go-rams-pa

[176] See Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, pp. 572 ff., and Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 158, fols. 79r ff.

5 classes

yoga, combined, practice, action, and realization tantra; or action, practice, yoga, great yoga, and highest great yoga tantra	Śāntipa Nāgārjuna *Śrīḍākārṇavamahāyoginī-tantra* (*P* vol 2, no. 19)	Kong-sprul, Go-rams-pa Kong-sprul Go-rams-pa
action, practice, yoga, highest tantra, and tantra without evil (? *ngan pa med pa'i rgyud*)	the Indian Vajrapāṇi	Go-rams-pa
action, practice, yoga, highest yoga, and yoginī tantra	*Rab tu sgron gsal* (i.e. *Śrīcakrasaṃvaramaṇḍalop-āyikāratnapradīpodyota-nāma*, *P* vol. 51, no. 2161?)	Go-rams-pa

6 classes

action, fundamental (*rtsa ba*), practice, yoga, highest yoga (differentiated again in *bla ma* and *bla med*?)	?	Kong-sprul
tantra of sūtra investigation (*mdo sde rtog pa'i rgyud*), action, practice, yoga, secret yoga, and limit of the secret (*gsang ba'i mtha'*)	*bDe mchog rtsa rgyud*	Go-rams-pa

7 classes		
action, practice, investigation (*rtog pa*, Skt. *kalpa*), combined, yoga, great yoga, and highest yoga tantra	Atiśa	Kong-sprul

Furthermore, if arranged into four classes, there exist different systems of assigning a tantra class to a class of persons, such as to persons of sharp or dull faculties, or to persons with many or few defilements.[177] Go-rams-pa treats the four tantra classes in his *Detailed Exposition* in some detail on fols. 122v-132v.

With regard to the qualities of the guru who confers the three vows simultaneously through Tantric initiation, Go-rams-pa mentions in his *Detailed Exposition* (p. 163, fol. 88r) four factors through which the person who is the basis obtains the three vows. (1) The lineage of gurus must be intact (*bla ma brgyud pa ma nyams*); (2) there should not be any disorder with regard to the ritual (*cho ga 'khrugs par ma gyur pa*) that consists of three parts, i.e. preparation, actual ritual, and conclusion; (3) the guru should understand how to "assemble" the outer and inner dependent origination (*phyi dang nang gi rten 'brel bsgrig mkhyen*); and (4) he should be able to plant the seeds of the four spheres (Skt. *kāya*) into the five constituents of the person and the eighteen elements that constitute the psycho-physical continuum, i.e. the six senses, their objects, and sensory perceptions (Skt. *skandha, dhātu,* and *āyatana*—the latter being the first twelve of the eighteen elements that are the *dhātu*—) of the disciple (*slob ma'i phung khams skye mched la sku bzhi'i sa bon thebs nus pa*).[178]

---

[177] For such systems for people with sharp or dull faculties (*dbang po brtul po, dbang po rnon po*) or few or many defilements (*nyon mongs pa chung ngu, nyon mongs pa chen po*), etc., see Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 577.

[178] For topics 3) and 4) see Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. III, vv. 87 f., and Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 166, fol. 95r. For the necessity of unimpaired rituals, whether for conferring Tantric initiation or any other vow, see also *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. III, vv. 11 ff. and ch. III, vv. 65-66, and Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 163, fol. 89r-v, p. 164, fol. 90v, and p. 165, fols. 92r-93v f.,—see also fol. 94r where it is explained (with reference to *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. III, vv. 68-73) that even though rituals do not exist in the absolute truth—since nothing, not even Buddhahood, exists there—they do exist in the relative truth (and thus have to be (continued...)

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 63v). Go-rams-pa raises two objections against Vibhūticandra's statements concerning the durations for which the bodhisattva and Mantra vows are obtained. Without quoting an example, he claims at first for the statement that the bodhisattva's resolve is abandoned when awakening is obtained that it contradicts many scriptures of Sūtra and Tantra. That the bodhisattva's resolve is abandoned when awakening is obtained is taught by Vibhūticandra in his *Garland of Rays* 9 ("[since resolve is like] a ship").

Secondly, he finds again an "internal contradiction," namely concerning Vibhūticandra's statement that the Mantra vows are maintained as long as space exists. He quotes a tantra from the highest class (*niruttaratantra*), according to which "the root of the Dharma is the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*), to give it up is the fifth [fundamental transgression]." Unfortunately, I could not find a text called *sNgags sdom gyi dam tshig la rtsa ltung bcu bzhi* in the canon, but two other well known treatises have literally the same precept, namely Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*, with these lines appearing on p. 279-1-4, and the *Vajrayānamūlāpattisaṃgraha*, no. 3303, with these same lines on 278-2-3.[179]

To show that the continuation of the bodhisattva's resolve is a vital element of the pledges of the lower tantras, too, Go-rams-pa refers to some tantras from those classes. First he refers to the *Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhi-guhyatantra*, generally considered to be an action tantra.[180] The vows stated there are quoted by Go-rams-pa, but as far as I can see, except for vowing to firmly establish love for living beings, the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*) proper is not mentioned.[181]

For the class of practice tantras, Go-rams-pa refers to the *Awakening of Vairocana*. Here four fundamental transgressions are listed, of which the second one is indeed the abandonment of the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*):

> "To abandon the holy Dharma, to abandon the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*), to act stingily, and to harm sentient beings."[182]

178(...continued)
performed accurately).

179 The Tibetan text is: *chos kyi rtsa ba byang chub sems// de spong ba ni lnga pa yin.*

180 *dKyil 'khor thams cad kyi spyi'i cho ga gsang ba'i rgyud*, *P* vol. 9, no. 429.

181 *Go-rams-pa, General Topics*, p. 223, fol. 49r: *srog chags rnams la byams pa'i sems// rtag tu brtan pa nye bar bzhag* . See also Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 144; for bodhisattva vows in action and practice tantras in general, see Lessing and Wayman (1968: 140-155); for a short introduction to action tantras in general, see Go-rams-pa, *rNam bshad,* fol. 83r-v.

182 *P* no. 126, vol. 5, 268-3-6: *dam pa'i chos spong ba dang / byang chub kyi sems gtong ba dang ser sna byed pa dang sems can la gnod pa byed pa'o.* See also Go-rams-pa, *General*
(continued...)

For the class of yoga tantras, he refers to the *Śrīparamādyanāmamahāyānakalparāja*, according to which, too, it is a fundamental transgression to abandon the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*).[183] Kong-sprul[184] lists the first two fundamental transgressions of the same source as "abandoning the preliminary resolve [for awakening]" (*smon sems spong ba*) and "abandoning the actualization of the resolve [for awakening]" (*'jug sems spong ba*).[185]

Regarding the fifth fundamental transgression of the highest tantra class, it is also interesting to note that rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan clarifies that "*bodhicitta*" refers here only to the preliminary resolution for awakening:

> 1. The nature of the transgression: To abandon the preliminary resolve for awakening, i.e. to turn away from the volitional impulse "I will achieve buddha[hood] for the benefit of all sentient beings."[186]

To "abandon the preliminary resolution" means to think in the following way:

---

[182](...continued)

Topics, p. 224, fol. 49v, where a more elaborate version of these vows is quoted from the same source; see also, Kong-sprul, vol. II, pp. 146-7; Wayman (1992: 47); and Tajima (1992: 329-30); for a short introduction to practice tantras in general, see Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fol. 84r.

[183] *dPal mchog dang po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i rtog pa'i rgyal po*, *P* vol. 5, no. 119, a major yoga tantra, see Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 224, fol. 50v, and Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 150.

[184] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 150.

[185] For a short introduction to yoga tantras in general, see Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fols. 84r f., for a short introduction to highest tantras in general, see Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fol. 85r. For the preliminary resolution (for awakening, Skt. *praṇidhi*) and the actualization (of that resolution, Skt. *prasthāna*), see Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ch. I, vv. 15-17, probably the most prominent passage for the Mādhyamikas: *byang chub sems de mdor bsdu na// rnam pa gnyis su shes bya ste// byang chub smon pa'i sems dang ni// byang chub 'jug pa nyid yin no// 'gro bar 'dod dang 'gro ba yi// bye brag ji ltar shes pa ltar// de bzhin mkhas pas 'di gnyis kyis// bye brag rim bzhin shes par bya// byang chub smon pa'i sems las ni// 'khor tshe 'bras bu che 'byung yang // ji ltar 'jug pa'i sems bzhin du// bsod nams rgyun chags 'byung ba min//* (*P* vol. 99, no. 5272, p. 245-3-1).

In Śāntideva's other great work on the bodhisattva practice, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya,* we find this discussion within the first chapter, on pp. 185-3-8 ff. (*P* vol. 102, no. 5336): *byang chub kyi sems de ni rnam pa gnyis te/ byang chub tu smon pa'i sems dang byang chub tu chas pa'i sems so/* (...). See also Bendall and Rouse (1971: 9 ff.).

[186] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 248, fol. 49r: *dang po ltung ba'i ngo bo nyid ni byang chub kyi sems smon pa btang ba ste/ sems can thams cad kyi don du sangs rgyas bsgrub par bya'o snyam pa'i bsam pa las log pa'o.*

> To abandon [the preliminary resolution] with a downhearted [mind, thinking]: "How can awakening be established by someone like me?" And to abandon the preliminary resolve by thinking: "I shall quickly establish [the state of] an arhat and a solitary Buddha."[187]

Furthermore rJe-btsun Grags-pa remarks (fol. 50r) that the vow of preliminary resolve is also formed during the preparation [of an initiation] (*sta gon gyi skabs su*) and during the entering part (*'jug pa'i skabs su*), when one accepts the general vows of the five Buddha-families (*rigs lnga'i sdom pa spyir khas blangs pa*).

Thus, to sum up, the reason Go-rams-pa discusses the bodhisattva's resolve in connection with the Tantric pledges appears to be that from the point of view of a person who possesses all three vows, one neither abandons the bodhisattva's resolve when Mantra vows are obtained, nor does one abandon it when awakening is obtained, because it is a Tantric pledge never to abandon the root of the Dharma, i.e. [preliminary] resolve for awakening.

***Garland of Rays* 11.** In the canonical tradition of the text, the theme of this section is defined in line three simply as: "[This] is the vow of the Tantric adept" (*rig 'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa'o*). The parallel passages of the prātimokṣa vows (*Garland of Rays* 2e-g) and of the bodhisattva vows (*Garland of Rays* 6-7 for relative and absolute *bodhicitta* respectively) teach at this point the respective natures of the vows. In the textual tradition of Go-rams-pa, however, that line reads "[this] is how to obtain the vows of the Tantric adept" (*rig 'dzin sdom pa'i thob tshul yin*). In fact it appears that the first line refers to the way how the Mantra vows are obtained, and the second one refers to their nature:

> Being introduced to the purport of connate gnosis,
> one restrains [oneself] from all stains of mental construction.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 63v). Go-rams-pa's refutation deals solely with the nature of the Mantra vows, even though his textual tradition of the *Garland of Rays* does not mention the nature of the vows, but speaks instead of how to obtain them. However that may be, his technical argument could be applied to both themes. He points out that the introduction to connate gnosis occurs only from the fourth initiation upwards.[188] Vibhūticandra's explanation excludes therefore the three lower

---

[187] *Ibid.* fol. 50r: *bdag lta bus byang chub ga la 'grub ces zhum pas btang ba dang / myur du dgra bçom pa dang rang sangs rgyas bsgrub par bya'o// zhes sems pas smon pa btang ba'o.*

[188] The four initiations of the highest tantra class are (1) the vase initiation (Skt. *kalaśābhiṣeka*, Tib. *bum pa'i dbang*), (2) the secret initiation (*guhyābhiṣeka, gsang ba'i*
(continued...)

tantra classes, and the first three initiations of the highest tantra class, too. Go-rams-pa refuses, however, to elaborate on this theme, since this treatise is not the proper place for such a discussion.[189]

Vibhūticandra appears to be teaching here indeed from the point of view of the highest tantra alone. In general, the vows of each tantra class are considered to be complete at the end of their respective rituals. Thus Kong-sprul, for example, says:

> In short, at the end of performing the ritual of each respective initiation [of the different tantra classes] the pure Mantra vows are obtained in the perfect way.[190]

But from the point of view of the highest tantra, the completeness of the Mantra vows is reconsidered. Kong-sprul says:

> The Mantra vows are called "incomplete" [or] "almost complete" in the
> lower tantra classes.
> [They are called] "perfectly complete" in the higher [ones].[191]

And he explains that the former masters held that the vows of the action and practice tantras are incomplete, that they are almost complete in the yoga tantras, and that they are fully complete only in the highest tantras.[192]

Garland of Rays **12.** With these five lines Vibhūticandra explains the way of the persistence of the vows of the Tantric adept. They persist through the practice of the two stages of meditation, i.e. of production and perfection (Skt. *utpattikrama* and *utpannakrama/niṣpannakrama*, Tib. *bskyed rim* and *rdzogs rim*), and through worshipping one's body (i.e. the deity of one's meditation, Tib. *yi dam kyi lha*) intensively with the five objects of the senses (i.e. through the practices of the deity).

---

[188](...continued)
dbang), (3) the wisdom-gnosis initiation (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka, shes rab ye shes kyi dbang*), and (4) the fourth initiation (*caturthābhiṣeka, dbang bzhi pa*).

[189] Go-rams-pa indeed avoids the discussion of Tantric themes in the *General Topics* as much as possible, and wherever he is compelled to refer to Mantra, he confines himself to a few remarks (cf. fols. 80r f.), or he refers in general to other works.

[190] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p 139: *mdor na so so'i dbang gi cho ga grub pa'i mtha' ru sngags sdom rnam par dag pa rdzogs pa'i tshul du thob pa yin no.*

[191] Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. II, p. 140: *rgyud sde 'og mar ma rdzogs phal cher rdzogs// gong mar yongs rdzogs sngags sdom zhes byar 'gyur.*

[192] *Ibid.*: *thob tshul rgya che chung gi dbang gis rgyud sde 'og ma bya spyod gnyis ni ma rdzogs pa'i sngags sdom/ rnal 'byor rgyud ni phal cher rdzogs pa'i sngags sdom/ gong ma bla med du yongs su rdzogs pa'i sngags sdom zhes bya ba'i tha snyad kyang thob par 'gyur ba mkhas pa snga ma rnams bzhed do.*

This is the source of everything needed and desired (which denotes the *dharmakāya* for one's own sake, and the *nirmāṇakāya* for the sake of others).

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 63v). Go-rams-pa states that the Mantra vows do not necessarily persist on the basis of the two stages of meditation, because it has also been taught that the Mantra vows persist if, after obtaining initiation, the pledges and vows are observed, even though one does not practice.

rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan taught in his *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* (p. 235, fols. 2r f.) that there are four types of persons: (1) The most exalted ones who realize within this lifetime, (2) the exalted ones who realize in the moment of death, (3) the medium ones who realize in the intermediate state, and (4) the lowest ones who realize in subsequent lifetimes. The latter ones are again of three types: (1) those who realize in the next life, (2) those who realize after seven lives, and (3) those who realize after sixteen lives. Of these it is said that they attain the supramundane achievements of the yogis (*siddhi*) in one of the next lives even though they do not meditate (*ma bsgoms par yang dngos grub 'thob*) if they are without transgressions (*gal te ltung ba med gyur na*)—the scriptural authority for the last point is Padmasambhava's *Samayapañcaſka?]* (*P* vol. 56, no. 2353) and an unidentified text called *gSang ba'i mdzod* (see below). Go-rams-pa follows the same pattern in his *Detailed Exposition* (p. 169, fol. 101r-v) and presents additional sources, but he mentions liberation in the intermediate state (*bar do*) only indirectly through a quotation from the *Śrījñānatilakayoginītantra* (*P* vol. 2, no. 14).

A slightly different pattern is maintained by the Mongolian dGe-lugs-pa master Ngag-dbang-dpal-ldan (1797-?) from Urga, who wrote in his *rGyud gzhung gsal byed* that there are three types of fruits in the highest tantra.[193] According to him, the highest fruit is Buddhahood, of which there are again three different ways to obtain it, i.e. in this life, in the intermediate state (*bar do*), and in subsequent lifetimes (*skye brgyud nas*). Of these results the first one, i.e. Buddhahood in this lifetime, is obtained if a practitioner of the two stages obtains the illusory body (*sgyu lus*). The second result is obtained by a practitioner of the stage of production (*bskyed rim*) who obtains the illusory body in the intermediate state. If he cultivates the remaining paths based on that obtainment, he obtains Buddhahood. The third kind of result, i.e. Buddhahood in subsequent lifetimes, is gained by people who merely obtain initiation and maintain the pledges and vows (*dbang thob nas dam tshig dang sdom pa srung ba tsam zhig*). These persons do not become Buddhas in

---

[193] Ngag-dbang-dpal-ldan, *gSang chen rgyud sde bzhi'i sa lam rnam gzhag rgyud gzhung gsal byed*, fols. 39v ff.

this lifetime or in the intermediate state; however, it is taught that they definitely will become Buddhas after seven or sixteen lives (*de dag ni tshe 'di dang bar dor 'tshang mi rgya yang skye ba bdun nam bcu drug tshun chad du nges par 'tshang rgya bar gsungs*).[194]

Vibhūticandra, too, refers to such a teaching when he says:[195]

If [one is] without transgressions, even though not meditating,
[Buddhahood] is obtained in one's sixteenth life.

That one does not need to meditate in order to obtain the supramundane achievements is clearly expressed in the *gSang ba'i mdzod*:[196]

If one possesses the gift of completely pure initiation
one will be initiated in [subsequent] lives.
Through that one will obtain in one's seventh life
supramundane attainments, even though one does not meditate.

In a related passage of the Mantra chapter of Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (ch. III, v. 158c) and in Go-rams-pa's *Detailed Exposition* (p. 170, fol. 103v) it is explained that it is through the vow alone that the virtue of renunciation continues. Sa-paṇ says: "For someone who is without vows, the continuity of virtue does not exist" (*sdom pa med la dge rgyun med*). Go-rams-pa elaborates: "For someone who is without vows, the continuous stream of virtue that consists in the resolution to abandon [non-virtue] does not exist" (*sdom pa med pa la spong sems kyi dge rgyun chags pa med*). It is thus expressed that the supramundane achievements are attained through pure vows, and not necessarily through meditation (although the latter might speed up the process). Without pure vows, however, virtue is discontinued and Buddhahood, the ultimate supramundane achievement cannot be obtained.

The teaching that Buddhahood will be obtained through keeping one's vows even without meditation focuses on the purity of vows, and precisely that seems to be the intention and purport of the teaching. Later authors, however, have again

---

[194] See also Atiśa, *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha*, *P* vol. 81, no. 4547, p. 211-4-2 with a short remark on results in the next, the seventh, and the sixteenth lifetime.

[195] *Garland of Rays* 44 f-g: *ma bsgoms gyur kyang ltung med na// skye ba bcu drug nyid kyis thob.*

[196] This quotation is according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 2v, and Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fol. 101v: *dbang bskur yang dag sbyin ldan na// skye zhing skye bar dbang bskur 'gyur// de yis skye ba bdun na ni// ma bsgoms par yang dngos grub 'thob.*

stressed the practice when they gave detailed explanations on how to keep the Tantric pledges pure. Such maintenance of the purity of the pledges involves, according to their expositions, quite a number of meditation practices.[197]

[197] See, for example, Karma-chags-med, *Ri chos*, fol. 87 f.

Vibhūticandra on How the Three Vows are Possessed, with Go-rams-pa's Replies

Having taught in the previous first part of his *Garland of Rays* the three vows from the point of view of each vow respectively, Vibhūticandra turns next to the possession of the three vows together. This part of his treatise consists of four main parts: 1.) a refutation of the Sa-skya-pa doctrine of transformation and same nature of the vows, 2.) what Vibhūticandra accepts as his own tradition with regard to these points, 3.) a refutation of the bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine that the three vows are like the support and the supported, and 4.) his own explanation of the true meaning of "possessing three vows."

4.1. Vibhūticandra's Refutation of the Sa-skya-pa Doctrine of the Transformation and Same Nature of the Vows (*Garland of Rays* 14-24)

The first four sections of the second part of Vibhūticandra's treatise are quotations from different tantras, of which the first three (14-16) teach that (14) members of the four retinues,[198] if they also possess their respective proper trainings, are permitted—one may even make a monk a tantric adept; [199] (15) that among the three

[198] The four retinues (*'khor bzhi*) are defined as full monk, full nun, and male and female householder (Skt. *bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka* and *upāsikā*, Tib. *dge slong pha ma gnyis dang // dge bsnyen pha ma gnyis te bzhi//*). The term is also confirmed in Pāli (*catuparisa*). See *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* II, 132 (PTS), where the term is explicitly defined as above.

[199] The *"Three-Hundred Verses Tantra" [Treatise]* teaches that Tantric initiation is suitable for anyone among the members of the four retinues who possesses a proper trainig. Thus, except for the approximation vow (*upavāsastha*), for which see my remarks in ftn. 85, the pure training of full monks and nuns, as well as of male and female householders is the sufficient basis. Go-rams-pa (*General Topics*, p. 206, fol. 14r) states:

... *dkyil chog phal cher las/*
(1) *rang gi bslab ldan 'khor bzhi po//*
(2) *theg chen blo can rnams la ni//*
(3) *de bzhin gshegs pas gsungs pa yi//*
(4) *yang dag cho ga rjes su gnang //*

In most of the rituals of [conferring initiation into] a maṇḍala it is said that:
(4) The perfect ritual that has been taught
(3) by the Tathāgata is imparted
(1) to the four retinues who possess their respective trainings

(continued...)

bases[200] the full monk (*bhikṣu*) is considered to be the highest and the householder the lowest, and (16) that the three vows that are possessed by a properly ordained person are the prātimokṣa, bodhisattva, and Mantra vows.

The fourth quotation, which teaches the three vows through the simile of smelting ore and the alchemists elixir, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 13 (pp. 305 ff.) in connection with teachings that Karma-'phrin-las-pa received from the seventh Karma-pa. The verse that appears to stem from a text called *The Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra [or: Tantras]" Treatise: The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness* (*rGyud 'bum pa'i lung de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa*) and that has been introduced into the discussion by the Sa-skya-pa master Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan says:[201]

> Through [the process of] smelting, iron, copper and silver appear,
> by means of specific particularities of ores.
> Through the elixir that turns [metals] into gold,
> all are turned into gold.
> Similarly, by means of the particularities of mind,
> the vows of the three families also [come to be].[202]
> If one enters into this great maṇḍala,
> they are called "[vows of] the Tantric adepts."

Garland of Rays **18-20.** These three verses deal with the refutation of a same nature of the vows. Without mentioning the Sa-skya-pas by name, Vibhūticandra refers to

---

[199](...continued)

(2) [and] who are endowed with the Mahāyāna "attitude".

Then he continues by explaining that line (1) indicates the ritual of imparting the prātimokṣa vows, line (2) indicates the ritual of the bodhisattva vows, and line (3)-(4) of the Mantra vows.

[200] The term "three bases" (*rten gsum*) obviously refers here the twin groups of fully ordained male and female, male and female novice, and male and female householders.

[201] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 48v. The *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra [or: Tantras?]" [Treatise]* will be discussed in connection with the *Replies to Ngo gro*, section 23 (p. 236), and in chapter 13.

[202] This refers not to the three usual vows of this context, but to the vows of the auditors, solitary Buddhas, and bodhisattvas. The term means literally "the three possessors of *gotra*," (*rigs can gsum*), implying the vows of those who belong to one of the three said families. Cf. *Commentary to the Clear Comprehension*, fol. 302r, with the same connotation; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 48v, where it is explained that the metals of the first part of the example refer to the members of these families; and see *Chinese-Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 2687, "*rigs can gsum*," where the term is explained in this way.

"some," who say with regard to the meaning of these quotations that the three vows are possessed in the way of a transformation and a same nature. And thus, says Vibhūticandra, if a fundamental transgression against a higher vow occurs, the lower vows are also lost (*Garland of Rays* 18). The intended meaning, however, of "possessing the three vows" is not that the three vows are lost all at once because they have the same nature (*Garland of Rays* 19). The reason is the following. If the prātimokṣa vow of abandoning tactile contact with women is lost by a fundamental transgression against the fourteenth Tantric pledge that forbids abusing women, that would be an overextension of the term "loss," since otherwise one could argue by analogy that the gathering of rain clouds in the sky causes the crops of the earth to wither (*Garland of Rays* 20).[203]

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 75v). At first Go-rams-pa declares himself a proponent of the theory of the same nature of the three vows. He does not admit, however, that the vows are lost simultaneously when a higher vow is lost, since any given vow is only lost through the causes of loss specific to it. He then launches a counter-attack through scholastic argumentation, in which he has proven himself so skilled. He says: [Consider] your critique against losing a lower vow if a fundamental transgression against a higher vow occurs. Is it a critique:

1. against the idea that the occurrence of a fundamental transgression of a higher vow necessarily implies the loss of a lower vow, or
2. against the mere possibility of such a loss?

Because in the first case the critique is not acceptable, since the Sa-skya-pas did not maintain that, and in the second case, it would follow for you that the lower vow of guarding against tactile contact with women would be lost through the transgression that consists in verbally abusing a woman,[204] because there indeed does exist the case where a loss of the lower vow through the occurrence of a fundamental transgression against a higher vow takes place: The bodhisattva vows are lost when a fundamental

---

[203] The meaning of the stated reason is this: If the prātimokṣa vow that prohibits tactile contact and the Mantra pledge that forbids the abusing of woman really would be of the same nature, a fundamental transgression of the Mantra pledge would also entail the loss of the prātimokṣa vow. But according to Vibhūticandra, both vows are not of the same nature, as sunshine and rain are also not of the same nature. If sunshine and rain would be of the same nature, it would follow that the crops would wither through rain, too, since the crops do wither through (excessive) sunshine and since rain and sunshine are of the same nature.

[204] For the fourteenth fundamental transgression of Mantra, see Aśvaghoṣa, *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*: *she (! shes) rab rang bzhin bud med la// smod par byed pa bcu bzhi pa.* See also Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 255, fol. 64r: *shes rab kyi ngo bo bud med la smod pa.*

transgression against the fifth Tantric pledge (of abandoning the preliminary resolve of the bodhisattvas) occurs.[205]

In general, Vibhūticandra does not seem to refer in his refutation to Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*. While the date of composition of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* is not exactly known, the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* was dated by one traditional source to approximately 1232.[206] A similarly late date of composition for the *Garland of Rays* appears to be highly unlikely considering the suggested sequence of the events of Vibhūticandra's life (see chapter 2.1., p. 21). Stearns (1996: 152, n. 87) mentions a passage of dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba's *Chos 'byung* (vol. I, p. 524) where he claims that Vibhūticandra composed his *Garland of Rays* after having seen the concept of "transformation of the three vows" (*sdom gsum gnas 'gyur*) in the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, but Stearns notes correctly that there is no reference to that concept in the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* at all. But the terms "transformation" (*gnas 'gyur*) and "same nature" (*ngo bo gcig*) that Vibhūticandra uses for describing the Sa-skya-pa position in *Garland of Rays* 18, and that are also used by later Sa-skya-pa authors such as Go-rams-pa, do also not appear in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan speaks rather vaguely of a "turning" (*'gyur*) of the lower vows into the respective higher ones (fol. 48v), and except for mentioning at one point that in Mantra practice, too, the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows are to be carefully maintained and continued (fol. 18r-v), he does not directly allude to a sameness of the vows. At the time when Vibhūticandra was in Sa-skya with his guru Śākyaśrībhadra (see chapter 2.1.), however, this terminology might have already been a part of the oral tradition.

Beginning with Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* and its various subsequent commentaries, the Sa-skya-pas refined their theories of the three vows much further. When Vibhūticandra criticizes the Sa-skya-pa position that the vows have the same nature by saying that according to that position, a loss of a lower vow would occur through a loss of a higher vow, Go-rams-pa defends the Sa-skya-pa theory in a highly sufficient way by teaching the aspects of the respective vows as existing apart from their same nature. With regard to the nature and aspects of the vows, Go-rams-pa explains, for example, that what turns—in the course of

---

[205] The fifth fundamental transgression, according to the Sa-skya-pa doctrine formulated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, refers to the loss of the preliminary resolution. See Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 248, fol. 49r: *byang chub kyi sems smon pa btang ba.* See also Aśvaghoṣa, *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*: *chos kyi rtsa ba byang chub sems// de spong ba ni lnga pa yin.*

[206] See Jackson (1987: 64 ff.).

transformation—into the *nature* of the bodhisattva vow is the resolution to abandon (*spong sems*) that discards opposing factors (*mi mthun pa'i phyogs*) (fol. 72v). Such a transformation does not lead to an abandoning of the specific rules like "abandoning at death" that are acquired through the prātimokṣa vow rituals, and thus they continue to exist as the particular aspects of these vows.

When Mantra vows are obtained, the other vows are pervaded by the means that take the fruit as the path (*'bras bu lam byed kyi thabs kyis zin pa*, fol. 72v). Therefore, even though the three vows have the same nature after two complete transformations, the individual vows are only lost through their specific causes of loss.[207]

In principle, the same applies to a situation where all the three vows are obtained from the single ritual of a Tantric initiation. Here, however, the vows arise as having the same nature right from the beginning (fol. 73r). But since they do not have different aspects stemming from rituals other than that of a Tantric initiation, they are lost together and simultaneously when a fundamental transgression against the Mantra pledges occurs. Technically, this is not because of their same nature, but because of their non-differentiation outside of the Mantra vows.

Moreover, these prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows that are obtained from the initiation are not the specific vows as they are taught and transmitted through their respective rituals, i.e. the different householder or full-monk vows etc., but they are prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows in their most rudimentary sense. One obtains them during the preparation of the ritual of initiation when one takes refuge and produces the resolve for awakening.[208] Since these are not the specific vows of the various prātimokṣa and bodhisattva rituals, here too it is not the case that the specific prātimokṣa vow that protects against tactile contact with women is lost through the loss of the fourteenth pledge of Mantra, since such a specific vow can only be acquired through the ritual of obtaining the full-monk vows.

In sum, if someone were to make remarks like the ones found in Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 19/20 on the basis of a fully refined Sa-skya-pa theory of the three vows as presented by Go-rams-pa, his attacks would be without foundation, since 1) he would fail to notice the Sa-skya-pa's differentiation between nature and aspects and thus would miss the fact that according to this position the vows are of the same nature, while the specific vows are only lost through their specific causes; 2) he would also fail to observe the fact that the vows that are

---

[207] This is explained in great detail by Go-rams-pa later on, see pp. 89 ff.

[208] See Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 210, fol. 22r; see also Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *dBang bskur ba'i cho ga*, pp. 86 ff., especially fol. 39v; and his *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 258, fol. 47r-v; unfortunately none of these sources treat the matter in greater detail.

obtained from a single ritual (and that are indeed lost simultaneously) do not possess the specific rules that are only transmitted through the respective prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vow rituals. On the other hand the Sa-skya-pa doctrine at Go-rams-pa's time represents a development of about two-hundred and fifty eventful years. That is to say, one has to keep in mind that Vibhūticandra criticized a system whose development at that time is not known in all details, and thus we may suppose in favour of Vibhūticandra that he argued against the very few theoretical statements that were maintained by the Sa-skya-pa's of his time.

But how did Vibhūticandra understand the Sa-skya-pa's doctrine of the same nature of the three vows? In order to get an idea of this, one has to know Vibhūticandra's own basic assumptions with regard to the vows. If I read *Garland of Rays* 23-24 correctly, his most basic assumption would be that the vows are entities (of their own) (*rdzas*—whatever that might have meant to him here). Thus he says (*Garland of Rays* 24), describing his understanding of the Sa-skya-pa doctrine, "three vows ... possessed as a single entity." If that would be their position, it would be indeed hardly possible to lose a vow without the other vows being affected in the same way. It might well have been this undesirable interpretation of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's remarks that has led to the differentiation into nature and aspects of the vows.

When we now turn to Go-rams-pa's answer, we will see that he chooses to refute Vibhūticandra using the typical modes of Tibetan scholastic argumentation. For this purpose Go-rams-pa first restates Vibhūticandra's observation as a consequence together with its reason (fol. 75v):

> *bud med la smod pa'i ltung ba byung bas bud med la reg pa'i sdom pa gtong bar thal/ gong ma'i ltung ba byung bas 'og ma'i sdom pa gtong ba yod pa'i phyir/*
>
> [Consequence:] "It *would follow* that the vow [prohibiting] tactile contact with woman would be lost because of the loss of [the fourteenth Tantric pledge concerning] abusing women occurred, ..."
>
> [Reason:] "... *since* [in your system] there is the loss of lower vows through the occurrence of the loss of a superior [vow]."

Then Go-rams-pa analyzes in his answer the reason "since lower vows are lost when loss of higher vow occurs" (which is originally stated by Vibhūticandra as a thesis) in such a way that two intentions are possible (fol. 75v):

> 1. [Does] the occurrence of a fundamental transgression of a higher [vow] necessarily imply the loss of a lower [vow]? (*gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung na 'og ma gtong pas khyab*).
>
> 2. [Or] do you criticize [the mere] possibility of [such] a loss? (*gtong srid pa la skyon brjod pa yin*).

With regard to the first possible intention, Go-rams-pa simply answers that they (i.e.

the Sa-skya-pas) did not maintain the matter as such. He does not go into any detail here since he has explained the two cases of successively obtained vows and vows obtained from a single ritual elsewhere, namely in the section through which he presents what he accepts as his own tradition (*rang lugs*).[209] In principle the first possibility is refuted because each vow is lost due to causes that are specific to it.

Secondly, Go-rams-pa continues by analysing the reason in such a way that it could have been meant by Vibhūticandra as a criticism of the mere possibility of such a loss. If that would be the case, he could be easily refuted by citing a single instance where lower vows are lost when a loss of higher vows occurs. And Go-rams-pa presents his counter-evidence by giving the example of the occurrence of a fundamental transgression against the fifth Tantric pledge, i.e. losing the preliminary resolve, through which the bodhisattva vows are lost as a consequence. Thereby he is now able to turn the opponent's critique back at him. Go-rams-pa states (fol. 75v):

> *bud med la smod pa'i ltung bas bud med la reg pa'i sdom pa gtong bar thal/ gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung bas 'og ma gtong ba yod pa'i phyir te/ rtsa ltung lnga pa byung na byang sems kyi sdom pa gtong ba'i phyir/*
>
> (...) it would follow [for you] that the [lower] vow [of guarding against] tactile contact with women would be lost, through the transgression that consists in abusing a woman, because there [indeed] does exist [the case where] a loss of the lower vow through the occurrence of a fundamental transgression against a higher [vow takes place], since the bodhisattva vows are lost when a fundamental transgression [against the] fifth [Tantric] pledge occurs.

Go-ram-pa's counterexample, however, is not entirely convincing. If this should be a case where a lower vow is lost *as a consequence* of losing a higher vow, one would expect some sort of sequence in the loss, i.e. that the Mantra vow is lost first and the bodhisattva vow afterwards. But is this the case in Go-rams-pa's example? It rather appears to me that a single cause—the loss of the preliminary resolution—has the loss of both vows as its effect.

***Garland of Rays* 21.** Vibhūticandra asks the rhetorical question whether it would be suitable to practice rituals other than those that were taught by the Buddha. It is, however, not quite clear what exactly is meant by "rituals" (*cho ga*). But since he refers to the losing and obtaining of vows, it appears that he is talking about the rituals for conferring the three vows. Thus, if a teacher explains the losing of vows in the way of the "same nature," i.e. as stated in *Garland of Rays* 19 and 20, he confers the vows in the wrong way, i.e. not as taught by the Buddha.

[209] See pp. 89 ff.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 76r). Go-rams-pa—not without some irony—turns the words of his opponent back against Vibhūticandra himself in an over-literal, and for the modern reader almost mean way. He refers to the second pledge from among the fourteen fundamental pledges of Mantra, namely the "transgressing the teachings of the Sugata,"[210] and answers that since there exists a losing of the lower vows through that fundamental transgression, it would follow for Vibhūticandra that it is possible to practice differently from the Buddha's teachings, since whoever "transgresses [in his practice or conduct] against the teachings of the Sugata" obviously practices differently from the Buddha's teachings. Go-rams-pa's remark is probably (at a less "polemical" level) also hinting at the fact that "the teachings of the Sugata" include the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows, and thus that by this definition a Mantra vow would be lost through a transgression against a rule of one of the lower vow systems (for which see the previous discussion in *Garland of Rays* 18-20).

Garland of Rays **22.** Vibhūticandra turns now to a refutation of the transformation of vows. Such a consideration is impossible between things that are diametrically incompatible, he says, since otherwise one could argue by analogy that the sun transforms into the water of the river Ganga.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 76r). Go-rams-pa does not accept such an understanding of transformation. If transformation would be impossible between incompatible things, a sentient being's consciousness could not transform into the gnosis of the Buddha, the consciousness of an ordinary being could not transform into the consciousness of a saint (*ārya*), the realization of the lower vehicle could not transform into the realization of the higher vehicle, etc. Furthermore, since transformation between things that are not incompatible is meaningless, there would be no transformation at all in Vibhūticandra's tradition.

Go-rams-pa's concept of transformation is the arising of a new consciousness that leaves no place for the previous one, since both are incompatible and cannot exist together. The arising of the gnosis of the Buddha (*sangs rgyas kyi ye shes*) leaves no place for a sentient being's consciousness (*sems can gyi shes pa*), since the latter is incompatible (*'gal ba*) with the Buddha's gnosis. This concept of incompatibility corresponds with the standard examples from the traditional scholastic logic of Tibet, i.e. the incompatibility of a pillar and a flask (*ka bum gnyis*), of something

---

[210] See Aśvaghoṣa, *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*: *bde gshegs bka' las 'das pa ni// ltung ba gnyis pa yin par bshad.* See also Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 243, fol. 39r.

permanent and a thing (*rtag dngos gnyis*), and of fire and water (*me chu gnyis*): there is no thing that can be both.

This kind of transformation is also involved in Go-rams-pa's explanation of the transformation of for example the prātimokṣa into the bodhisattva vows (*General Topics* fol. 72v): after one has completely abandoned the inferior volitional impulse of the auditors, i.e. to pursue peace and happiness merely for oneself, that very resolution to abandon that discards opposing factors becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows.[211] This constitutes an improving of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's example of smelting ore and of the alchemists elixir that was criticized by Vibhūticandra.[212]

Vibhūticandra, for whom the vows are three distinct entities of their own (*Garland of Rays* 23), evidently understood Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's example as advocating the transformation of one vow-entity into another one, and he understood the "same nature of the vows" as "being of one single entity"(cf. *Garland of Rays* 24). In that case, indeed, the vows would be lost simultaneously as criticized in *Garland of Rays* 20. Furthermore, if such a transformation through the magical elixir of the alchemists would be possible, a magical transformation of the sun into the water of the river Ganga would be possible, too, as criticized in *Garland of Rays* 22.

***Garland of Rays* 23-24.** In preparing to establish what he accepts as his own tradition of the three vows, Vibhūticandra investigates unacceptable meanings of "possessing three vows."

1. If such a possession is meant for a single mental stream of consciousness, that consciousness would become three separate ones, because the properties possessed (i.e. the vows) are distinct entities of their own (*Garland of Rays* 23).
2. If it is meant for earlier and later moments of the mental stream of consciousness, then the statement "possessing three" would be meaningless (*Garland of Rays* 24).
3. If it is meant as a possession of a single entity within a single mental stream of consciousness, the procedure for losing and obtaining the vows would become one (*Garland of Rays* 24).[213]

---

[211] See pp. 89 ff. for more details.

[212] See also the seventh Karma-pa's reply to the theory of transformation and same nature in Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro 5*, discussed and translated in chapter 11, section 2, pp. 249 ff.

[213] It would be meaningless to assume more than one ritual for obtaining vows that are one and the same entity—after the entity is obtained through one ritual, it would already be

(continued...)

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 76r). Go-rams-pa turns exactly the same arguments back at his opponent and claims to have involved him in a total logical or dialectical defeat.

Let me first analyze what is stated in Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 23-24. Having dealt with same nature (*ngo bo gcig*) and transformation (*gnas 'gyur*) in the preceding verses, Vibhūticandra now focuses on a critique of how the Buddha's statement "possessing three [vows]" is understood by the Sa-skya-pas, i.e. by those who set out to interpret Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's work. Vibhūticandra's basic assumption seems to be that the vows exist as entities (*rdzas*). Since this question is not at all addressed in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, Vibhūticandra's assumption is at least not in direct conflict to something stated in the basic text of the criticized tradition.

Based on this presupposition, i.e. the "substantiality" of the vows, Vibhūticandra analyzes a "threefold possession" with regard to the place where the three vows exist, i.e. the mental stream of consciousness. And he describes three modes of such an existence together with their resulting problems:

1) a simultaneous possession of three vow entities (that would result in three mental streams of consciousness);
2) a non-simultaneous possession (that would make it superfluous to call it a "threefold possession"); and
3) another simultaneous possession, but as a single entity (that would result in the becoming one of the procedures for losing and obtaining the vows).

Let me dwell for a moment on Vibhūticandra's own view concerning the mode of existence of the three vows (unfortunately, he explains his view only very briefly.) It seems to imply up to two lower "dormant" (*bag la nyal ba*) vows side by side with one higher vow that appears to be in a sort of "active mode."[214] Vibhūticandra describes the earlier lower vows as "dormant," a state that he unfortunately does not explain in any detail, but that may have a parallel in the theory of the "latent

---

[213](...continued)
complete. See also Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 9, where the argument that the rituals etc. would become one is directed against the 'Bri-gung-pas who claim that the intention of "as long as one lives" (*ji srid 'tsho yi bar*) with regard to the prātimokṣa is actually intending the mind, i.e. "as long as the mind exists;" see rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, ch. III, no. 8, and Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, fol. 25v.

[214] It is odd that Vibhūticandra chooses the term "dormant" (Skt. *anuśaya*, Tib. *bag la nyal ba*) in this important part of his own theory. One would rather expect something more neutral, such as "propensities" (Skt. *vāsanā*, Tib. *bag chags*).

defilements" (*anuśaya, phra rgyas*) by the Sautrāntikas as presented in the *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. V, v. 1, 222-4-1 f.). According to this theory, a "latent defilement" is neither something that is associated with the mind (*saṃprayukta, mtshungs par ldan pa*), nor something that is not associated with the mind, because it is not a distinct entity (*adravyāntaratva, rdzas gzhan ma yin pa*). A "latent defilement" is rather a defilement in a "sleeping mode" (*prasupta, nyal ba*), while "being completely wrapped up" (*paryavasthāna, kun nas dkris pa*) refers to a defilement in an "awakened mode" (*prabuddha, sad pa*). The "sleeping mode" is furthermore explained as "unmanifested" (*asaṃmukhībhūta, mngon sum du ma gyur pa*) and like a "seed" (*bīja, sa bon*), and the "awakened mode" as "manifested" (*saṃmukhībhāva, mngon sum du gyur pa*). This particular seed is furthermore characterized as "[that which has] the ability to arouse the defilement" (*kleśotpādanaśakti, nyon mongs pa skyes pa'i mthu*).[215]

An interesting feature is that we here in the *Abhidharmakośa* have something that is neither associated nor not associated with the mind, nor is it "an entity of its own." This describes the relation of the latent defilements with the mind. I assume that this is a model parallel to Vibhūticandra's own view of the three vows. That would mean that the dormant vows are neither associated nor not associated with the mind, and that they are also not "an entity of their own," i.e. they cannot be perceived apart from the mind. In other words, they are unmanifested and latent, but still possessing a certain capacity to be functional.[216] That the vows are, according to Vibhūticandra, "distinct substances of their own" (*Garland of Rays* 23) does not contradict this Abhidharma interpretation, since this obviously does not describe the relation of the vows with the mental stream, but the relation of the vows with one another. If three distinct vow-entities were manifest simultaneously, it would lead to the absurd consequence drawn in Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 23, namely that the mental stream of consciousness would become threefold. Therefore Vibhūticandra seems to maintain a view according to which the highest vow is manifest in a single stream of consciousness, while the lower vows are in a dormant state, i.e. neither associated with the mind—and thus avoiding the absurd consequence—nor not-associated with the mind, because they are not "a distinct entity of their own," i.e. not perceivable apart from the mind, and thus possessing a certain capacity to be functional.

If, as I assume, Vibhūticandra had indeed such a model in mind when he taught

---

[215] For such theories of the Sautrāntikas, see Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 473 ff.), with further references in his notes; Schmithausen (1987: 4 f., 248 n. 30, with references to Japanese scholarship, 353 n. 495, 377 n. 602).

[216] Although they will not be manifested in such a way that they would outshine higher vows as long as these are manifested, see *Garland of Rays* 27.

"dormant" and "manifested" vows, he was probably trying to avoid not only the problems involved with a simultaneous possession of the vows (since the vows are not simultaneously manifest, and since they are not believed to be a single entity), but also the problem of non-simultaneous existence of the three vows, since such a mode of existence would provide also the two lower vows an existence when a higher vow exists, even though it would be a non-manifested or latent existence. Go-rams-pa's claim (in his refutation of *Garland of Rays* 23-24) that according to Vibhūticandra the lower vows cease (*'gags pa*) when further vows arise would be baseless, unless one would equate "to cease" with "being latent" or "dormant."

Let us turn now to Go-rams-pa's refutation. Technically, what Go-rams-pa is trying to do here is the standard debate strategy of turning the opponent's argumentation against him and manoeuvring him into a position where he can neither deny the established reason (i.e. he cannot say *rtags ma grub*), nor simply state that he accepts what is being proved (i.e. he cannot say *'dod*), nor claim that the pervasion does not hold (i.e. he cannot say *khyab pa ma byung*). If the proponent is successful, the opponent is caught up in these "three spheres" (*'khor gsum*) of being unable to give any of the three above answers, which in this system of scholastic dialectics means total defeat. In order to do so, he turns the first argument of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 23 back at his opponent:

> It follows that the basic consciousness that is the substratum that possesses [the property] would [consist of] three distinct entities, because [you hold that] the propensities of the three vows—i.e. the properties possessed—are distinct entities.[217]

In traditional Tibetan debate, the opponent now has three options. First of all, he may deny that the reason is established (*rtags ma grub*), i.e. he may claim that the properties possessed are not three distinct entities. But that is impossible because he himself has admitted to that by using it as his own reasoning in the last line of *Garland of Rays* 23 (*ldan chos rdzas gzhan tha dad phyir*). Secondly, he may simply state that he accepts what is being proved (*'dod*). But this, too, is impossible, because that would have the impossible consequence of a triple mental stream of consciousness for a single person.[218]

The third option, i.e. to claim that the pervasion does not hold (*khyab pa ma byung*), is the problem. Could the opponent deny the pervasion or not? The pervasion would be like this: If the property possessed, i.e. the propensities of the three vows, are distinct entities, that mental stream of consciousness is [identical

---

[217] Here one hopes in vain for any evidence presented by Go-rams-pa that would support his assumption that propensities (Skt. *vāsanā*) such as the vows are distinct entities of their own.

[218] See *Garland of Rays* 23.

with] the three distinct entities.[219] If the opponent would admit to that, of course the absurd consequence would follow that the mental stream of consciousness is threefold. Go-rams-pa then continues his "debate," in which the opponent is now desperately trying to escape the "triple sphere" (i.e. the inability to answer in any of the three traditional ways) by proposing a non-simultaneous possession of the vows, and finally, since that would lead to a further absurd consequence, through a possession as the same nature. In that case the trap would be sprung, because now the opponent would be unable to deny the pervasion, too: The mental stream of consciousness is made up of three essentially identical entities, i.e. the stream of consciousness is the whole and the identical entities are its parts. In that case the stream that cannot be perceived as different from its parts must also be three, because its parts are three.

4.2. Vibhūticandra's Theory of the Three Vows (*Garland of Rays* 25-30)

Garland of Rays 25-26.

In the first section Vibhūticandra teaches that a given vow remains in the basic consciousness in a dormant way if a higher vow is taken. This is illustrated in the second section through the example of the sun, moon, and stars. If the moon, that represents the bodhisattva vows, arises, the light of the stars, i.e. the functioning of the prātimokṣa vows, vanishes in so far as it is overpowered or outshone and becomes latent. When the rays of the sun, that represents the highest vows in this example, shine forth, the moonlight vanishes (i.e. becomes latent).

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 63v). Go-rams-pa raises several arguments against Vibhūticandra that I have listed as nos. 1-6 below.

1. What is the reason for the lower vows to be dormant? Are they a) not manifest because the apprehending mode of higher and lower vows are incompatible, or b) because their remaining together simultaneously is incompatible, just as the tactile sensations of heat and cold.[220] The first (a) is incorrect because you have already admitted[221] that the abandoning of harm of the prātimokṣa vows pervades the achieving of benefits for others of the bodhisattva vows (i.e. that benefitting others is included within not harming others).[222] The second (b) is also incorrect because this would be

---

[219] In Tibetan: *ldan chos sdom pa gsum gyi bag chags rdzas tha dad yin na rnam shes kyi shes rgyud de rdzas tha dad yin.*

[220] See *Garland of Rays* 9d.

[221] See *Garland of Rays* 33.

[222] In other words, any benefitting of others is automatically also not harming them, but (continued...)

incompatible with the teaching of the possession of three vows in the tantras quoted above.
2. If the prātimokṣa is unmanifested for a bodhisattva, the morality of abandoning morally wrong behaviour[223] that was taught by Asaṅga, Dīpaṅkara and the elder Bodhibhadra[224] as the seven classes of prātimokṣa would also be unmanifested. That complete awakening can be achieved without training in the threefold morality of the bodhisattva's conduct[225] is taught by you alone.
3. If the bodhisattva vows are not manifested for a Tantric adept, the achievement of complete awakening by such a person would be a great wonder.
4. For a person who has taken the initiation of the vajra master of the two higher classes of tantras the respective pledges of the five families do exist manifestedly, and the common pledges would exist in an unmanifested way.
5. If you teach that the monk vows are propensities (*bag chags*) remaining in the basic consciousness, you have to accept that the propensities are lost after death, since prātimokṣa is admittedly lost at death. In that case it would not be necessary to practice learning, reflection or meditation basing oneself on maintaining the morality, because learning, reflection, meditation etc. are similar, i.e. their propensities would vanish at the time of death.
6. Your example of the sun, moon, and stars is not taught in any of the correct authoritative scriptures.

---

[222](...continued)
there are instances of not harming others that are not actually an achieving of benefits for them. Or, in still other words, the bodhisattva vows are a particular instance of the prātimokṣa vows, and the Mantra vows are a particular instance of both lower vows. For this point, see the seventh point of "possible successions of taking up the three vows," p. 94, and the footnote.

[223] In Tibetan: *nyes spyod spong ba'i* (or: *sdom pa'i*) *tshul khrims*, "the morality of abandoning (or: controlling) [morally] wrong behaviour," defined in the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* as *mi dge ba bcu po thams cad dug bzhin du spong ba'i so thar ris bdun gyi khrims te*, "The rules of the seven classes of prātimokṣa that abandon all the ten non-virtues as if they were poison." The first part of the threefold morality of the bodhisattvas (for which see also ftn. 24).

[224] For Asaṅga, see his *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, Lévi (1982: ch. XVI, pp. 108 f., Tome 1, Texte). For Atiśa, see his *Bodhipathapradīpa*, 34-2-5 ff.; see also Sherburne (1983: 96 f.). For "Sthavira" Bodhibhadhra (gNas-brtan-byang-bzang), see below.

[225] In Tibetan: *byang chub sems dpa'i (spyod pa) tshul khrims rnam pa gsum*. See the remarks in section 2 of chapter 1. For the paramount importance of these in Mahāyāna practice, see Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 166, fol. 95v.

The arguments nos. 2-4 may be summarized as this: Unmanifested or dormant is the same as non-existent.[226] In that case complete Buddhahood cannot be achieved because it was taught that the morality of the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows are necessary for achieving it. The Tantric adept of the highest tantra would only possess the respective pledges of the five families.

The first argument is based on the supposition that manifested and dormant vows do not remain together because of some sort of incompatibility. Vibhūticandra's example of the sun, moon, and stars, however, suggests that the lower vows remain together with the higher ones, just as the stars and the moon, too, remain in the sky after sunrise. The becoming dormant of the lower vows appears not so much to be caused by incompatibility, as for example in Go-rams-pa's teaching where the inferior volitional impulse is impossible to exist when the volitional impulse of Mahāyāna was produced (see p. 75), but by the greater power of the highest vow, that outshines the lower ones.[227]

The fifth argument refers to the famous verse of Vasubandhu:

> The one who is established in good conduct and possesses learning and reflection
> applies himself to meditation.[228]

The first line of the commentary says;

> Those who wish to see the truths guard right from the beginning their moral conduct.[229]

The issue is the problem of the transference of the supramundane insight of the saints to ordinary beings. According to this theory, the teaching of the Buddha creates the propensities of listening (*śrutavāsanā*) in ordinary beings. These propensities exist together with the basic consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) without being a part of it, and they also serve as antidotes against it.[230] Already in his argumentation concerning Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 23, Go-rams-pa has interpreted Vibhūticandra in such a way that the vows that are the property of the

---

[226] But see my remarks on Vibhūticandra's teaching of dormant vows on p. 76.

[227] See again p. 76 for Vibhūticandra's teaching of dormant vows.

[228] Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. VI, v. 5: *vṛttasthaḥ śrutacintāvān bhāvanāyāṃ prayujyate*, where *vṛtta* is synonymous to *śīla*, see ftn. 229 for the line from the commentary. The Tibetan is: *tshul gnas thos dang bsam ldan pas// bsgom pa la ni rab tu sbyor//* (*P* vol. 115, 243-5-6 ff., read *bsam ldan* instead of *bsam gtan*).

[229] Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. VI, v. 5: *satyāni hi draṣṭukāma ādita eva śīlaṃ pālayati*. In Tibetan (243-5-6): *bden pa rnams mthong ba 'dod pa ni dang po kho nar tshul khrims srung bar byed do.*

[230] See Schmithausen (1987: 80, 370 ff., n. 580-582).

basic consciousness are possessed in the form of propensities.[231] If that would be so, such a propensity may be lost or abandoned, as in the case of the monk vows that are admittedly lost at the time of death (Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 2). In that case, other properties such as those of learning, reflection, and meditation would be lost, too, and it would be useless to practice these. But for Go-rams-pa the fact that the monk vows are lost at the time of death has nothing to do with being a propensity, rather it is a consequence of the way in which they were obtained, i.e. through a ritual that limits the duration of that vow to "as long as one lives."[232] This, however, is also accepted by Vibhūticandra in the following section.

***Garland of Rays* 27.** If a Tantric adept (who only possesses the Mantra vows) takes a lower vow for the sake of a disciple (i.e. in order to be able to confer that vow to him),[233] the lower vow does not outshine the higher vow. The higher vows, on the other hand, do not prevent the lower vows from arising. The ways of obtaining, losing, and maintaining the vows continue according to their respective rituals.

The statement that the vows continue according to their respective rituals suggests that a Tantric guru who previously obtained the lower vows through their specific rituals is thereafter also able to confer those vows (as long as he has not lost or abandoned them), even though he possesses them only in a dormant way. "Unmanifested" appears therefore not to be equivalent to "ineffective" or even "non-existent." The vows are obtained, they continue to exist effectively, and they are lost, for example through transgressions or at death. While the outshining in the later Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa system is an outshining of infractions of the lower vows alone (see the respective section in chapter 13, pp. 321 ff)—with the consequence that one does not lose the lower vows if a transgression occurs—the outshining in Vibhūticandra's system appears to cause a change of the mode of existence of the whole vow, i.e. from "manifest" to "dormant," and, in case of a fundamental transgression, it prevents an arising karmic result caused by the loss of a vow from unfolding its harmful effects (cf. *Garland of Rays* 28). But if "dormant" has the connotation of "latent," Vibhūticandra fails to explain *how* such a vow can continue

---

231 *General Topics* p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 6: *ldan chos sdom pa gsum gyi bag chags rdzas tha dad yin pa'i phyir.*

232 See Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fols. 18v-19r.

233 According to the Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas all the vows of ordination must be obtained from a fully ordained monk. According to the Sautrāntikas, however, the householder vows can also be obtained from another householder. See Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 217, fol. 37r. Thus, in general, a Tantric guru who bestows ordination must possess the particular vow to be bestowed himself.

to be effective and in fact also violable in a latent state. In other words, if their effectiveness or violability is not an indicator for their being latent or active, or for their being dormant or manifested, what exactly characterizes and distinguishes such states?

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 64v). Go-rams-pa argues again by pointing out an internal contradiction: How can one take up a prātimokṣa vow for the sake of others if according to Vibhūticandra one's own benefit is a part of the motive for taking up prātimokṣa vows?[234]

***Garland of Rays* 28.** There are many propensities in the basic consciousness but there exists only one mental stream of consciousness (for a person). A person is unstained by the karmic result of a transgression against a lower vow as long as the higher vows continue, just as the disappearing of the stars and the moon cannot obscure the light of the sun as long as the sun itself remains in the sky.

I understand here that the mental stream of consciousness of a Tantric adept is dominated by the superior set of vows, namely the Mantra vows, while his basic consciousness, on the other hand, may have many propensities. Even if karmic results caused by a transgression against lower vows arise, he will not experience them as long as his mental stream of consciousness continues to be dominated by the higher vows. Thus neither completely functional lower vows (as in *Garland of Rays* 27), nor lower vows damaged by transgressions appear to be of any influence for the higher vow. Perhaps this could be expressed through the following simile: When several strong horses draw a cart, it does not make a difference whether the servants accompanying it help pushing it forward or not. In other words, for a Tantric adept whose Mantra vows remain intact, there is no difference whether his lower vows exist (in a dormant state) or not at all.

Such a theory, however, is in a sharp contrast to all other still-current theories of the three vows that teach with the greatest care the maintaining and continuing of the lower vows. Vibhūticandra's attitude in this respect resembles the description of the system of the so-called "Red Master" (*ācārya dmar-po*) in the writing of seventeenth century master Karma-chags-med, who characterized it in these words (*Ri chos*, p. 74):

> Thereafter, by receiving the [ritual for] producing the bodhisattva's resolve,
> the prātimokṣa vows turned into the bodhisattva vows.
> After that, none of the Vinaya rules had to be maintained (...)

---

234 But see pp. 43 f. for the question whether "one's own benefit" was taught by Vibhūticandra as a necessary element for taking up the prātimokṣa.

> Thereafter, by receiving the four initiations of the Mantra,
> these bodhisattva vows, too, turned into the vows of Mantra.
> After that, the training of the bodhisattva vows did not have to be maintained.

Other theories, however, actually stress the preserving of the lower vows *through* the higher ones. For example, according to Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, explaining the theory of the rNying-ma-pas, one will not lose the monk vows through intercourse, if one realizes that activity as the yoga of the deity.[235] Or the theory of sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po who teaches that the drinking of nectar that has been successfully transformed from alcohol is consistent also with the Vinaya, while alcohol as such should not even be used in Tantric ritual.[236]

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 64v). Go-rams-pa replies that Vibhūticandra is inconsistent when he teaches on the one hand (in section 40) that great harm will occur if the bodhisattva vows are damaged, and on the other hand that one will not be stained by karmic results even though one has transgressed a lower vow. If Vibhūticandra would object that when he teaches the defects of transgressing the bodhisattva vows, he refers only to damage in connection with a possession of each vow individually, but not with a possession of the highest vow (or a threefold possession?), this is wrong, because that would be in contradiction with his teaching that all the ways of losing, obtaining and continuing for all three vows remain according to their respective rituals.

The last section of the *Garland of Rays*, that teaches the results of damage to or loss of the vows, indeed appears to be written from the view-point of each respective vow, just as the first section teaches each vow-system as existing in its own right (cf. p. 60). The "outshining," however, appears to be taught strictly from the point of view of Mantra.

***Garland of Rays* 29.** On the other hand, the continuation of the lower vows cannot protect when one transgresses against a higher vow. Without the sun, the moon and stars remain in darkness.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 65r). If that were so, someone falling back to the Hīnayāna from the Mahāyāna could not obtain the auditor's awakening.

---

[235] See Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *Commentary to the Clear Comprehension*, part five, translated on p. 431.

[236] See rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, ch. V, no. 24 (vol II, *nya*, fols. 32 ff.), translated on p. 373.

Furthermore, according to the example, the bodhisattva vows cannot protect if the Mantra vows have not been taken up right in the beginning, since without the sun, the moon remains dark. This contradicts Vibhūticandra's teaching of the benefits of the lower vows.

Garland of Rays **30.** The explanation of the elixir that turns metals into gold had in mind dominance and supreme qualities of the Mantra vows.[237] During daytime all the light is referred to as sunlight.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 65v). Since the elixir turns substances into gold, it is an example for transformation.

4.3. Vibhūticandra's Refutation of the Theory that Teaches the Three Vows As Being Like a Support (*Garland of Rays* 31-33)

Garland of Rays **31-33.** The example that explains the lower vows to be a basis or support like earth, water, and a ship, is wrong. Aśvaghoṣa and Vilāsavajra have taught the vows as "that which is pervaded" and "the pervader," i.e. that the prātimokṣa vows (the pervader) are pervading the bodhisattva vows (the pervaded). To apply the concepts of "support" and "the supported" to that is an error,[238] since while all instances of the pervaded—the establishing of benefit of the bodhisattva vows—are at the same time instances of the pervader—the abandoning of harm for others—something that is the supported can never also be the support: The accomplishment of benefit in the case of the bodhisattva vows is pervaded by abandoning harm. Would not even a cowherd understand the pervaded and the pervading as being of one substance?

I was unable to trace this particular example to a bKa'-gdams-pa treatise, but I found examples of a similar type in other sources. For example, in a treatise of mKhas-grub-rje dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po (1385-1438)[239] I found in the passage that contains what he presents as his own tradition (*rang lugs*) the example of a *marakata* jewel that is placed in unsullied water in a clean tub. The same example is used to illustrate an (unspecified) theory by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī (fol. 299v), and one also

---

[237] See my discussion of that example in the respective section of chapter 13, pp. 314 ff.

[238] I as yet have not been able to locate a passage discussing the three vows through the concepts of "the support" (*rten*) and "the supported" (*brten*), or of "that which is pervaded" (*khyab bya*) and "the pervader" (*khyab byed*) in the canonical writings of either Vilāsavajra or Aśvaghoṣa.

[239] mKhas-grub-rje dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po, *sDom gsum rnam gzhag*, fol. 95r.

finds it in the writings of Karma-'phrin-las-pa (1456-1539),[240] where it is attributed to the dGe-ldan-pas. mKhas-grub-rje and Karma-'phrin-las-pa point out that the three vows are, according to this theory, of different natures or substances, and that the lower ones become branches of the higher ones. Only Dharma-śrī describes this system additionally as "the support and the supported." Karma-chags-med (1613-1678) ascribes a similar system to Tsong-kha-pa and mentions as its main feature only "the support and the supported." The example quoted by Karma-chags-med differs from the above in so far as the jewel is replaced in it by the reflection of the moon.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 65v). If Vibhūticandra does not accept himself Aśvaghoṣa's and Vilāsavajra's teaching of the "pervaded" and "the pervader," he cannot refute others through it, because neither party of the debate has accepted the reason. If he accepts it, he has involved himself in a total defeat, since it would follow that the two lower vows are of a single entity (while he teaches in *Garland of Rays* 23 that the vows are three distinct entities of their own).

4.4. Vibhūticandra's Explanation of the Meaning of "Possessing Three Vows" (*Garland of Rays* 34, 36-37)

***Garland of Rays* 34.** Therefore it is not acceptable to apply the possession of the three vows to a single Tantric adept. Otherwise the two lower vows would arise without the need of any specific ritual of their own. The rituals of the three vows were not taught by the Buddha as existing in common for all three.

Even though he appears to have accepted previously (in *Garland of Rays* 27) the continuation of the respective rituals of obtaining, losing, and maintaining the lower vows, here he seems to deny such a threefold possession "in the real sense" and he seems to prefer to understand a Tantric adept simply as a Tantric adept, regardless of whether he possesses lower vows, too, or not (especially in section 36 below). His position seems to be that the previous teaching was only provisional and for the sake of the trainees at the time of the path (especially in section 37 below).

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 65v). Go-rams-pa criticises Vibhūticandra's conclusion that the lower vows would arise without their proper rituals if "possessing three [vows]" is applied to the vows of the Tantric adept. Go-rams-pa's strategy is the following. After repeating the "nonsensical" conclusion, he states a consequence (*prasaṅga*) which is impossible to accept for Vibhūticandra: "It would follow that

[240] Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro 9.*

the [different] kinds [of] realizations of the three vehicles would arise without the need to cultivate the two lower vehicles." The next step is that he shows that one would have to draw that pointless conclusion if one would argue parallel to Vibhūticandra's conclusion above based on the following fact: "Because the three kinds of realizations are complete in the Mahāyāna path of seeing alone."

At this point, Go-rams-pa "foresees" Vibhūticandra's answer (not fully explicit in the text, but reconstructible because of the predictable alternatives in a debate): "Although the three kinds of realization are present in the path of seeing of the Mahāyāna, they do not arise without cultivation, because they are cultivated earlier in the path of preparation." To which Go-rams-pa "answers:" "If you think that they do arise being cultivated in the Mahāyāna path of application, it follows that this would not be acceptable." Why not acceptable? In order to refute Vibhūticandra, Go-rams-pa uses now Vibhūticandra's own argument (adapted to this new topic): "Because the Buddha did not teach in common the methods for cultivating the three kinds of realization." The last line in Go-rams-pa's answer concludes: "You have accepted all three [points]." These must therefore be (1) the fact that three kinds of realizations are complete in the Mahāyāna path of seeing alone, (2) that all the three kinds of realization arise by cultivating the Mahāyāna path of preparation, and (3) that the Buddha did not teach in common the methods for cultivating the three kinds of realization.

***Garland of Rays* 36-37.** The intention of praising the possession of three vows as better than being simply a Tantric adept does not refer to the fruit. If it did, the Omniscient One would be of a higher and lower type. The difference between possessing one and three vows is for the sake of the trainees at the time of the path. There is a difference in so far as one vow—that is a distinct entity—may vanish, while the other vows remain existent.

On the level of the fruit, there is only one Buddha, i.e. the fully perfected one, and not three of respectively increased realization. The possession of the different vows was only taught for the level of the path.

Go-rams-pa's Refutation (fol. 65v). If that were the case, the praise of the Perfections Vehicle (*prajñāpāramitā*) by way of the closeness of the fruit would not be a praise by virtue of its being a result.

This refers to the beginning verses of praise in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. That praise is, according to Go-rams-pa, a parallel case of a praise of the fruit, the Perfection of Insight, by way of its closeness. The closeness is, of course, the closeness of the result.

Go-rams-pa on the Sa-skya-pa Doctrine of Three Vows

The section of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* that has the most to do with three-vow theories, namely "the investigation of how the vows are maintained and lost," consists of, as I have mentioned before, three parts that explain how the vows are maintained. The first of these three parts contains the refutation of Vibhūticandra's doctrine of the three vows as presented above in chapter 4.2. (and refutations of other doctrines, too, on which see the topical outline of chapter 2, section 5). In the present chapter, I would like to present the second part on how the vows are maintained, namely Go-rams-pa's exposition of what he accepts as his own tradition (*rang lugs*). This section of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* begins on fol. 70v and has again two parts: The quotation of the "vajra utterance" with regard to the matter to be explained and the correct explanation of its meaning.[241]

5.1. The Quotation of the Relevant Vajra Utterance

Before stating the actual "vajra utterance," i.e. an authoritative statement that is unfalsifiable and as unbreakable as a vajra, Go-rams-pa explains that the general nature of prātimokṣa is to abstain from harming others, together with the mental basis for harming others; in addition to that, the wish to benefit others and to enter into beneficial activities is the bodhisattva vow;[242] and in addition to that, to maintain pure awareness is the vow of the Tantric adept.[243]

Of the two, i.e. the auditor prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva or Mahāyāna prātimokṣa, only the latter is suitable as a basis for both the taking and persistence of the Mantra vows. If one has first obtained the auditor prātimokṣa, this is

[241] These parts are, according to the subject outline, topic 3.3.3.5.1.2.1. *bshad bya rdo rje'i tshig 'god pa*, and topic 3.3.3.5.1.2.2. *de'i don tshul bzhin du bshad pa.*

[242] For the natures of these two vows in the *Awakening of Vairocana*, see ftn. 508.

[243] On this point, see Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 258, fol. 48v: "[The vow of] the Tantric adept is to partake in [these vows] after blessing them through the gnosis of the appearance of the deity ... ." (*rig pa 'dzin pa ni de dag kyang lha'i rnam pa'am [pa'i?]/ ye shes kyis [kyi?] byin gyis brlabs nas longs spyod pas ...).*

transformed into the bodhisattva prātimokṣa when one takes the bodhisattva vows.[244] Otherwise the bodhisattva prātimokṣa arises when the preliminary resolve of the bodhisattvas is produced.[245]

When a monk produces the resolve for awakening, his prātimokṣa turns into the bodhisattva prātimokṣa, and when he receives Tantric initiation, all the vows turn into the vows of a Tantric adept. The vajra utterance that is cited for proving that is *The Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra [or: Tantras?]" [Treatise]: The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness*:[246]

> Through [the process of] smelting, iron, copper and silver appear
> by means of specific particularities of ores.
> Through the elixir that turns [metals] into gold,
> all are turned into gold.
> Similarly, by means of the particularities of mind
> the vows of the three families also [come to be].
> If one enters into this great maṇḍala,
> they are called "[vows of] the Tantric adepts."

5.2. The Correct Explanation of the Meaning [of the Vajra Utterance]

The second part of Go-rams-pa's explication of the Sa-skya-pa system of the three vows has again two parts: The manner of transformation when the three vows are obtained successively[247] and how the nature is the same when all three vows are possessed together.[248]

5.2.1. How the Vows are Transformed When Obtained Successively

Seven ways of possible successions of taking up the three vows are explained here:

1. The auditor prātimokṣa, the bodhisattva vows, and the Mantra vows are taken successively.

2. The Mahāyāna prātimokṣa is taken through producing the bodhisattva's resolve, and thereafter the bodhisattva vows and the Mantra vows are obtained.

Concerning the first of these, Go-rams-pa says that the "previously obtained

---

[244] For such a transformation, see ftn. 249.

[245] For the arising of the bodhisattva prātimokṣa through the bodhisattva's preliminary resolve, see ftn. 250.

[246] This passage is the same as the one quoted on p. 68.The text will be discussed in connection with the *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23 (p. 236).

[247] But see below, ftn. 257.

[248] See the subject outline, topic 3.3.3.5.1.2.2.1. *rim gyis blangs pa'i tshe gnas 'gyur ba'i tshul,* and topic 3.3.3.5.1.2.2.2. *gsum char ldan pa'i tshe ngo bo gcig pa'i tshul.*

auditor prātimokṣa [vows] are transformed into the bodhisattva vows or the bodhisattva prātimokṣa." And he continues "for after one has completely abandoned the inferior intention to pursue peace and happiness merely [for] oneself, that very resolution to abandon that discards opposing factors becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows."[249]

Concerning the second case, there exists no transformation of the auditor prātimokṣa, because those vows were previously not obtained. Instead the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa exists right from the beginning as the nature of the bodhisattva vows, and

---

[249] This is a crucial point for the understanding of the Sa-skya-pa system of the transformation and same nature of the vows. Let me first of all differentiate here between the bodhisattva vows and the bodhisattva or Mahāyāna prātimokṣa. The bodhisattva vows are self-obtained or obtained from the guru's ritual and have four roots according to the Yogācāra system as explained by Candragomin in his *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśaka*, verses 6-7, which is a condensation of the ethics chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*; or they have nineteen or twenty roots according to the Mādhyamikas. They are nineteen according to Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, which quotes the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra*, and twenty according to the *Ratnakūṭa*; see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 235). The bodhisattva or Mahāyāna prātimokṣa is transformed from the auditor prātimokṣa or arises when the auditor prātimokṣa has not been obtained before the resolve of the bodhisattvas is produced (*General Topics* fol. 71r).

The point has been made earlier by Go-rams-pa (*General Topics*, fol. 63r) that the main element of taking up the prātimokṣa vows is renunciation, i.e. the strong desire to attain peace and happiness through freedom from saṃsāra. In the vehicle of the auditors, however, this is limited to oneself, and thus one speaks from the Mahāyāna point of view of "the inferior intention to pursue peace and happiness merely for oneself." When the resolve of the bodhisattvas, namely the wish to obtain Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings, is produced, there exists within that the element of abandoning one's own peace and happiness for all beings. Through that the inferior intention of the auditors is removed, and that resolution of benefitting sentient beings, of which the abandoning of killing, stealing, etc.—the rules of prātimokṣa—is an element, becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows, since the resolution to abandon harm for beings is not only not discarded, but included within the resolve to benefit beings. It is only the narrow scope of one's own personal happiness that is replaced by the taking care of all sentient beings. Therefore there is no cause at all for a loss of the previously obtained prātimokṣa vows when the bodhisattva's resolve is produced. On the contrary, through this process of abandoning the inferior intention and the continuation of the resolution to abandon the harming of others, this prātimokṣa continues to exist as the bodhisattva prātimokṣa.

This is Go-rams-pa's explanation for transformation and same nature. The auditor prātimokṣa has been transformed into the bodhisattva or Mahāyāna prātimokṣa, and the nature of the bodhisattva vows, namely to benefit sentient beings, is the same as the nature of the [bodhisattva] prātimokṣa, since this prātimokṣa of the bodhisattvas is without the inferior intention of the auditors and endowed with the bodhisattva's resolve.

when the bodhisattva vows are actually produced, they come into being as of the same nature with the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa by way of adding a quality to what is of the same nature.[250]

3. and 4. After obtaining the auditor prātimokṣa there are two ways of taking up the Mantra vows without having taken up the bodhisattva vows. The scriptural authority for this is the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*:

Similarly, through the particularities of mind,
the vows of the three kinds also [come to be].
If one enters into this great maṇḍala,
[they are called "vows of the Tantric adepts."]

Thus, says Go-rams-pa, "one who is established in the vows of [any of] the three families [auditors, solitary Buddhas, and bodhisattvas] [may] take the Mantra vows."[251] The "two ways of taking up the Mantra vows without having taken up the bodhisattva vows" must be then 1) the taking up of the auditor prātimokṣa and 2) the taking up of the prātimokṣa of solitary Buddhas previous to the taking up of the

---

[250] According to Go-rams-pa, the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa exists right from the beginning as of the nature of the bodhisattva vows, because the bodhisattva's resolve, which precedes the actual production of the bodhisattva vows, includes the element "for the sake of all sentient beings," which in turn includes the element of abstaining from harming others, the nature of the prātimokṣa. Thus the nature of the prātimokṣa exists through the bodhisattva's resolve. This, however, is not the auditor prātimokṣa with its inferior intention, but the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa with its scope of all sentient beings, and it also does not exist with any of the particular rules of for example the monk vows, because these vows are only obtained through their particular rituals. The bodhisattva prātimokṣa that has not been transformed from the auditor prātimokṣa, exists as of the nature of the prātimokṣa, namely abstaining from harming beings through abandoning the ten non-virtues, to which the quality of the bodhisattva vow is added when that vow is actually produced, i.e. the benefitting of beings through practicing the ten virtues. This point is clearly stated for the Mantra vows (*General Topics*, fol. 73v): "And if [the lower vows] have not already been taken, one takes in the Mantra vows alone the three [vows,] namely the vow of abandoning to harm others together with its [mental] base, [the vow of] establishing the benefit for others, and the vow of endowing all these with [the means of] taking the fruit [i.e. the spiritual goal] as the path [of practice]." And on the same folio for the two lower vows: "Therefore, if one possesses the bodhisattva vows, one certainly possesses two [i.e. both the bodhisattva prātimokṣa vows *and* the bodhisattva vows proper] (...)."

[251] It is quite possible to read the example of the elixir in this way, since iron, etc., which refers according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (*Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 48v) to the training of the auditors, etc., is directly transformed into gold, which refers to the Mantra vows. This is also suggested through the passage of fol. 74v: "because when iron, copper and silver come into contact with the elixir that turns things into gold, they all become just a heap of gold with no differentiation of substances such as 'iron.'"

Mantra vows.[252]

5. After obtaining the bodhisattva vows that were not preceded by prātimokṣa, one takes up the Mantra vows. This is possible on the basis of the Madhyamaka tradition.[253]

6. Taking up the Mantra vows without any preceding vow.[254] This is established through rJe-btsun bSod-nams-rtse-mo, who taught that if someone says: "Right from the beginning I request initiation in order to take the highest supramundane achievement of Mahāmudrā," then he is to be initiated from the beginning.[255] Here the three vows arise as having the same nature of Mantra and no transformation is involved.[256]

7. After taking the Mantra vows, one obtains the lower vows afterwards. The vows arise as the nature of the Mantra vow and no transformation is involved.[257]

---

[252] For the self-ordination of solitary Buddhas, see the list on p. 47, item no. 1.

[253] That it is a Madhyamaka position that one may take the bodhisattva vows without preceding prātimokṣa vows is held by the Sa-skya-pas, but it is denied by the bKa'-gdams-pas and dGe-lugs-pas. For both Atiśa and Tsong-kha-pa the prātimokṣa is the basis of the bodhisattva vows; see Atiśa, *Bodhipathapradīpa*, v. 20, p. 21-1-2, and Tsong-kha-pa, *Byang chub gzhung lam*, pp. 115-5-7 ff. A short discussion of the Sa-skya-pa's position may be found in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa*, pp. 321-2-6 ff. See also, Tatz (1982: 22-23), and (1986: 17). The Sa-skya-pa's position is said to have been transmitted by Kha-che Paṇ-chen, or at least he clearly differentiated the two main lineages. See, for example, Sa-paṇ's reply to the question of Chag-lo on this point (*Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 5, pp. 409-414). Atiśa of course upheld the Yogācāra tradition in this case.

[254] That the three vows are taken in a succession, and that the practitioner is expected to take prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows before receiving a Tantric initiation may be the common procedure in Tibet, but it is by no means the only possible way to take initiation, as is often claimed by western authors; see for example, Samuel (1993: 206).

[255] bSod-nams-rtse-mo, *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma smin par byed pa'i cho ga dbang gi chu bo chen mo*, no. 20.

[256] It might be added that the lower vows exist in this case only as the nature, namely abstaining from harm through abandoning non-virtue and benefitting beings through practicing virtue. The specific rules of for example the monk vows as a part of the seven classes of prātimokṣa can only be obtained through the specific ritual of obtaining the monk vows. See ftn. 250.

[257] Even though it was taught above that a transformation is involved in the successive process of obtaining the vows, here this is not the case, because whichever vow arises after the Mantra vows are obtained is already pervaded by the means that take the fruit as the path and thus there is no need for a transformation. This last point might therefore considered to be beyond the subject outline "The manner of transformation when the three vows are obtained successively" (topic 3.3.3.5.1.2.2.1. *rim gyis blangs pa'i tshe gnas 'gyur ba'i tshul*).

Thus, in the specific sense explained above, the vows of the auditors are "transformed" in that the inferior intention of the auditors is removed, and the resolve to benefit sentient beings, of which the abandoning of one's own peace and happiness is an element, becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows. And both the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows are "transformed" in that through Tantric initiation they are pervaded by the means that takes the fruit as the path. One cannot speak of any transformation in any other way than that, especially not in a general sense, since the bodhisattva vows are a particular instance of the prātimokṣa vows, and the Mantra vows are a particular instance of both lower vows.[258]

5.2.2. How the Nature of the Vows is the Same When All Three Vows are Possessed Together

The second part of Go-rams-pa's explanation of the meaning of the vajra utterance deals with the manner of same nature when all three vows are possessed together.[259]

In whichever of the above stated seven ways the vows are taken, if the Mantra vows are present in the mental stream of consciousness, all three vows exist as of the nature of the Mantra vows. All previous vows are transformed, and those vows that have not been obtained earlier are obtained as their natures through the Mantra vows alone, namely the nature of the prātimokṣa as abandoning harm for others together with its mental base and the nature of the bodhisattva vows as establishing benefit for others.

Thus when one possesses the bodhisattva vows, one certainly possesses both [bodhisattva prātimokṣa and bodhisattva] vows, and when one possesses the Mantra

[258] Go-rams-pa (*General Topics*, fol. 73r) here contrasts the "universal" (*spyir*) with the "specific" (*bye brag*). The bodhisattva vows are a particular instance of the prātimokṣa vows, because there the defilements are to be controlled in a more specific way. While the defilements are to be removed in the prātimokṣa in order to secure higher types of births or to obtain liberation *for oneself*, they are much more so to be controlled in the bodhisattva's activities since he works *for the benefit of all beings*. The same principle holds for the Mantra vows: here the Mantra vows are a particular instance of both lower vows, because in taking the fruit as the path, the defilements are dealt with in a specific way. Thus, generally speaking, one cannot say that prātimokṣa is transformed into the bodhisattva vows, because the prātimokṣa still exists as something that has to be continued—it is merely the inferior volitional impulse (*dman sems*) that is abandoned and replaced by the bodhisattva's volitional impulse. Similarly, after the Mantra vows have been taken, both lower vows are to be continued after being pervaded by the means that take the fruit as the path.

[259] See the subject outline, topic 3.3.3.5.1.2.2.2. *gsum char ldan pa'i tshe ngo bo gcig pa'i tshul.*

vows, one certainly possesses all the three vows.[260] And if fundamental transgressions against the two lower vows are committed without a special purpose such as "for the benefit of sentient beings," then for that person there occurs the fundamental transgression against the second pledge of the Mantra consisting in going "beyond the Sugata's Mantra teachings;" and if he behaves with "disregard for the branches," i.e. through transgressions against the prātimokṣa other than the infractions entailing expulsion and through fundamental transgressions against the bodhisattva vows, then, too, there occurs for him the second fundamental transgression of the Mantra of going "beyond the Sugata's teachings;" and if he behaves without such disregard, but also without a special purpose, then he transgresses against the branch vows of the Mantra teaching, as mentioned in the passage: "Going beyond the restrictions of the two vows without a purpose ...;" and if he acts with a special purpose such as "benefiting sentient beings," he transgresses against nothing at all.[261]

The following section of the *General Topics* is devoted to refuting Vibhūticandra's refutation of the Sa-skya-pa position (*Garland of Rays* 18-24; *General Topics* fols. 75v-77v). I have included Go-rams-pa's answer in my parallel translation in chapter six. The main topics have been discussed in chapters three and four.

The next section in the *General Topics* discusses the loss of vows (fol. 77v-78r). The main point here is that when a person obtains the three vows in a gradual succession and thus through their specific rituals, a vow may only be lost when the cause specific to it occurs. Thus, for example, a Tantric adept monk may lose his monk vows at death or abandon them at some time because there is a special purpose for

260 See Go-rams-pa, *General Topics,* p. 236, fol. 74r, 1.4: "This necessity for the three vows to be possessed when Mantra vows are taken is seen to be purely the tradition explicated by rJe-btsun Sa-skya-pa and his sons, the infallible intention of Sūtra and Tantra, because ... whether the two lower vows of this [i.e. our] system precede or not, it is ascertained that the three vows are possessed when the Mantra vows are possessed, [while] it can be seen that other systems have not engaged in even a trifling analysis [of the matter]." (*sngags sdom dang ldan na sdom pa gsum dang ldan dgos pa 'di yang mdo rgyud kyi dgongs pa phyin ci ma log pa rje btsun sa skya pa yab sras kyis bkral ba'i lugs 'ba' zhig tu snang ste [...] lugs gzhan dag gis ni dpyad pa tsam yang ma zhugs par snang zhing 'di pa'i lugs kyi sdom pa 'og ma gnyis po sngon du song ma song gang yin kyang sngags sdom thob pa'i tshe sdom pa gsum ldan du gtan la phab pa'i phyir ro/*)

261 The explanations in this section are clearly based on the model of obtaining the vows in a successive manner, because only when one has obtained for example a specific prātimokṣa vow through its specific ritual is it possible that there arises for example an infraction that entails expulsion from the order.

it such as the benefit of beings, but since both occurrences are not a cause for the loss of the higher vows, these are kept. Or, if he commits an infraction of the monk vows entailing expulsion without a special purpose, he loses the monk vows and the Mantra vows, because the second fundamental transgression against the Mantra vows has occurred.[262] He does not lose the bodhisattva vows, because no cause for their loss has occurred and they were obtained through their own specific ritual. On the other hand, if the vows were not obtained through their specific rituals, but through Tantric initiation alone, all three vows will be lost when there occurs a fundamental transgression against the Mantra vows, because the three vows are merely differentiated into three by way of their being aspects of simply the Mantra vows.

The final section of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* (fols. 79v ff.) explains how to practice the three vows. Here it is explained that as long as there is no special purpose such as the benefit of sentient beings, the Tantric adept monk should outwardly observe the conduct of the auditors, while he inwardly rejoices on the meaning of Mantra practices such as of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. That the practice of the bodhisattva vows is not even mentioned with a single word in this section simply shows that Go-rams-pa naturally assumes them as the basis for the practices of the Tantric adept monk. The final section of this last part of the *General Topics* is a very interesting discussion of how each vow is practiced as possessing all three vows.

---

[262] The second fundamental transgression occurs when one transgresses the teachings of the Sugata (*bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' las 'das*). See *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*, *P* vol. 69, no. 3308, and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 243, fols. 39r ff.

CHAPTER 6

The Main Passages on the Three-Vow Controversy from the Treatises of Vibhūticandra and Go-rams-pa: Texts and Translations

Having discussed in chapters three and four the basic aspects from Vibhūticandra's work and Go-rams-pa's replies, here I will present the relevant Tibetan texts and translations of these passages in their entirety. For the ease of the reader, I have presented the Tibetan text and the translation of the respective passage on facing pages (whenever technically possible).

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 2
gling gsum skyes pa bud med kyis//
rang nyid 'khor ba bsgral[263] *don du//*
mkhan slob cho ga tshad ldan las//
ji srid 'tsho yi bar dag tu//
gnod pa gzhi[264] *dang bcas pa la*[265]*//*
gtso cher lus ngag sdom pa de[266]*//*
nyan thos bye brag smra ba'i sdom//

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 62v, l. 6 ff.):
de la so thar len pa'i bsam pa'i yan lag tu rang don yid byed dgos pa yang ma yin te/ spyir nges 'byung gi bsam pas zin na so thar du 'gyur ba las nges 'byung de la yang byang chub tu sems bskyed pa gsum yod pa'i phyir dang / bye brag tu smra ba rang gi gzhung las kyang byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed pa'i sgo nas so thar len pa yang yod pa'i phyir te/ sum brgya pa las/ rdzogs pa'i byang chub dpal nod dbang bskur yin/ zhes bshad pa'i phyir ro//

mkhan slob kyi cho ga kho na las len dgos par 'dod pa yang mi 'thad de/ rang byung gi bsnyen par rdzogs pa dang / ye shes khong du chud pas bsnyen par rdzogs pa dang / tshur shog la ma khyab pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 3
gang zag glang po[267] *'dra ba la//*
sdom pa khal dang 'dra ba de[268]
thob pa'i thag pas sbrel[269] *bar gnas*[270]*//*
so sor thar pa'i gnas tshul yin//

---

[263] *P*: 266a; *General Topics: bgrol* (i.e. *bkrol?*).
[264] *D*: *bzhi.*
[265] *P* + *D*: *las.*
[266] *General Topics*: *ste.*
[267] *P* + *D*: *bu.*
[268] *P* + *D*: *zhig.*
[269] *General Topics: sprel?*
[270] *D*: *bas na*, *General Topics*: *bar nas.*

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 2

The restraint of primarily body and speech
with regard to[271] harm, together with the [mental] basis [for harming others],
through the correct ritual of a preceptor (*upādhyāya*) [and] a master (*ācārya*)
by men and women of the three continents
for as long as they live
in order to liberate themselves from saṃsāra[272]
is [the set of] vows of the Śrāvaka-Vaibhāṣikas.

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 62v, l. 6 ff.):

"It is also not necessary that the thinking about one's benefit be an element of the motive for taking up the prātimokṣa [vows], because in general if one is endowed with a motive of renunciation [i.e. the intention to attain freedom] that will be prātimokṣa, and with that renunciation there are three kinds of production of the resolve to attain awakening [according to the three different spiritual goals aimed at]; and also because according to the Vaibhāṣika's own scriptures, too, by means of the production of a resolve for supreme awakening there exists also the taking up of prātimokṣa. For as the *Three-Hundred [Verses]* (*gsum brgya pa*) teaches:

> "One is promoted (*dbang bskur*) to the glory of perfect awakening (*rdzogs pa'i byang chub*)."

It is also not permissible to hold that [the prātimokṣa vows] must be taken exclusively through a ritual conducted by a preceptor [and] a master, because [this would] not include self-arising [i.e. spontaneous?] ordination, ordination by gnosis (*jñāna*)-realization, and [transmitting] ordination by uttering the words "come hither!"

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 3

The vow, which is like a burden,
remains on the person, who is like an ox,[273]
being connected by means of the rope of possession (Skt. *prāpti*).
That is how the prātimokṣa vows persist.

---

[271] Or, if we read *las* according to *P* + *D*, "restraint from."

[272] Or, if we read *bkrol* according to *General Topics*, "in order to be liberated themselves from saṃsāra?"

[273] For *glang bu*, Jäschke has "young bullock."

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 63r l. 3):
thob pa'i thag pas sbrel nas gnas zhes pa yang bye brag tu smra ba'i lugs kyi thob pa khas len na/ byang sems dang sngags sdom yang thob pas sbrel nas gnas par khas len dgos te/ gang zag gi rgyud kyis bsdus pa'i yon tan thams cad la/ gang zag de dang sbrel byed kyi thob pa yod par 'dod pa'i phyir te/

thob dang ma thob rang rgyud du//
rtogs[274] *pa rnams kyi*

zhes gsungs pa'i phyir/ de lta bu'i thob pa khas mi len na ni so thar gyi sdom pa la 'ang thob pa don med do//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 5
lha mi la sogs gang rung gis//
'gro ba ma lus skyob[275] *pa'i phyir//*
slob dpon cho ga tshad ldan las//
ji srid byang chub snying po'i bar//

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 63r, l. 5):
byang chub sems kyi sdom pa thob pa'i tshul yang slob dpon gyi cho ga las thob dgos pa'i nges pa med de/ rten gyi drung du rang nyid kyis len pa dbu ma lugs dang / sems tsam lugs gnyis ka las bshad pa'i phyir ro//

dus byang chub ma thob kyi bar du len pa spyir 'thad kyang khyed rang la nang 'gal te/ sngags sdom ni nam mkha' gnas kyi bar len par khas blangs shing / sngags sdom dang byang sems kyi sdom pa la dus rgyun ring thung gi khyad par gang nas kyang ma bshad pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 9
rang don blangs dang nag po yi//
chos bzhi la sogs[276] *zhugs pa dang //*
'bras bu dag ni thob pa na//
tsha grang gru[277] *bzhin sems bskyed gtong //*

---

[274] Read: *gtogs*.

[275] *D*: *bskyab; General Topics: skyab(?).*

[276] *General Topics: log par*. This reading does not make sense, since we already have *nag po*, but not *chos bzhi log par zhugs pa* alone. *log par* appears to be a scribal abbreviation in a *dBu med* script for *la sogs*.

[277] *D*: *grub*.

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 63r l. 3):
Regarding your statement "[the vow] persists (...) being connected [to the person] by means of the rope of possession," if you accept the obtainment [of the prātimokṣa vows] according to the Vaibhāṣika-system, then you must accept that the bodhisattva and Mantra vows, too, persist after being connected by possession, because with regard to all qualities that are included within the [mental] stream [of consciousness] of a person, you hold that there exists a possessing [of these qualities] that connects [them] to [this] person, for as it is said (*Abhidharmakoś́a*, 2,36 cd):

"Possession" and "Non-possession" [refer to *dharmas*]
belonging to one's [mental] stream [of consciousness] (...).

If you do not accept such a possession [in these cases] then [to speak of] a possession would be meaningless also regarding the prātimokṣa vows.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 5
In order to protect all beings without exception,
anyone among gods and men
[may obtain the bodhisattva vows] through the correct ritual of a master
until [they arrive at] the seat of awakening.

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 63r, l. 5):
Also [with regard to] the way of possession of the bodhisattva vows, it is not certain that one needs to possess [them] through the ritual of a master, because the taking [of these vows] in front of an image [of the Buddha, etc.,] by oneself [alone] is taught in both the Madhyamaka system and the Cittamātra system.

[To hold that] the duration [of the bodhisattva vows is that they are] taken until one attains awakening is generally correct, but there you have an internal contradiction [in your own system], because you accept that the Mantra vows are taken [for a period] as long as space remains,[278] and nowhere at all is it taught that there is a difference of duration regarding the vows of Mantra and of the bodhisattva.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 9
When one strives for [one's] own selfish benefit
indulges in such things as the four black factors, or
obtains the result [i.e. awakening],
[one] abandons the production of the resolve [since these are like] heat and cold [and like] a boat.

---

[278] In *Garland of Rays* 10d: *nam mkha' ji srid gnas bar du.*

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 63r, l. 6):
gtong tshul la rang don yid byed skyes pa na byang sems kyi sdom pa gtong ba ni khyed rang gis khas blangs pa dang 'gal te/ byang sems kyi sdom ldan gyis so thar gyi sdom pa blangs pa yod pa dang / so thar gyi sdom pa blangs pa'i bsam pa'i yan lag tu rang don yid byed dgos par khas blangs pas so thar len pa'i tshe gtong bar thal ba'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 10
rigs bzhi la sogs bsod nams ldan//
rang gzhan dgos 'dod phun tshogs don[279]*//*
bla ma mtshan nyid[280] *tshad ldan las//*
nam mkha' ji srid gnas bar du//

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 2):
byang chub thob pa na sems bskyed kyi sdom pa gtong bar 'dod pa ni spyir mdo rgyud kyi lung du ma dang 'gal ba yang 'dir ma spros la/ khyed rang gis sngags sdom byang chub thob kyang gnas par 'dod pa dang yang 'gal te/ sngags sdom gyi dam tshig la rtsa ltung bcu bzhi las/ chos kyi rtsa ba byang chub sems/ de spong ba ni lnga pa yin/ zhes pa dang / dpal mchog las/ byang chub sems ni dor mi bya/ zhes pa dang / de bzhin rnam snang mngon byang dang / gsang ba spyi rgyud sogs rgyud phal che ba las sngags sdom gnas pa la byang chub kyi sems mi gtong bar dgos par gsungs pas so//

[279] *General Topics: sum tshogs.* Go-rams-pa understood the theme of this section as "duration for which Mantra vows are obtained" (see below, *General Topics* fol. 63v). Thus, even if one reads *phun sum tshogs* (instead of *phun tshogs don*), one would have to understand "for the purpose of" in the second line.

[280] *P + D*: *cho ga*, "from a guru's correct ritual."

Go-rams-pa (p. 230, fol. 63r, l. 6):
Regarding the way of losing [the bodhisattva vows], [what you maintain, i.e. that] the bodhisattva vows are lost if the resolve of attaining one's own benefit is produced contradicts what you yourself accept. Because [in what you accept as your own tradition, cases of] taking up the prātimokṣa vows by a possessor of bodhisattva vows do exist,[281] and it would follow that [the bodhisattva vows] would be lost at the time of taking up the prātimokṣa vows, because [you] have already accepted [in *Garland of Rays* 2, see p. 98] that the volition [to gain] one's own benefit is necessary as an element of the motive of taking up the prātimokṣa vows.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 10
Among the four classes, etc., possessors of the merit
[obtain Mantra vows] for the sake of [producing] to perfection [everything] desired or needed [for] oneself and others,[282]
as long as space exists,
from a guru who possesses the good marks.

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 2):
[You] hold that the vow of [the bodhisattva's] resolve [for Buddhahood] is lost when awakening is obtained. Even though in general [this opinion of yours] contradicts many scriptures of Sūtra and Tantra, I will not go into detail here. But this also contradicts what you hold about the Mantra vows remaining even though awakening is obtained. For it is said in the *Fourteen Fundamental Transgressions Against the Pledges of the Mantra Vows*: "The root of the Dharma is [the bodhisattva's] resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*), to give it up is the fifth [fundamental transgression]," and the *Śrīparamādyanāmamahāyānakalparāja* states: "Do not discard the [bodhisattva's] resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*)!", and similarly it is taught in the majority of the tantras such as the *Awakening of Vairocana* and the *Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhiguhyatantra* that for the persistence of the Mantra vows, one must not discard the resolve for awakening.

---

[281] See *Garland of Rays* 27 (p. 120): *gal te rig pa 'dzin pa yis// gdul bya gang dang gang don du// 'og ma'i sdom pa blangs pa na//*: "If a Tantric adept / takes a lower vow / for the sake of any of his disciples (...)."

[282] In this respect, the *dharmakāya* is desirable for one's own sake and the *nirmāṇakāya* is desirable for the sake of others.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 11
lhan skyes ye shes brda[283] *don 'phrod*[284]*//*
rnam rtog dri ma kun las sdom//
rig 'dzin sdom pa'i thob tshul yin//[285]

Go-ram-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 4):
sngags sdom gyi ngo bo lhan skyes ye shes kyi brda don 'phrod pa la 'dod pa yang rgyud sde 'og ma gsum la ma khyab cing bla med la yang dbang gsum pa nas ye shes skye ba yod kyang brda don 'phrod pa bzhi pa nas yod pa sogs ni 'dir skabs ma yin pas ma spros so//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 12
sku gsung thugs kyi rgyal mtshan la//
rim gnyis yid bzhin nor bus[286] *spras//*
'dod yon lnga yis kun[287] *nas mchod//*
dgos 'dod kun gyi 'byung gnas sa[288]*//*
rig 'dzin sdom pa'i gnas tshul yin//

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 5):
gnas tshul rim gnyis kyi nyams len la brten nas gnas dgos pa yang der ma nges te/ nyams len med kyang dbang bskur thob nas dam tshig dang sdom pa bsrungs na sngags sdom gnas pa sus kyang 'gog mi nus pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's Quotations from Tantras
(Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 14, 15, 16, 17):
[14] *rgyud ni sum brgya pa las ni//*
'khor bzhi po la rjes su gnang //
rang gi[289] *bslab*[290] *pa dang yang ldan//*
dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa bya//
gsungs so ...

---

[283] *General Topics: brda'.*
[284] *P + D: spro.*
[285] *P + D: rig 'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa'o,* "[this] is the vow of the Tantric adept."
[286] *P + D: gyis.*
[287] *P: 266b.*
[288] *General Topics: pa.*
[289] *General Topics: nyid;* fol. 58v.
[290] *General Topics: slob.*

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 11

Being introduced to the purport of connate gnosis
one restrains [oneself] from all stains of mental construction.
[This] is how to obtain the vows of the Tantric adept.

Go-ram-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 4):

[You] hold that being introduced to the purport of connate gnosis is the nature of the Mantra vows. But this [opinion of yours] does not include the three lower tantra classes, and in the highest [tantra class], too, the arising of gnosis exists [only] from the third initiation, while being introduced [to connate gnosis] occurs [only] from the fourth initiation [upwards], etc. But since this is not the [proper] place [for such a discussion], I will not elaborate [on it here].

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 12

One adorns the victorious banner of body, speech and mind
with the wish-fulfilling jewels of the two stages [of meditation],
and worships [it] intensively with the five objects of the senses.
It is the source of everything needed or desired.
[This] is how the vows of the Tantric adept persist.

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 5):

[With regard to] how [the Mantra vows] persist, there is no certainty that [the vows] must persist based on the practice of the two stages [of meditation], because no one can deny that Mantra vows [actually] persist if, after obtaining initiation, the pledges and vows are observed, even though one does not practice [the two stages of meditation].

Vibhūticandra's Quotations from Tantras
(Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 14, 15, 16, 17):

[14] From the *Three-Hundred [Verse] Tantra*:
[Members of] the four retinues [if] they also possess
their [respective] trainings, are permitted.
One may [even] make a monk a tantric adept.

[15] ... *dus kyi 'khor lo las//*
rten ni gsum las dge slong mchog
'bring ni dge tshul yin par 'dod//
khyim na gnas pa tha ma'o//[291]

[16] *gzhan yang rdo rje rtse mo las//*
gal te de ni rab byung na//
sdom pa gsum dang yang dag ldan//
so sor[292] *thar dang byang chub sems//*
rig 'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa'o//

[17] *gzhung 'bum pa ni*[293] *'di skad du//*
rdo yi rigs kyi bye brag bzhus[294]*//*
lcags dang zangs dang dngul du 'byung //
gser 'gyur rtsi yi dngos po yis//
kun kyang gser du 'gyur ba bzhin//
de bzhin sems kyi bye brag gis//[295]
rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa yang //
dkyil 'khor chen po 'dir zhugs na//
rdo rje 'dzin pa zhes bya'o//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 18
gsungs pa'i don la 'ga' zhig[296] *ni//*
sdom gsum gnas 'gyur[297] *ngo bo gcig*
gong[298] *ma'i rtsa ltung byung ba na//*
'og ma gtong zhes sgrogs pa yod//

---

[291] This line is omitted in *P*.
[292] *P*: *so.*
[293] *P* + *D*: *las.*
[294] *P* + *D*: *bzhu.*
[295] *P* + *General Topics*: om. this line.
[296] *General Topics: kha cig.*
[297] *P* + *D*: *gyur.*
[298] *D*: p. 1403.

[15] From the (*Paramādibuddha*) *Śrī Kālacakratantra*:
Among the three bases the full monk [/nun] (*bhikṣu/bhikṣuṇī*) is the highest,
novice monks [/nuns] are maintained to be medium
[and] the householders are lowest.[299]

[16] Furthermore from the *Vajra-Peak Tantra*:
If that [person] is ordained,
he possesses the three vows properly,
[i.e.] the vows of prātimokṣa, of bodhisattvas
and of the Tantric adept.

[17] In the *Basic Hundred Thousand [Verse Tantra or Tantras?]* it is said:
Through [the process of] smelting, iron, copper and silver appear,[300]
[due to] specific particularities of ores.
Through the elixir by which [metals] turn into gold,
all are turned into gold.
Similarly, due to the particularities of mind,
the vows of the three families also [come to be].
If one enters into this great maṇḍala,
they are called "[vows of] the Tantric adepts."

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 18
Regarding the meaning of these quotations, some say that
the three vows [are possessed in the way of] a transformation [and] of a same nature.
If a fundamental transgression [against] a higher [vow] occurs,
the lower [vows are also] lost.

---

[299] This line is omitted in *P*. Verses from this lost Mūlatantra survive only in the commentaries, in this case the *VimalaprabhāṬīka*, Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas (Rare Buddhist Text Series 12), Sarnath, Varanasi, 1994, vol. 2, p. 4, and p. 146.

[300] The Tibetan text has here "*lcags dang zangs dang dngul du 'byung,*" i.e. "appear *as* iron, copper, and silver." But cf. p. 369, where *du* is omitted (even though the meter is the same). Since the text corresponds without the *du* better with the passage "*de bzhin sems kyi bye brag gis*" below, I suppose that the original omitted the *du*.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 19
de la cung zhig brtag par bya//
gsum ldan gsungs pa'i dgongs pa'i don[301]*//*
gcig ldan gtong ba[302] *dgongs pa min//*
rigs pas kyang ni shin tu gnod//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 20
bu med la smod ltung ba yis//
reg pa'i[303] *sdom pa gtong ngam ci//*
gal te gtong na ha cang thal//
mkha' la sprin chen 'khrigs[304] *pa yis//*
sa yi lo tog[305] *skam*[306] *zhes sgre*[307]*//*

Go-rams-pa (p. 237, fol. 75v, l. 1):
gsum pa rtsod pa spang ba ni/ 'od phreng mkhan po na re/ rgyud 'bum pa'i lung gi don la sdom gsum gnas 'gyur ngo bo gcig pa dang / gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung na 'og ma gtong bar 'dod pa mi 'thad de/ ngo bo gcig na gtong ba'i tshe sdom pa gcig po de nyid gtong bar 'gyur bas gsum ldan gyi gtong ba'i don mi gnas pa'i phyir ro//

gzhan yang bud med la smod pa'i ltung ba byung bas bud med la reg pa'i sdom pa gtong bar thal/ gong ma'i ltung ba byung bas 'og ma'i sdom pa gtong ba yod pa'i phyir/ 'dod na mkha' la sprin chen 'khrigs pas lo thog nyams par 'gyur ro//

---

301 *General Topics: pa yis.*
302 *P + D: spong ba'i.*
303 *P + D: srung.*
304 *P: 'khrig.*
305 *General Topics: thog.*
306 *General Topics: skem.*
307 *P + D: bsgre.*

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 19

Let us examine this a bit.
The intended meaning of "possessing the three [vows]"
is not that [the three vows] are lost [all at once because they] have the same [nature].
This is also completely disproven by [the following] reasoning:

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 20

How could it be that the [prātimokṣa] vow of [abandoning] tactile contact [with women] is lost
by a [fundamental] transgression [against the fourteenth Tantric pledge that forbids] abusing women?
If that were a loss [of the vows], that would be an overextension [of the term "loss"].
It would be like arguing by analogy:
"By the gathering of the [rain] clouds in the sky, the crops of the earth wither."

[What follows is Go-rams-pa's summary of Vibhūticandra's criticism of what is accepted in the Sa-skya-pa tradition (*Garland of Rays* 18,19,20):]

Go-rams-pa (p. 237, fol. 75v, l. 1):

3.3.3.5.1.3. The rejection of criticisms. [Vibhūticandra], author of the *Garland of Rays*, said:

"To hold that 'the three vows are transformed [and of a] same nature' and that the lower [vows] are lost when a fundamental transgression against a superior vow occurs is not acceptable in regard to the meaning of the quotation of the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s]?" [Treatise]*, since if they were of one nature this would imply that when the loss occurs, just this single vow [to which the three are reduced] is lost, so that meaning 'loss of the three [vows] possessed' does not hold." [*Garland of Rays* 18-19]

"Furthermore, it would follow that the vow [prohibiting] tactile contact with women would be lost because the loss of [the fourteenth Tantric pledge concerning] abusing women occurred, since [in your system] there is the loss of lower vows through the occurrence of the loss of a superior [vow]. If you hold that, [it is like saying that] the crops wither by the gathering of the rain clouds in the sky." [*Garland of Rays* 20]

[Having summarized Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 18,19, and 20, Go-rams-pa replies:]

Go-rams-pa (p. 237, fol. 75v, l. 6):
de la sdom pa gsum ngo bo gcig yin kyang gtong ba'i tshe cig char du gtong mi dgos te/ thun mong ma yin pa'i gtong rgyu rnams kyis sdom pa de nyid gtong gi gzhan mi gtong ba'i phyir ro// gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung na 'og ma gtong ba la skyon brjod pa de gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung na 'og ma gtong bas khyab pa la skyon brjod pa yin nam/ gtong srid pa la skyon brjod pa yin/ dang po ltar na mi 'thad de/ de ltar du khas ma blangs pa'i phyir ro// gnyis pa ltar na bud med la smod pa'i ltung bas bud med la reg pa'i sdom pa gtong bar thal/ gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung bas 'og ma gtong ba yod pa'i phyir te/ rtsa ltung lnga pa byung na byang sems kyi sdom pa gtong ba'i phyir/

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 21
gzhan yang sdom pa gtong thob rgyu//
sangs rgyas gsungs las gzhan pa yi//
cho ga mkhan du byed rigs sam//

Go-rams-pa's summary of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 21:
gzhan yang sdom pa thob gtong gi rgyu sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa las gzhan du byed rigs par thal/ gong ma'i rtsa ltung 'og ma'i gtong rgyu yin pa'i phyir/

Go-rams-pa's Answer (p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 3):
gzhan yang sdom pa gtong thob kyi rgyu sangs rgyas kyi gsungs pa las gzhan du byed rigs par thal/ bde gshegs bka' 'das kyi ltung ba byung bas 'og ma'i sdom pa gtong ba yod pa'i phyir/

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 22
gzhan yang 'gal ba ltag sprod[308] *la//*
gnas gyur rtsi[309] *ba*[310] *rigs ma yin//*
rigs na nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor 'di//[311]
ganga'i chu bor[312] *'gyur*[313] *zhes bsgre*[314]*//*

---

[308] *General Topics: sprad.*
[309] *General Topics + D: brtsi.*
[310] *General Topics + D: ba'i.*
[311] *P*: 267a.
[312] *P + D: las.*
[313] *P + D: gyur.*
[314] *General Topics: sgre.*

Go-rams-pa (p. 237, fol. 75v, l. 6):
[Answer:] Even though the three vows are of the same nature, it is not necessary that they are lost simultaneously when a loss [of a higher vow occurs], since a given vow is lost through the causes of loss specific to it, but not the other vows. This critique [of yours], against losing a lower [vow] if a fundamental transgression against a higher [vow] occurs: is it a critique against [the idea that] the occurrence of a fundamental transgression of a higher [vow] necessarily implies the loss of a lower [vow]? Or is it a critique of [the mere] possibility of [such] a loss? In the first case it is not acceptable, because [we] did not maintain [the matter] as such. In the second case, it would follow [for you] that the [lower] vow [of guarding against] tactile contact with women would be lost, through the transgression that consists in abusing a woman, because there [indeed] does exist [the case where] a loss of the lower vow through the occurrence of a fundamental transgression against a higher [vow takes place], since the bodhisattva vows are lost when a fundamental transgression [against the] fifth [Tantric] pledge occurs.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 21
Furthermore, [regarding] the causes of losing and obtaining the vows,
would it be acceptable to act as a practitioner of rituals
that are different from the Buddha's teachings?

Go-rams-pa's summary of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 21:
"Furthermore it would follow that it would be possible for the causes of obtaining and abandoning the vows to function differently from how the Buddha taught [them], because [in your system] the fundamental transgression against a superior [vow] is the cause [of] loss of a lower [vow]."

Go-rams-pa's Answer (p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 3):
[Answer:] Furthermore it would follow [for you] that it is possible to act differently from the teachings of the Buddha [in regard to] the cause of abandoning and obtaining the vows, because there does exist the loss of a lower vow through the occurrence of a [fundamental] transgression that consists in "transgressing the teachings of the Sugata."

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 22
Furthermore, the consideration [of] a transformation
between [things] diametrically incompatible is impossible.
If it were possible, then one might argue by analogy that this sun
could transform itself into the water of the river Ganga.

Go-rams-pa's Summary:
gzhan yang sdom pa 'og ma gong mar gnas 'gyur ba mi 'thad par thal/ gong 'og 'gal ba'i phyir/ 'gal yang gnas 'gyur na nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor 'di gang ga'i chu bor gnas 'gyur bar thal lo//

Go-rams-pa's Answer (p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 4):
'gal ba la gnas 'gyur brtsi ba mi 'thad ces smra ba ni gnas 'gyur gyi don cung cad tsam yang ma rtogs pa ste/ sems can gyi shes pa sangs rgyas kyi ye shes su gnas 'gyur ba med par thal/ de gnyis 'gal ba'i phyir/

gzhan yang khyed kyi lugs la gnas 'gyur gtan mi srid par thal/ 'gal ba la gnas 'gyur mi srid par khas blangs shing mi 'gal ba la gnas 'gyur gyi don med pa'i phyir/

gzhan yang 'gal ba la gnas 'gyur mi srid pa'i don 'di la so so skye bo'i shes pa 'phags pa'i shes par gnas 'gyur ba mi srid par thal ba dang / theg dman gyi rtogs pa theg chen gyi rtogs par gnas 'gyur ba mi srid pa sogs ji srid lce'i dbang po ngal bar ma gyur gyi bar du brjod par bya'o//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 23
des na rang gis brtags[315] *nas*[316] *blang //*
sdom gsum ldan zhes gsungs pa de//
shes rgyud gcig la rtsi[317] *na ni//*
gcig tu 'dod kyang gsum du 'gyur//
ldan chos rdzas gzhan tha dad phyir//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 24
'on te snga phyi la rtsi[318] *na//*
gsum ldan zhes pa'i sgra don med//
'on te sdom gsum rdzas gcig tu//
shes rgyud gcig la ldan zhe na//
gtong thob cho ga gcig tu 'gyur//

---

[315] *General Topics:* fol. 59r.
[316] *P + D: la*
[317] *D + General Topics: brtsi.*
[318] *D + General Topics: brtsi.*

Go-rams-pa's Summary:
"Furthermore it would follow that it would not be acceptable for a lower vow to transform into a higher vow, because higher and lower [vows] are incompatible. If they could transform [from one to the other] even though they are incompatible, it would follow that this sun could transform itself into the river Ganga."

Go-rams-pa's Answer (p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 4):
[Your] statement that it is not acceptable to consider transformations [occurring between] incompatible things, [shows that] you have not understood in the least the meaning of "transformation;" [if we understand it in your way], it would follow that there could be no transformation of a sentient being's consciousness into the gnosis of the Buddha, because these two are incompatible.

Furthermore it would follow that transformation would be [utterly] impossible in your tradition, because [you] hold that transformation is impossible between two incompatible entities and [because] transformation between [something] not incompatible is meaningless.

Furthermore, with regard to the matter that transformation between two incompatible entities is impossible, it would follow that a transformation of the consciousness of an ordinary sentient being into the consciousness of a saint (*ārya*) would be impossible, and it would be impossible that the realization of the lower vehicle transforms into the realization of the great vehicle, etc.—such cases could be enumerated until one's tongue became exhausted.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 23
Thus, one [should] accept [what is correct] after [due] examination!
If you consider that the [Buddha's] mentioning of "possessing the three vows"
[was meant] for a single mental stream of consciousness,
even though you hold that [the mental stream] is a single one, it will become three [separate ones],
because the properties possessed are distinct entities of their own.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 24
Whereas if you consider [it to refer to] earlier and later [moments in the stream of consciousness],
then the expression "possessing three" would be meaningless.
Whereas if you say that the three vows are possessed
as a single entity within a single mental stream of consciousness,
[it would follow that] the procedures for losing and obtaining [the vows] would become one.

Go-rams-pa's Summary:
gzhan yang sdom pa gsum ldan pa'i don shes rgyud gcig la dus mnyam du ldan na ldan gzhi'i shes rgyud de nyid rdzas tha dad pa gsum du thal/ ldan chos sdom pa gsum po rdzas tha dad yin pa'i phyir/ gal te shes rgyud snga phyi la brtsi na sdom pa gsum dang ldan pa'i don mi gnas par thal/ gang rung cig skyes pa'i tshe gcig 'gags nas med pa'i phyir ro// 'on te sdom pa gsum shes rgyud gcig la rdzas gcig tu ldan na gtong thob cho ga gcig tu 'gyur ro// zhes zer ro//

Go-rams-pa's Answer (p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 6):
yang ldan gzhi'i kun gzhi'i rnam shes de rdzas tha dad pa gsum du thal/ ldan chos sdom pa gsum gyi bag chags rdzas tha dad yin pa'i phyir/

gal te kun gzhi shes rgyud snga phyi la brtsi'o snyam na 'o na gsum ldan gyi don med par thal/ gang rung gcig skyes pa'i tshe cig shog[319] *'gags pa'i phyir[/]*

'on te kun gzhi la sdom gsum gyi bag chags ngo bo gcig tu ldan no zhe na/ 'o na gtong thob kyi cho ga gcig tu 'gyur ro zhes brjod na thal 'gyur gsum gyi 'khor gsum khas blangs te/ gzhan la skyon de ltar du brjod cing / rang nyid kyis kun gzhi la sdom gsum bag la nyal gyi tshul du ldan pa dang / kun gzhi bag chags mang po can/ yin kyang shes rgyud tha dad med/ ces khas blangs pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 25
des na so thar sdom pa yis//[320]
byang chub mchog gi sems blangs nas[321]*//*
dang po de ni kun gzhi la//
bag la nyal ba'i tshul du gnas//
rig 'dzin sdom pa thob pa na//
'og ma gnyis ka bag la nyal//

---

[319] Read: *shos*.
[320] *P + D*: *so thar ldan pas*.
[321] *P + D*: *na*.

Go-rams-pa's Summary:

"Furthermore, if the meaning of "possessing three vows" [is that they are] possessed at the same time in a single mental stream of consciousness, it would follow that the mental stream itself that is the basis of possession would [consist of] three distinct entities, because the property possessed [by the entity], [i.e.] the three vows, [consist of three] distinct entities. If you consider [the vow to be possessed by] earlier and later [states of] the mental stream of consciousness, it would follow that the meaning of "possessing three vows" would not hold, because when any single one [of the three vows] is produced, [the preceding] one would be cancelled out and annihilated. However, if the three vows were possessed in a single stream of consciousness as a single entity, the procedure of losing and obtaining [for all the three vows] would become one."

Go-rams-pa's Answer (p. 237, fol. 76r, l. 6):

Furthermore, it follows that the basic consciousness, the substratum that possesses [the property], would [consist of] three distinct entities, because [you hold that] the propensities of the three vows—i.e. the properties possessed—are distinct entities.

If [you object]: "Earlier and later [moments in] the mental stream of consciousness [of] the basic consciousness should be taken into consideration ...," then in that case it would [indeed] follow [for you] that "possessing three" would be meaningless, because when any [further vow] arises, the other [earlier vow] ceases [according to you]!

You may object: "But the propensities of the three vows in the basic consciousness are possessed as the same nature!" But in this case if you say that the procedures for obtaining and losing [the vows] would become one, you accept [defeat because of being involved in] the three spheres of the three consequences (*thal 'gyur gsum gyi 'khor gsum*). Because while you criticize others in this way, you yourself at the same time have asserted that the three vows are possessed within the basic consciousness in a dormant way, and that even though the basic consciousness has many propensities, it does not have separate mental streams of consciousness.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 25

Therefore, after one takes [the vow of] the resolve for supreme awakening,
with possession of the prātimokṣa vows
the first [vow, i.e. the prātimokṣa vow], remains in the basic consciousness
in a dormant way.
If one takes the vows of a Tantric adept,
both former [vows] will [remain] dormant.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 26
dper na mkha' la rgyu skar[322] *shar//*
cung zad snang bar byas gyur mod//
zla ba'i dkyil 'khor shar gyur na[323]*//*
skar 'od nyams mod 'jig rten snang[324]*//*
rta bdun tsha zer shar[325] *ba na//*
zla ba'i 'od nyams 'jig rten gsal//

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 6):
da ni gsum ldan gyi 'dod tshul la dpyad par bya ste/ gong ma thob pa'i tshe 'og ma mngon gyur du med par bag la nyal du 'dod na gong 'og 'dzin stangs 'gal bas mngon gyur du mi 'byung ba yin nam tsha reg dang grang reg ltar lhan cig mi gnas 'gal yin pas mngon gyur du mi 'byung ba yin/

dang po ltar na 'dzin stangs 'gal ba ni shin tu mi 'thad de/ byang sems kyi sdom pa ni gzhan la phan pa bsgrub pa yin la/ so thar gyi sdom pa ni gzhan la gnod pa spong ba'i bsam pa can yin pa gang zhig gzhan la phan pa sgrub pa la gzhan la gnod pa spong bas khyab par khyed rang gis kyang khas blangs zhing don la yang gnas pa'i phyir ro//

gnyis pa ltar na/ gsum ldan gyi gang zag mi srid par thal ba las de ltar du yang mi 'thad de/ gong du drangs pa'i rgyud bzhi las gsum ldan gsungs pa'i phyir ro//

gzhan yang byang sems kyi sdom pa ldan pa la so thar gyi sdom pa mngon gyur du mi 'byung na nyes spyod spong ba'i tshul khrims kyang mngon gyur du med par 'dod dgos te/ nyes spyod spong ba'i tshul khrims ni thogs med dang / mar me mdzad dang / gnas brtan byang bzang rnams kyis so thar ris bdun la bshad pa'i phyir ro//

sngags sdom dang ldan pa'i gang zag la byang sems kyi sdom pa smon 'jug gnyis po mngon gyur du 'byung mi srid na gang zag des rdzogs pa'i byang chub sgrub pa ni shin tu ngo mtshar te/ byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa tshul khrims rnam pa gsum la ma bslabs par rdzogs pa'i byang chub bsgrub pa ni khyod kho na las thos kyi/ sangs rgyas sras dang bcas pa rnams kyis ma gsungs so//

---

322 *P + D: skar ma.*
323 *P + D: ba'i tshe.*
324 *P + D: gsal.*
325 *P + D: byung.*

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 26

[26] For example, the arising [of] stars in the sky
may illuminate [the world] a little bit.
But if the moon arises,
the light of the stars vanishes [and] it illuminates the world.
When the sun shines forth,[326]
the moonlight vanishes [and] they illuminate the world.

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 63v, l. 6):

Now let us examine [Vibhūticandra's] theory of "possessing three [vows]." If you hold that the lower [vows] are dormant (*bag la nyal*) in an unmanifested way (*mngon gyur du med pa*) when higher [vows] are taken, then let me ask: [Do the lower vows] not arise as something manifest because the mode of apprehending the higher [and] lower [vows] are incompatible? Or is it because their remaining together simultaneously is incompatible, just as the tactile sensations of heat and cold [cannot arise simultaneously]?

If it is as in the first [case], i.e. incompatibilities [of] the apprehending mode, then it is utterly incorrect, because the bodhisattva vows are for achieving benefits for others, and the prātimokṣa vows possess the volitional impulse of abandoning harm for others, and [regarding these] not only have you accepted that achieving benefit for others is pervaded by avoiding harm for others, but also this is actually the case!

If it is as in the second [case], it would follow that a person possessing three [vows] would be impossible and consequently this would also be incorrect as such, because "possessing three [vows]" is taught in the four tantras quoted above.

Furthermore, if [you hold that] the prātimokṣa vows are unmanifested in someone who possesses the bodhisattva vows, [you] have to accept that the morality of abandoning [morally] wrong behaviour would also be unmanifested [in him], because the morality of avoiding [morally] wrong behaviour was taught by Asaṅga, Dīpaṅkara and the elder Bodhibhadra as the seven classes of prātimokṣa.

If the bodhisattva vow in its two main aspects of the preliminary resolve and the actualization of the resolve [for awakening] (*smon 'jug [pa'i sems bskyed]*, Skt. *praṇidhi, prasthāna*) would not directly manifest in a person who possesses the Mantra vows, the achievement of complete awakening by such a person would be a great wonder. That complete awakening can be achieved without training in the threefold morality of the bodhisattva's conduct I hear from you alone, but it has not been taught by the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

---

[326] *rta bdun* = *saptāśva*, "having seven horses," i.e. the sun. The seven horses symbolize the seven days of the week; see Monier-Williams 1150, col. 2. *tsha zer can* = *tigmāṃśu*, "whose rays are hot," i.e. the sun; *ibid.* 446, col. 2.

gzhan yang rdo rje mkha' 'gro dang / saṃ bhu ṭi dang / rdo rje rtse mo las/ ji ltar dus gsum mgon po rnams// zhes sogs smon pa sems bskyed dang 'jug pa sems bskyed gnyis rigs lnga spyi'i dam tshig tu gsungs pas rgyud sde gong ma gnyis kyi rdo rje slob dpon gyi dbang thob pa'i gang zag la rigs lnga so so'i dam tshig mngon gyur du yod cing spyi'i dam tshig bag la nyal ba'i tshul du yod par khas len dgos par 'gyur ro//

gzhan yang gsum ldan gyi dge slong gi rgyud kyi kun gzhi la gnas pa'i dge slong gi sdom pa'i bag chags de so thar gyi sdom pa yin nam ma yin gal te yin na dge slong de shi 'phos pa'i tshe dge slong gi sdom pa'i bag chags gtong bar thal/ de'i tshe so thar gtong ba'i phyir/ rtags khyab khas/ 'dod na dge slong shi 'phos pa'i rdzas [rjes!] su shes rgyud la dge slong gi bag chags med par 'gyur cing / de 'ang 'dod na thos bsam sgom pa sogs la 'ang mtshungs pas gzhi tshul khrims la gnas nas thos bsam sgom gsum byed pa la dgos pa med par 'gyur ro// zhes sogs smras na cang mi gsung bar 'gyur ro// gal te kun gzhi'i steng gi so thar gyi sdom pa'i bag chags de nyid so thar gyi sdom pa ma yin na gang zag de'i rgyud la so thar gyi sdom pa gtan med par 'gyur te bag chags de las gzhan pa'i so thar gyi sdom pa gzhan med par khas blangs pa'i phyir ro//

Furthermore, since [with] the words "Just as the protectors of the three times..."[327] etc. the production of the preliminary resolve and the actualization of the resolve [for awakening] is taught in the *Vajraḍāka*- and *Saṃpuṭa[tantra]*[328] and in the *Vajra-Peak Tantra*, as the general pledges of the five [Buddha]-families, [you] would have to accept that for a person who has taken the initiation of the vajra master of the two higher classes of tantras the respective pledges of the five families do exist as something manifest, and the common pledges do exist in an unmanifested way.

Furthermore, are the propensities (*bag chags*) of the monk vows that remain in the basic consciousness of the mental stream of consciousness of a monk who is in possession of the three [vows] prātimokṣa vows or not? If they are [prātimokṣa vows], it would follow that this monk will lose the propensities of monk vows at the time of the death, since prātimokṣa is lost at that time. But you have already accepted the reason and the logical pervasion.[329] If you accept that consequence (*prasaṅga*), [it would follow that] the propensities of the monk [vows] would not exist in [his] mental stream of consciousness after[330] the monk has died. And if you accept that, too, it would not be necessary to practice learning, reflection or meditation basing oneself on keeping the morality, because learning, reflection, meditation and so forth are similar [i.e. their propensities would vanish at the time of death]. If I argue against you in this way, you will become silent.[331] If those very propensities of the prātimokṣa vows that [remain] in the basic consciousness are *not* the prātimokṣa vows, then it would be the case that the prātimokṣa vows in the mental stream of consciousness of such a person never existed at all, because you maintain that there are no other prātimokṣa vows besides these propensities.[332]

---

[327] *VajraḌākatantra, paṬala* 12, *SaṂpuṬatantra, kalpa* 3, *prakaṇa* 31. These tantras are still unpublished. T. Skorupski (1983) *SarvadurgatipariŚodhana Tantra*, p. 146, Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with introduction, English translation and notes, Delhi.

[328] *Śrīvajraḍākamahātantrarāja* (*P* vol. 2, no. 18)? *Sampuṭanāmamahātantra* (*P* vol. 3, no. 26).

[329] *Garland of Rays* 2.

[330] Read *rjes su* instead of *rdzas su*.

[331] Which is the goal of *prasaṅga* argumentation. Since he is referring to his opponent, one would rather expect *cang mi smra bar 'gyur ro*.

[332] *Garland of Rays* 3.

nyi zla skar gsum gyi dpe dang sbyar ba yang mi 'thad de/ rang gi rtog pas sbyar ba tsam yin gyi lung rnam par dag pa gang nas kyang ma bshad pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 27
gal te rig pa 'dzin pa yis//
gdul bya gang dang[333] *gang don du//*
'og ma'i sdom pa blangs pa na//
gong ma zil gyis mi gnon[334] *mod//*
sdom pa cho gas thob[335] *pa yin//*
mkha' la nyi ma gnas gyur mod//
zla[336] *skar 'char ba bkag pa med//*
des na gtong thob gnas pa'i tshul//[337]
rang rang cho ga bzhin du gnas//

Go-ram-pa (p. 231, fol. 64v, l. 5):
sngags sdom la gnas pa'i gang zag gis gzhan don du sdom pa 'og ma len pa don la gnas kyang khyed la 'gal te/ so thar len pa'i bsam pa'i yan lag tu rang don yid byed dgos par khas blangs pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 28
kun gzhi bag chags mang po can//
yin kyang[338] *shes rgyud tha dad med//*
'og ma'i ltung ba byung ba na[339]*//*
gong ma ji srid gnas kyi bar//
rnam par smin pas gos pa med//
dper na zla skar nub gyur mod//
nyi[340] *ma mkha' la gnas kyi bar//*
'od ni chung zad 'grib pa med//[341]

It is not proper to apply the example of the three, the sun, moon and stars, since

---

[333] *P + D*: *la.*
[334] *P + D*: *non.*
[335] *P + D*: *'thob.*
[336] *P*: *rgyu.*
[337] *P + D*: *des thob tshul dang gtong ba'i tshul.*
[338] *P + D*: *yang.*
[339] *P + D*: *gyur mod.*
[340] *P*: *ti.*
[341] *P + D*: *cung zad 'grib par byas pa med.*

this is just something made up through [your] own ideas, but it is not taught in any of the correct [authoritative] scriptures.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 27

If a Tantric adept
takes a lower vow
for the sake of any of his trainees,
it will not outshine the superior [vow].
The [lower] vow is taken by [its specific] ritual.
[Thus] the sun remains in the sky,
but this is not something that prevents the moon and stars from arising.
Thus the ways of obtaining, losing and maintaining [the vows]
continue according to their respective procedures.

Go-ram-pa (p. 231, fol. 64v, l. 5):

It is in fact so that a person who dwells in the Mantra vows [may] take lower vows for the sake of benefitting others, but this contradicts your [own thesis], because [you] have asserted that it is necessary to conceive [the resolve to attain] one's own benefit as a part of the motive for taking up prātimokṣa vows.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 28

[28] The basic consciousness has many propensities,
but there are no separate mental streams of consciousness.
If a transgression against a lower [vow] occurs,
the higher [vows] will not be stained by the karmic result [of that transgression]
as long as [they] continue to exist.
For example, the moon and stars may go down,
but as long as the sun remains in the sky
its light is not the least obscured.

Go-ram-pa (p. 231, fol. 64v, l. 6):
gong ma gnas kyi bar du 'og ma'i ltung ba byung yang rnam smin gyis mi gos par 'dod pa la yang brjod par bya ste/ sngags sdom la gnas pa'i gang zag la byang sems kyi sdom pa la ltos pa'i rtsa ltung byung na byang sems kyi sdom pa nyams la de nyams na 'gro ba kun bslus pas

gnod pa shin tu mang ba dang //
rgyal dang de sras thams cad dang //
'gro ba kun gyis shin tu khrel//
pham pa'i lci yang bye brag gis//
bskal pa'i grangs bzhin dmyal bar gnas//

ces khas blangs pa dang ci'i phyir mi 'gal/

gal te nyes dmigs de dag ni sdom pa re re dang ldan pa nyams pa'i dbang du byas kyis[342] *gong ma dang ldan pa'i dbang du byas pa ma yin no snyam na de shin tu mi 'thad de/ gong ma dang ldan pa'i tshe yang sdom pa gsum char gyi gtong thob gnas pa'i tshul thams cad rang rang gi cho ga bzhin gnas par khas blangs pa dang 'gal ba'i phyir ro//*

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 29
gong ma'i ltung ba byung ba na//
'og ma ji snyed[343] *gnas*[344] *gyur mod*[345] *//*
cung zad phan gyis[346] *skyob mi nus//*
rta bdun tsha zer[347] *nub pa*[348] *na//*
zla skar gnas kyang mun pa'i bag

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 65r l. 3):
gong ma'i ltung ba byung na 'og ma gnas kyang skyob mi nus pa la yang dpyad par bya ste/ byang sems las dang po pa 'ga' zhig byang sems kyi sdom pa btang nas so thar la gnas te nyan thos kyi byang chub thob pa med par thal/ gong ma'i ltung ba byung na 'og mas skyob mi nus pa'i phyir/ 'dod na byang sems rigs ma nges pa rnams theg dman du 'jug pa med par 'gyur ro//

---

[342] Read: *kyi.*
[343] *P + D*: *ltar.*
[344] *General Topics*: fol. 59v.
[345] *P + D*: *kyang.*
[346] *P + D*: *gyi.*
[347] *General Topics: rta bdun rgyal po.* Cf. ftn. 326.
[348] *P*: *byung ba.*

Go-ram-pa (p. 231, fol. 64v, l. 6):
I will also comment on your opinion that as long as [one] maintains the higher [vows] one will not be stained through the karmic result even though a transgression of the lower [vows] has occurred. If a fundamental transgression against the bodhisattva vows occurs for a person who maintains the Mantra vows, the bodhisattva vows are damaged, and if they are damaged, through letting down all beings, how does this not contradict what you have asserted [later in *Garland of Rays* 40, with regard to losing the bodhisattva vows, namely]:

"there will be very great harm and the Buddha,
all bodhisattvas and all beings will strongly disapprove;
according to the particular weight of the infraction entailing expulsion
one will remain in hell the corresponding number of aeons (*kalpa*)."

If [you] object regarding these defects [as enumerated in *Garland of Rays* 39-41] that you were referring to damage regarding to the possession of each vow individually, but (*kyi*) were not referring to the possession of the highest vow [i.e. the possession of all three vows?], this is absolutely wrong, because that would be in contradiction with what [you] accepted [in *Garland of Rays* 27, i.e.] that at the time of possessing higher [vows], too, all the ways of losing, obtaining and continuing for all three vows remain according to their respective procedures.

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 29
When a transgression against a higher [vow] occurs,
the lower [vows] may continue [intact],
but through [that] slight benefit they cannot protect [one].
When the sun sets,
the moon and stars [might] remain, but their nature is darkness.[349]

Go-rams-pa (p. 231, fol. 65r l. 3):
I will also analyze [your statement that] even though the lower [vows] continue [intact], they cannot protect if a transgression of a higher [vow] occurs. It would follow that any beginner bodhisattvas remaining in the prātimokṣa would not obtain the auditor's awakening after losing the bodhisattva vows, because [you said that] if a transgression against the higher [vows] occurs, the lower [vows] cannot protect. If you hold that, then there would not be any entering into the Hīnayāna for those of whom it is not [yet] certain weether they are of the bodhisattvas family.

---

[349] I can only understand *bag* here as it is defined in the *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* (dictionary): *rnal ma'am gshis*.

gzhan yang dpe dang bsgrigs pa ltar na sngags sdom la ltos pa'i rtsa ltung byung ba'i byang sems kyi sdom pas skyob mi nus pa ltar sngags sdom ma blangs pa'i byang sems kyi sdom pas kyang skyob mi nus par thal/ nyi ma nub na zla skar gnas kyang mun pa'i bag yin pa ltar nyi ma ma shar na zla skar gnas kyang mun pa'i bag yin pa'i phyir/ khyab pa khas blangs so// 'dod na byang sems sdom pa'i phan yon ni/ gnas skabs bde mang mthar thug ni// ring mo zhig nas rdzogs sangs rgyas// zhes bshad pa dang dngos su 'gal lo//

Vibhūticandra's Garland of Rays 30
gser 'gyur rtsi zhes gsungs pa'i don//
zil gnon yon[350] *tan mchog la dgongs//*
zla skar gnyis kyi 'od zer yang //
nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor gnas kyi bar//
nyi ma'i 'od ces kun gyis sgrogs//

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 1):
gser 'gyur gyi rtsi'i dpes gsungs pa'i don gong mas 'og ma zil gyis gnon par 'dod pa yang mi 'thad de/
gser 'gyur rtsi yi dngos po yis//
kun kyang gser du 'gyur ba ltar//
zhes pas sdom pa 'og ma gong mar 'gyur ba la bshad dgos pa'i phyir ro//

Vibhūticandra's Garland of Rays 31-33
gzhan yang kha cig sdom pa gsum//
sa chu gru 'dra gzhi rten du//
'dod ces sgrog[351] *pa 'khrul pa yin//*
de yi 'khrul gzhi kho bos bstan//

---

[350] *P*: 267b.
[351] *P* + *D*: *sgrogs*.

Furthermore it would follow that according to what you have laid out in [your] example, the bodhisattva vows of [someone who has] not taken the Mantra vows could also not protect [one], like the bodhisattva vows [held by someone to whom] a fundamental transgression against the Mantra vows has occurred cannot protect [one]. Because if the sun has gone down, the moon and stars remain [in the sky], but their nature is darkness, as [in your own statement where] moon and stars remain if the sun has not risen, but their nature is darkness. [You have] accepted this pervasion. If you hold this, it will directly contradict your [own] explanation of the benefits of [properly maintaining] the bodhisattva vows [*Garland of Rays* 43]:

"Temporarily much happiness,
and finally, after some time, perfect awakening."

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 30

[Regarding] the meaning of the [Buddha's] explanation "elixir that turns [metals] into gold,"[352]
this had in mind preeminance [and] supreme qualities [of the vows of a Tantric adept].
As long as the sun remains [in the sky],
the radiance of the moon and stars
is referred to as "sunlight" by everyone.

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 1):

To hold that the meaning expressed through the example of the elixir that transforms [metals] into gold is that the lower [vows] are outshone by the higher [ones] is also not acceptable. Because [the quotation from the *Basic Hundred-Thousand [Verse Tantra or Tantras?]* (*gzhung 'bum*)]:

"Just as through the substance of the elixir that turns [substances] into gold,
everything is turned into gold ..."

must be explained as the transformation of the lower [vows] into higher [ones].

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 31-33

Furthermore, it is an error to proclaim as some do
that they hold the three vows
to be a basis [or] support like earth, water and a ship.
I will demonstrate why that is wrong.

---

[352] From the above quoted passage of the *Hundred Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?] [Treatise]*, see p. 107.

mkhas pa chen po rta dbyangs dang //
slob dpon sgeg pa'i[353] *rdo rje sogs//*
sdom gsum de nyid rig pa yis//
don de ldog pa du mas phye[354]*//*
khyab bya khyab byed gsungs pa la//
rten dang brten par byed na 'khrul//

byang sems sdom pa'i don gcig la//
phan pa[355] *sgrub pa'i ldog pa dang //*
gnod spong ldog[356] *pa gnyis 'jug*[357] *mod//*
phan sgrub ngo bo gang yin la//
gnod pa spong bas[358] *khyab pas na//*
khyab bya khyab byed rdzas gcig tu//
ba lang rdzis kyang mi go'am//

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 2):
gzhan lugs kyi gsum ldan dgag pa la 'ang brjod par bya ste/ slob dpon gnyis kyis sdom pa 'og ma gnyis khyab bya khyab byed du gsungs pa de khyed rang gis kyang khas len nam mi len/ mi len na khyab bya khyab byed yin pa'i rtags kyis gzhan gyis rten dang brten par 'dod pa dgag mi nus te/ gtan tshigs rgol phyir rgol gang gis kyang khas ma blangs pa'i phyir ro// gal te khas len na sdom pa gnyis po rdzas gcig tu thal/ khyab bya khyab byed yin pa'i phyir/ 'khor gsum khas blangs so//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 34
des na rig 'dzin gcig pu la//
gsum ldan sbyor bar[359] *'thad ma yin//*
gal te 'thad na 'og ma gnyis//
cho ga mi dgos skye bar 'gyur//
sdom gsum cho ga thun mong du//
thub pa chen pos gsungs pa med//

---

353 *P*: *pa.*
354 *General Topics*: *ma byas.*
355 *P + D*: *sgrub.*
356 *P + D*: *dgag.*
357 *P + D*: *'dug.*
358 *P + D*: *ba.*
359 *P + D*: *ba.*

Masters such as the great scholar Aśvaghoṣa and the master Vilāsavajra
through their knowledge of the three vows as they are
have analyzed the matter through many aspects.
It is an error if you apply the [concepts] "support" and "the supported"
to what they taught as "that which is pervaded" and "the pervader."

Both [aspects, i.e.] the aspect of the realization of benefit
and the aspect of elimination of harm,
come into play regarding the single matter of the bodhisattva vow.
Because that which is its nature—the accomplishment of benefit—
is pervaded by abandoning harm [to others],
would not even a cowherd understand
the pervaded and the pervading as being of one substance?[360]

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 2):
I will also comment [regarding your] refutation of the "possession [of the] three [vows]" of other systems. Do you or do you not accept what the two masters [i.e. Aśvaghoṣa and Vilāsavajra] taught regarding the two lower vows as "pervaded" and "the pervader?" If you do not accept it, you cannot refute what others [i.e. the bKa'-gdams-pas] hold as "the support and the supported" by the logical sign (*rtags*) of "the pervaded" and "the pervader," because you oppose the reason [and] because neither the proponent nor the respondent [i.e. neither party of the debate] has accepted the reason. But if you do accept it, it would follow that the two [lower] vows are of a single entity, because they exist as "pervaded and the pervader." You have involved yourself in a total defeat.[361]

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 34
Therefore it is not acceptable to apply the possession of the three [vows]
to a single Tantric adept.
If that would be acceptable, the two lower [vows]
would arise without the need of any specific ritual.
There is no [passage where] the rituals of the three vows were taught
by the [Great Sage] as existing in common [for all three].

[360] The versions of *D* and *P* are completely incomprehensible.
[361] Literally: "You have accepted the three circles."

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 4):
rig 'dzin gyi sdom pa kho na la gsum ldan sbyor na 'og ma gnyis cho ga la mi ltos par skye bar 'gyur ro// zhes pa yang gyi na ste/ 'o na theg pa gsum gyi rtogs rigs 'og ma gnyis sgom mi dgos par skye bar thal/ theg chen gyi mthong lam gcig pu la rtogs rigs gsum tshang ba'i phyir/ gal te theg chen gyi sbyor lam bsgoms pas rtogs rigs gsum ka skye'o snyam na de mi 'thad par thal/ rtogs rigs gsum thun mong du sgom pa'i thabs sangs rgyas kyis ma gsungs pa'i phyir ro// gsum char khas blangs so//

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 36-37
rig pa 'dzin pa kho na bas//[362]
gsum ldan bsngags[363] *pa'i dgongs pa ni//*
'bras bu'i sgo nas ma yin te//
yin na kun mkhyen[364] *mchog dman 'gyur//*

des na lam dus gdul bya'i don//
gcig dang gsum gyi khyad par dang //
sdom pa rdzas chos gzhan nyams mod//
sdom gzhan yod pa'i[365] *khyad par yin//*

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 6):
sngags sdom gcig pu la[366] *gsum ldan bsngags pa 'bras bu'i sgo nas yin kyang / 'bras bu la mchog dman yod mi dgos te/ 'bras bu mtha' dag nye ring gi sgo nas bsngags pa yang 'bras bu'i sgo nas bsngags par 'dus pa'i phyir/ gzhan du na 'bras bu yum la nye ring gi sgo nas bsngags pa yang 'bras bu'i sgo nas sngags pa ma yin par 'gyur ba'i skyon gnas so//*

---

[362] *P + D: rig 'dzin sdom pa kho na bas.*
[363] *D: sngags.*
[364] *General Topics*: fol. 60r.
[365] *P + D: gzhan yod pa yi.*
[366] Read: *las*, as is suggested by *Garland of Rays 36 (kho na bas = gcig pu las).*

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 4):

What you say, namely, that the two lower [vows] would arise independent from their [respective] rituals if "possessing three [vows]" is applied only to the vows of the Tantric adept, is pointless. In that case it would follow that the [different] kinds [of] realizations of the three vehicles [i.e. of the auditors, solitary Buddhas, and bodhisattvas] would arise without the need to cultivate the two lower [vehicles], because the three kinds of realizations are complete in the Mahāyāna path of seeing alone. If you think that all the three kinds of realization arise by cultivating the Mahāyāna path of preparation, it follows that this would not be acceptable, because the Buddha did not teach in common the methods for cultivating the three kinds of realization. You have accepted all three [points].

Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 36-37

The intention of praising the possession of three [vows]
as better than being simply a Tantric adept
does not refer to the fruit.
If it did, then the Omniscient One would be [of a] higher and lower [type].

Therefore, the difference between [possessing] one and three [vows]
is for the sake of the trainees at the time of the path;
and there is a difference [in so far as one] vow—which is a distinct entity—may vanish,
while the other vows remain existent.

Go-rams-pa (p. 232, fol. 65v, l. 6):

Even though "possessing three [vows]" is praised by way of the fruit [as being better] than possessing the Mantra vows alone , this does not necessarily entail that there are higher and lower [types of Omniscient Ones] with regard to the fruit. Because even though all [kinds of] results are praised in terms of how near they are, they are included within things that are praised because they are results. Otherwise, the following fault would ensue: The praise of the fruit, [namely] the mother (= Perfections Vehicle or *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures) by way of its closeness would not be a praise by virtue of its being a result.



CHAPTER 7

Go-rams-pa's Sa-skya-pa Doctrine of the Three Vows: Text and Translation

In this chapter I would like to present in Tibetan text and translation Go-rams-pa's explanation of the Sa-skya-pa doctrine of the three vows, i.e. what he accepts as his own tradition (*rang lugs*), from his *General Topics*. The main topics of his doctrine have been discussed in chapter five.

p. 234, fol. 70v, l. 6
spyir so sor thar pa zhes bya ba'i rang gi ngo bo ni gzhan la gnod pa gzhi dang bcas pa las ldog pa yin la/ de'i steng du phan 'dogs pa 'dod cing zhugs pa ni byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa yin cing / de'i steng du rig pa 'dzin pa ni rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa yin no/

de la so sor thar pa ni gnyis te/ nyan thos kyi so sor thar pa dang / byang sems kyi so sor thar pa las/ 'dir byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa ni sdom pa thob pa dang gnas pa gnyis ka'i rten du rung gi snga ma ni de ltar ma yin pas rdo rje rtse mo'i dgongs pa ni byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa'o/

p. 234, fol. 71r, l. 3
byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa de blang ba'i cho ga gzhan shig[367] *yod dam so sor thar pa'i sdom pa nyid yin zhe na/*

sngar so sor thar pa'i sdom pa thob na phyis byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa thob pa'i dus sngar gyi de byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par gnas 'gyur la sngar ma thob na ni byang chub sems dpa'i smon pa'i dus nyid du byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa'i sdom pa thob pa yin no/ (...)

p. 234, fol. 71r, l. 5
rig pa 'dzin pa dang byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa gnyis ni nang mi 'gal mod/ so sor thar pa'i sdom pa 'di ni byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa thob pa'i rten mi rung ste/ so sor thar pa ni gling gsum gyi skyes pa dang bud med ma yin pa gzhan la mi skye la byang chub kyi sems ni 'gro ba mtha' dag la skye bar gsungs pa'i phyir ro/

yang gnas pa'i rten du yang mi 'thad de/ so sor thar pa ni shi nas gtong la byang chub sems ni ji srid sangs ma rgyas kyi bar du mi gtong ba'i phyir ro zhe na

nyan thos dang thun mong ba'i so sor thar pa 'di ni thob pa dang gnas pa'i rten du mi rung bar khyed smra ba bzhin du kho bo cag kyang smra'o/

[367] Read: *zhig*.

p. 234, fol. 70v, l. 6
3.3.3.5.1.2.1. (...) Generally, the nature of prātimokṣa is to abstain from harming others, together with the [mental] basis [for harming others]; in addition to that, the wish to benefit [others] and to enter [into beneficial activities] is the bodhisattva vow; and in addition to that, to maintain pure awareness is the vow of the Tantric adept.

With regard to that, prātimokṣa has two [aspects], i.e. auditor prātimokṣa and bodhisattva prātimokṣa. Of these [two], here [in the context of possessing the three vows,] the bodhisattva prātimokṣa is suitable as a basis for both the taking and continuation [of] the [Mantra] vows, but the former [i.e. the auditor prātimokṣa] is not like that. Therefore what is intended by the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* is the bodhisattva prātimokṣa.

p. 234, fol. 71r, l. 3
[Question]: "Does there exist any other ritual for taking the [prātimokṣa] vows of the bodhisattvas, or is [the ritual for taking the bodhisattva prātimokṣa] just the [same as the ordinary auditor] prātimokṣa vow?"

[Answer]: If one has previously taken the [auditor] prātimokṣa vows, then later, at the time when one takes the bodhisattva vows, those earlier [taken prātimokṣa vows] become transformed into the vows of the bodhisattvas, and if [the prātimokṣa vows] were not taken earlier, one takes the bodhisattva prātimokṣa vows just at that time when the preliminary resolve of the bodhisattvas [is produced].[368]

p. 234, fol. 71r, l. 5
There is no internal contradiction between the vows of the Tantric adept and [the vows of] the bodhisattva, but these [auditor] prātimokṣa vows are not suitable as the basis for taking the bodhisattva vows, because it was taught [by the Buddha] that the prātimokṣa [vows] do not arise for anyone else but for men and women of the three continents, while the resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*) [may] arise in all beings.[369]

[Objection]: "But those [prātimokṣa vows] are also not a [suitable] basis for the continuation [of the bodhisattva vows], because prātimokṣa is lost after death, while the resolve for awakening is not lost until Buddhahood."

[Answer]: We teach just as you do that this prātimokṣa that is common with the auditors is not suitable as the basis for the taking and continuation [of the bodhisattva vows].

---

[368] This is a literal quote from rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa,* p. 321-4-6. Cf. also Tatz (1982: 23), who must have completely overlooked one part of the sentence.

[369] See chapter 3, pp. 35 ff., my remarks on *Garland of Rays* 2.

p. 235, fol. 71v, l. 2

'o na khyed kyi so sor thar pa sngon du ma song ba'i sdom pa gsum gang yin zhe na/

'dir so sor thar pa'i rang bzhin ni gzhan la gnod byed pa gzhi dang bcas pa las log par byed pa yin la/ byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni de'i steng du gzhan la phan 'dogs par zhugs pa yin cing rig pa 'dzin pa ni de dag kyang lha'i rnam par ye shes kyis byin gyis brlabs nas longs spyod pas na 'di la 'gal ba ci yang yod pa ma yin no/

'o na sngar so sor thar pa dge slong gi bar thob pa zhig gis phyis byang chub tu sems bskyed nas slar yang dbang mnos par 'gyur na 'di la sdom pa ji ltar ldan zhe na/

dge slong gis sems bskyed pa'i tshe so sor thar pa thams cad byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par 'gyur la/ dkyil 'khor du zhugs pa'i tshe na sdom pa thams cad kyang rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa zhes bya ba yin no/ de skad du rgyud 'bum pa'i lung de kho na nyid kyi ye shes grub pa zhes bya ba las byung ba/

rdo yi rigs kyi bye brag gis//
bzhus pas lcags dang zangs dngul 'byung //
gser 'gyur rtsi yi dngos po yis//
kun kyang gser du bsgyur bar byed//
de bzhin sems kyi bye brag gis//
rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa yang //
dkyil 'khor chen po 'dir zhugs na//
rdo rje 'dzin pa zhes bya'o//

zhes gsungs so/ dpe de'i rdo ni phal pa yin la/ lcags ni nyan thos kyi bslab par bya ba/ zangs ni rang rgyal gyi bslab par bya ba/ dngul ni byang chub sems dpa'i bslab par bya ba yin cing gser 'gyur rtsi ni rdo rje theg pa'i bslab par bya ba yin par mngon no/ zhes gsungs so/ (...)

p. 235, fol. 71v, l. 2
[Question]: "In this case [i.e. if auditor prātimokṣa is not suitable as a basis], what are the three vows of yours, that are not preceded by [auditor] prātimokṣa vows?"

[Answer]: Here the nature of prātimokṣa [acquired through the resolve of the bodhisattvas or through Tantric initiation] is to abstain from harming others together with the [mental] basis of that, the [nature of] bodhisattva vows is additionally to that to engage into benefitting others, and the [nature of the vows of the] Tantric adept is to partake after blessing these [prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows] in the form of the deity by means of gnosis; thus there is no incompatibility at all.

[Question]: "In this case, in which manner does someone who has earlier taken the prātimokṣa vows up to the monk [vows] possess the vows when he later, after producing the resolve for awakening, comes furthermore to take [Tantric] initiation?"

[Answer]: At the time when the monk produces the resolve [for awakening], all the prātimokṣa [vows he possesses at that point] turn into the vows of a bodhisattva, and when he enters the maṇḍala, all the vows are [known as] vows of the Tantric adept. As it is stated in *The Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]: The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness*:

> Through [the process of] smelting, iron, copper and silver appear,
> by means of specific particularities of ores.
> Through the elixir by which [metals] turn into gold,
> all are turned into gold.
> Similarly, by means of the particularities of mind,
> the vows of the three families also [come to be].
> If one enters into this great maṇḍala,
> they are called [vows of] the Tantric adepts.

[rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan[370]] taught that it is evident that "ores" in this example refers to common people, "iron" to the training of the auditors, "copper" to the training of the solitary Buddhas, "silver" to the bodhisattva training, and "the elixir by which [metals] turn into gold" refers to the training of the vajra vehicle.

---

[370] See Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 258, fol. 48v.

p. 235, fol. 72r, l. 2

spyir sdom pa gsum la len pa'i rim pa la

[(1)] dang por nyan thos kyi so thar ris bdun gang la yang rung ba blang / de nas byang sems kyi sdom pa dbu sems kyi cho gas blang / de nas sngags sdom blang ba'i tshul dang /

[(2)] dang por theg chen gyi so thar/ de nas sdom pa gong ma gnyis rim gyis blang ba'i tshul dang /

> *[72r/5 (1+2)] dang po gnyis ni kye rdo rje las/ dang por gso sbyong sbyin par bya// zhes sogs skal dman rim 'jug pa'i lam gyis dkri tshul gsungs pas 'grub la/*
>
> *[72v/3 (1)] de la tshul dang po la byang sems kyi sdom pa len pa'i tshe sngar gyi nyan thos so sor thar de nyid byang sems kyi sdom pa'am byang sems kyi so thar du gnas 'gyur bya yin te/ rang nyid gcig pu zhi bde don gnyer gyi dman sems mtha' dag dor nas/ mi mthun phyogs spong ba'i spong sems de nyid byang sems kyi sdom pa'i ngo bor 'gyur ba'i phyir ro/*

p. 235, fol. 72r, l. 2

3.3.3.5.1.2.2.1. Generally, with regard to [possible] successions of taking up the three vows there are seven ways:[371]

Type 1. One takes at first any suitable [type] of the seven kinds of auditor prātimokṣa [vows]. Thereafter the bodhisattva vows are taken through the ritual of the Mādhyamikas [or] Yogācāras (*dbu sems kyi cho ga*[372]). Finally the Mantra vows are taken.

Type 2. At first [one takes] the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa [as a result of producing the resolve of the bodhisattvas], and thereafter one successively takes the two higher [vows].

> [fol. 72r, l. 5] The first two [successions in the taking of the three vows] are established by [the Buddha's] teaching to less fortunate people the way of leading through a path of successive engagement as taught in the *Hevajratantra* [II, viii, 9-10]:[373] "In the beginning one should offer the ceremony of purification [of the vows] (*poṣadha*) ..."
>
> [fol. 72v, l. 3] Concerning the first of these, when the bodhisattva vows are taken, those same previously obtained auditor prātimokṣa [vows] are transformed into the bodhisattva vows or the bodhisattva prātimokṣa. For after one has completely abandoned the inferior intention to pursue peace and happiness merely [for] oneself, that very resolution to abandon that discards opposing factors becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows.

---

[371] Go-rams-pa first establishes these seven types (fol. 72r, l. 2 ff.) before he presents a scriptural background for each of them (f. 72r, l.5 ff.). Finally he explains their functioning (fol. 72v, l. 3 ff.). For the sake of simplicity and clarity, I present each type together with its scriptural background and functioning.

[372] See p. 50, my discussion of Go-rams-pa's refutation of *Garland of Rays* 5.

[373] Snellgrove (1959): II, 116: "First there should be public confession, then they should be taught the ten rules of virtuous conduct, then the Vaibhāṣya teachings and then the Sautrāntika, after that the Yogācāra and then the Madhyamaka. Then when they know all Mantra-method, they should start upon *Hevajra*." Skt. p. 90: *poṣadham dīyate prathamaṃ, tadanu śikṣāpadaṃ daśaṃ// vaibhāṣyaṃ tatra deśeta, sūtrāntaṃ vai punas tathā// yogācāraṃ tataḥ paścāt, tadanu madhyamakaṃ diśet// sarvamantranayaṃ jñātvā, tadanu hevajram ārabhet//*; Tib. p. 91: *dang por gso sbyong sbyin par bya// de rjes bslab pa'i gnas bcu nyid// de la bye brag smra ba bstan// mdo sde pa yang de bzhin no// de nas rnal 'byor spyod pa nyid// de yi rjes su dbu ma bstan// sngags kyi rim pa kun shes nas// de rjes kye'i rdo rje brtsam.*

[72v/4 (2)] len tshul gnyis pa la ni byang sems kyi sdom pa len pa'i tshe sngar gyi so thar byang sems kyi sdom par gnas 'gyur ba ni ma yin te/ dang po nyid nas theg chen so thar byang sems kyi sdom pa'i ngo bor yod pas/ phyis byang sems kyi sdom pa skyes pa'i tshe yang yon tan bsnan pa'i tshul du ngo bo gcig tu skyes pa yin pa'i phyir ro/

des na byang sems kyi sdom par gnas 'gyur rgyu'i so sor thar pa ni nyan thos kyi so thar kho na la yin gyi byang sems kyi so thar ni ma yin te/ sdom pa 'og ma bar mar gnas 'gyur ba'i don ni dman sems dor zhing spong sems ma dor ba la 'jog dgos shing / theg chen so thar la dang po nyid nas dman sems med pa'i phyir ro/

[72r/3 (3 and 4)] dang por nyan thos kyi so thar gang yang rung ba blang / de nas sdom pa bar ma ma blangs par sngags sdom blang ba'i tshul gnyis dang /

[72r/6 (3+4)] gsum pa dang bzhi pa gnyis ni rgyud 'bum pa las/
de bzhin sems kyi bye brag gis//
rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa yang //
dkyil 'khor chen po 'dir zhugs na//
zhes rigs can gsum ka'i sdom pa la gnas pas sngags sdom len pa gsungs pas 'grub bo/

[72r/4 (5)] dang por so thar sngon du ma song bar byang sems kyi sdom pa blangs nas sngags sdom blang ba'i tshul dang /

[72v/1 (5)] lnga pa ni so thar sngon du ma song bar dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed blangs pa yod cing / de'i steng du sngags sdom len pa yod pas 'grub bo/

[72v/6 (3,4+5)] len tshul gsum pa bzhi pa lnga pa rnams la ni sngags sdom thob pa'i tshe sngar gyi sdom pa thams cad sngags sdom du gnas 'gyur ba yin te/ sngar byang sems dang so thar thams cad 'bras bu lam byed kyi thabs kyis ma zin pa yin pa las phyis sngags sdom thob pa'i tshe sdom pa thams cad kyang 'bras bu lam byed kyi thabs kyis zin pa'i sdom par 'gyur ba'i phyir te/ (...)

[fol. 72v, l. 4] Concerning the second succession of taking [the vows], when the bodhisattva vows are taken, there is no transformation of any previous prātimokṣa vow into the vows of the bodhisattvas. For since the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa existed right from the beginning as of the nature of the bodhisattva vows, later, too, when the bodhisattva vows are [actually] produced, they come into being as of the same nature [as the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa], by way of adding a quality [to what is of the same nature].

Therefore the prātimokṣa that is to be transformed into the bodhisattva vows is just "auditor prātimokṣa," but it is not the bodhisattva prātimokṣa, because the meaning of "transforming the lower vow into the medium vow" must refer to the giving up of the inferior volitional impulse and to not discarding the resolution to abandon, and [because] right from the beginning there was no inferior volitional impulse in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa.

Types 3. and 4. At first, one takes any suitable [type] of auditor prātimokṣa [vows]. Thereafter [there are] two ways of taking up the Mantra vows without having taken up the intermediate [i.e. bodhisattva] vows.

[fol. 72r, l. 6] [Types] three and four are established by [the fact that] in the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra" [Treatise]* it is taught [by the Buddha]:

"Similarly, through particularities of mind, the vows of the three families also [come to be]. If one enters into this great maṇḍala (...),"

[and thus] one who is established in the vows of [any of] the three families [auditors, solitary Buddha, and bodhisattvas] [may] take the Mantra vows.

Type 5 [fol. 72r, l. 4]. After one has at first taken up the bodhisattva vows that were not preceded [by] prātimokṣa, one takes up the Mantra vows.

[fol. 72v, l. 1] The fifth [type] is established by the fact that there exists the taking up of the production of the resolve for awakening according to the Madhyamaka tradition without having been preceded by prātimokṣa, and by having, in addition to that, taken up of the Mantra vows.

[fol. 72v, l. 6] [Types 3-5:] Regarding the third, fourth and fifth ways of taking the vows, all earlier vows are transformed into the Mantra vows when the Mantra vows are obtained,[374] because at first all bodhisattva and prātimokṣa [vows] are not endowed with the means that take the fruit as the path, but later, when the Mantra vows have been gained, all vows are turned into vows that are endowed with the means that take the fruit as the path.

---

[374] Go-rams-pa makes this point once again on fol. 74v, l. 5.

> *(...) des na sngar nyan thos kyi so thar dang ldan pas sngags sdom thob pa'i tshe gnas 'gyur gnyis ka tshang la sngar byang sems kyi sdom pa dang ldan pas dbang bskur thob pa la ni gnas 'gyur phyi ma kho na brtsi bar rig par bya'o/*

[72r/4 (6)] dang po nyid nas sdom pa 'og ma gnyis gang yang sngon du ma song bar sngags sdom blang ba'i tshul dang /

> *[72v/1 (6)] drug pa ni rje btsun rtse mo'i dbang chur dang po nyid nas phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob pa'i don du dbang bskur zhu 'o zhes zer na de la dang po nas dbang bskur byed par gsungs pas 'grub bo/*
> *[73r/3 (6)] len tshul drug pa la ni sdom pa gsum char yang cho ga gcig las thob pas ngo bo gcig tu skye ba kho na yin gyi gnas 'gyur brtsir med do/ de bzhin du so thar sngon du ma song bar byang sems kyi sdom pa len pa'i cho ga las byang sems kyi sdom pa dang so thar gyi sdom pa gnyis thob pa la 'ang gnas 'gyur brtsir med de/ de la ni theg chen gyi so thar kho na skye ba'i phyir ro/*

[72r/5 (7)] dang por sngags sdom blang nas de'i rjes su sdom pa 'og ma gnyis blang ba'i tshul dang rnam pa bdun yod pa las/

> *[72v/2 (7)] bdun pa ni/ rdo rje rtse mo las/*
> *sems can kun gyi don gyi phyir//*
> *bdag gis sdom pa ma lus bzung //*
> *zhes khyim pa sngags sdom thob pa'i rjes su sdom pa ma lus pa bzung ba yod par gsungs pas 'grub bo/*
> *[73r/4 (7)] len tshul bdun pa la ni sdom pa 'og ma gnyis po thob pa'i tshe ngo bo gcig tu skye ba kho na yin gyi gnas 'gyur brtsir med de/ sngags sdom la gnas bzhin du sdom pa gang blangs kyang sngags sdom gyi ngo bor skye ba'i phyir ro/*

Therefore one should understand that through the previous possession of the auditor prātimokṣa, both transformations are present when the Mantra vows are taken, but through the previous possession of the bodhisattva vows, only the last transformation is to be counted [as present] when initiation is obtained.

Type 6 [fol. 72r, l. 4]. One takes up the Mantra vows without this having been preceded by either of the two lower vows at the beginning.

[fol. 72v, l. 1] The sixth succession is established because it is taught in rJe-btsun-rtse-mo's *dBang chu* that if someone says: "Right from the beginning I request initiation in order to take the highest supramundane achievement of Mahāmudrā," then he is to be initiated right at the beginning.[375]

[fol. 73r, l. 3] [Type 6:] In the sixth way, since one obtains all three vows from a single ritual, they just arise as [having] the same nature, but there is nothing to count [as] a transformation. Similarly, for the bodhisattva and prātimokṣa vows taken from the ritual of taking the bodhisattva vows without preceding prātimokṣa there is nothing to count [as] a transformation, because just the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa arises [for the bodhisattva vows].

Type 7 [fol. 72r, l. 5]. [The seventh way is that] after one has at first taken the Mantra vows, one takes the two lower [vows] afterwards.

[fol. 72v, l. 2] In regard to [type] seven, it is taught in the *Vajra-Peak Tantra*:

"For the sake of all sentient beings
I have taken [all] vows without exception."

[This way is] established by the teaching that after a householder has taken the Mantra vows there exists the taking of [all] vows without exception.

[fol. 73r, l. 4] [Type 7:] Concerning the seventh way of taking them, when the two lower vows are taken, they merely arise as of the same nature, but there is nothing considered [to have undergone the process of] transformation, because whichever vow is taken while one is dwelling in the Mantra vows arises as of the nature of the Mantra vows.

---

[375] A large initiation ritual for the maṇḍala of *Hevajra* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo 1142-1182, fourth throne-holder of Sa-skya, and son of Kun-dga'-snying-po and elder brother of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. The full title of the work is *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma smin par byed pa'i cho ga dbang gi chu bo chen mo,* in: *Sa skya pa'i bKa' 'bum,* vol. 2, The Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo 1968, no. 20.

p. 235, fol. 73r, l. 5

des na nyan thos kyi so thar byang sems kyi sdom par gnas 'gyur ba dang / 'bras bu lam byed kyi thabs kyis ma zin pa'i so thar dang byang sems sngags sdom du gnas 'gyur ba yin gyi spyir so thar tsam ni byang sems kyi sdom par gnas 'gyur ba yang ma yin cing theg chen gyi so thar yang byang sems kyi sdom par gnas 'gyur ba ma yin te/ byang sems kyi sdom pa yang so thar gyi sdom pa'i bye brag yin pa'i phyir ro/

de bzhin du so thar tsam dang byang sems kyi sdom pa tsam sngags sdom du gnas 'gyur ba yang ma yin te/ sngags sdom yang sdom pa de dag gi bye brag yin pa'i phyir ro/ de dag gis ni gong du drangs pa'i sdom pa nyi shu pa'i 'grel par sngar so sor thar pa'i sdom pa thob na/ phyis byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa thob pa'i dus su sngar gyi de byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par gnas 'gyur la zhes pa dang / rtsa ltung 'khrul spong las 'o na sngar so sor thar pa'i sdom pa dge slong gi bar thob pa zhig gis zhes sogs gsungs pa'i don phyogs 'di la mos pa yod kyang bla ma'i man ngag dang bral nas kha phyi rol du bltas pa rnams kyi don du snying brtse ba'i bsam pas dpyis phyin par bshad do/

p. 236, fol. 73v, l. 3

gnyis pa ni sngar bshad pa'i len tshul bdun po gang yin kyang sngags sdom rgyud la ldan pa'i tshe sdom pa gsum char ngo bo gcig tu ldan pa yin te/ sngar sdom pa 'og ma gnyis po sngon du song na sngags sdom thob pa'i tshe gnas 'gyur nas sngags sdom gyi ngo bor yod pa'i phyir dang / sngon du ma song na sngags sdom gcig pu la gzhan gnod gzhi bcas spong ba'i sdom pa dang / gzhan la phan pa sgrub pa dang / de thams cad kyang 'bras bu lam byed kyis zin pa'i sdom pa gsum thob pa'i phyir ro/

p. 235, fol. 73r, l. 5
Therefore, [in the above explained specific sense], auditor prātimokṣa is transformed into the bodhisattva vows, and prātimokṣa and bodhisattva [vows] that are not pervaded by the [Tantric] means of taking the fruit as the path are transformed into the Mantra vows; but in general, the prātimokṣa as such is *not* transformed into the bodhisattva vows, and Mahāyāna prātimokṣa, too, is not transformed into the bodhisattva vows, because the bodhisattva vows, too, are a particular instance of the prātimokṣa vows.

Similarly the prātimokṣa as such and the bodhisattva vows as such are also not transformed into Mantra vows, because the Mantra vows, too, are a particular instance of those vows. Through these [explanations] I have taught perfectly (*dpyis phyin par*) the sense of the above quoted *Commentary on the Twenty Vows*,[376] [according to which] "the earlier [prātimokṣa vows] are later, at the time of taking the bodhisattva vows, transformed into the bodhisattva vows if prātimokṣa vows were taken earlier" (fol. 71r, l. 3), and [the sense of the words from the] *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, "... In that case, someone who has earlier taken the prātimokṣa vows up to the monk [vows] (...)."[377] [I have done so] out of kindness for those who, although they have appreciation for this tradition, are "facing outward" [thereby missing the point], because they lack the instruction of the guru.

p. 236, fol. 73v, l. 3
3.3.3.5.1.2.2.2. Regardless of which of the above-mentioned seven ways of taking [up the three vows] it may be, when the Mantra vows are present in the mental stream of consciousness, all three vows together are possessed as of the same nature, because if previously the lower two vows have already been taken, after they are transformed at the time of obtaining the Mantra vows, they exist as of the nature of the Mantra vows. And if [the lower vows] have not already been taken, one takes in the Mantra vows alone the three [vows,] namely the vow of abandoning harm to others, together with its [mental] base; [the vow of] achieving the benefiting for others; and the vow endowed with taking the fruit [i.e. the spiritual goal] as the path [of practice].

---

[376] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa*, quoted above, fol. 72v.

[377] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 48v, l. 2: *'o na sngar so sor thar pa'i sdom pa dge slong gi bar thob pa zhig gis phyis byang chub tu sems bskyed nas slar yang dbang nos par gyur na/ 'di la sdom pa ji ltar ldan zhe na/ dge slong gis sems bskyed pa'i tshe so sor thar pa thams cad byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par 'gyur la/ dkyil 'khor du zhugs pa'i tshe ni sdom pa thams cad kyang rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa zhes bya ba yin no//*

des na sngags sdom dang ngo bo gcig pa'i byang sems dang so thar ni 'bras bu lam byed kyi thabs kyis zin pa'i so thar dang byang sems yin gyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i nyams len rkyang pa'i byang sems dang so thar gnyis ni sngags sdom dang ngo bo gcig pa ma yin te/ de dag ni sngags sdom gyis ma zin pa'i phyir ro/ de bzhin du byang sems kyi sdom pa dang ngo bo gcig pa'i so thar yang byang sems kyi so thar kho na yin gyi nyan thos kyi so thar ni ma yin te / de gnyis rnam pa kun tu 'gal ba'i phyir ro/

des na byang sems kyi sdom pa dang ldan na gnyis nges par ldan cing sngags sdom dang ldan na sdom pa gsum char dang ldan pas gsum ldan gyi rgyud kyi sdom pa gsum phan tshun yin khyab mnyam yin cing / gnyis ldan gyi rgyud kyi sdom pa gnyis kyang de bzhin du shes par bya'o/

p. 236, fol. 74v, l. 5

rgyud las gsungs pa'i gser 'gyur gyi rtsi'i dpe ni sdom pa gnas 'gyur ba dang ngo bo gcig pa gnyis ka'i dpe yin te/ lcags dang zangs dang dngul gsum po gser 'gyur gyi rtsis zin pa na lcags la sogs pa'i dngos po tha dad pa med par thams cad kyang gser gyi phung po 'ba' zhig tu 'gyur pa ltar rigs can gsum gyi bslab pa gsum po yang sngags sdom gyis zin pa na nyan thos kyi bslab pa la sogs pa tha dad pa med par thams cad kyang rdo rje theg pa'i bslab pa 'ba' zhig tu 'gyur ba'i phyir ro/

Therefore the bodhisattva and prātimokṣa [vows] that are of the same nature as the Mantra vows are prātimokṣa and bodhisattva [vows] that are endowed with the means that take the fruit as the path, but the two vows of prātimokṣa and bodhisattva that are merely the practice of the Perfections Tradition (*pāramitā*) are not of the same nature as the Mantra vows, because they are not endowed with the Mantra vows. Similarly the prātimokṣa that is of the same nature as the bodhisattva vows is also just the bodhisattva prātimokṣa, but it is not the auditor prātimokṣa, because those two are incompatible in all respects.

Therefore, if one possesses the bodhisattva vows, one certainly possesses two [vows, i.e. both the bodhisattva prātimokṣa vows *and* the bodhisattva vows proper], and if one possesses the Mantra vows, one possesses all three vows together. Thus one must know that the three vows of a mental stream of consciousness that possesses the three [vows] are mutually coextensive and that the same should be understood [as applying] also to the two [lower] vows of a mental stream of consciousness that possesses the two [lower vows].[378]

p. 236, fol. 74v, l. 5
The example taught in the tantra[379] of the "elixir" that turns [substances] into gold is an example for both "transformation" *and* "same nature" [of] the vows, because when iron, copper and silver come into contact with the elixir that turns things into gold, they all become just a heap of gold with no differentiation of substances such as "iron." Just so, when the three trainings of the three kinds [of vehicles], too, come into contact with the Mantra vows, they all become just the training of the Vajra Vehicle with no differentiation of trainings such as " training of the auditors."

[378] See fol. 74r, l. 4: "This necessity for the three vows to be possessed when Mantra vows are taken is seen to be purely the tradition explicated by rJe-btsun Sa-skya-pa and his sons, the infallible intention of Sūtra and Tantra, because ... whether the two lower vows of this [i.e. our] system precede or not, it is ascertained that the three vows are possessed when the Mantra vows are possessed, [while] it can be seen that other systems have not engaged in even a trifling analysis [of the matter]." (*sngags sdom dang ldan na sdom pa gsum dang ldan dgos pa 'di yang mdo rgyud kyi dgongs pa phyin ci ma log pa rje btsun sa skya pa yab sras kyis bkral ba'i lugs 'ba' zhig tu snang ste (...) lugs gzhan dag gis ni dpyad pa tsam yang ma zhugs par snang zhing 'di pa'i lugs kyi sdom pa 'og ma gnyis po sngon du song ma song gang yin kyang sngags sdom thob pa'i tshe sdom pa gsum ldan du gtan la phab pa'i phyir ro/*)

[379] In the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*, see fol. 71v.

'on kyang sngar blangs pa'i sdom pa de dag gi bslab pa la bslab mi dgos par thal ba'i skyon med de/ dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa lta bu'i rgyud la sdom pa 'og ma gnyis kyi dbang du byas pa'i ltung ba byung na sngags kyi dam tshig dang 'gal ba'i ltung ba byung bas khyab pa'i phyir te/ sems can kyi don du 'gyur ba sogs kyi dgos ched khyad par can med par 'og ma gnyis kyi rtsa ltung byung na sngags kyi bde gshegs bka' 'das 'byung zhing yan lag rnams khyad gsod dang bcas te spyad na bde gshegs bka' 'das 'byung zhing khyad gsod med cing dgos ched khyad par can yang med par spyad na/ sdom pa gnyis kyi bcas pa las/ dgos pa med par 'da' ba dang / zhes pa'i skabs nas bstan pa'i yan lag gi ltung ba dang sems can gyi don du 'gyur ba sogs dgos ched khyad par can gyi sgo nas spyad na thams cad la ltung ba med pa'i phyir ro/

p. 236, fol. 75r, l. 4
des na nyi zla skar gsum gyi dpe dang / skyes bu'i rgyan gyi dpe dang / chu gzhong du nor bu bzhag pa'i dpe gsum ni don dang 'grig na sbyar du rung yang don dang mi 'grig na dor ba bya ba yin te/ rang rang gi rtog pas sbyar ba tsam yin gyi mdo rgyud la sbyar ba'i dpe ma yin pa'i phyir ro/

gser 'gyur gyi rtsi'i dpe ni sangs rgyas kyis rgyud las gsungs shing don la yang ji lta ba bzhin du mthun pas na rnam pa thams cad du blangs par bya ba kho na yin no/

* * *

However, there is not the fault that one would not have to exert oneself in the trainings of these earlier-acquired vows,[380] because if there occurs a transgression pertaining to the two lower vows in the mental stream of consciousness of someone such as a Tantric adept monk, this would include the occurrence of a transgression against the Mantra pledges. Because if fundamental transgressions against the two lower [vows] are committed without a special purpose such as "for the benefit of sentient beings," there occurs [the fundamental transgression against the second pledge of the Mantra] "transgressing the Sugata's Mantra [teachings];" and if [such a person] acts with "disregard for the branches" [i.e. commits transgressions other than the infractions entailing expulsion against the prātimokṣa and fundamental transgressions against the bodhisattva vows], then there occurs [to him the second fundamental transgression of the Mantra] "transgressing the Sugata's teachings;" and if he acts without [such] disregard and also without a special purpose, then he transgresses against the branch [vows of the Mantra teaching], as mentioned in the passage: "Going beyond the restrictions of the two vows without a purpose ...;" and if [he] acts with a special purpose such as "benefiting sentient beings," [he] transgresses against nothing at all.

p. 236, fol. 75r, l. 4:
Therefore, if the three examples of the sun, moon and stars, of a person's ornaments, and of a jewel resting on top of a tub [floating on top of] water correspond to the facts of the matter, they can be applied, but if they do not correspond to the facts, they are to be rejected, because they have merely been applied through one's own thinking, but they are not examples that are applied in the sūtras and tantras.

Since the example of the elixir that turns [substances] into gold is taught in the Tantra by the Buddha and also correctly corresponds to the facts, it is purely something that is to be accepted in every respect.

* * *

[380] Despite the seven possible ways of taking up the three vows explained above, it is quite clear that Go-rams-pa had the first (and maybe the second) type in mind as the usual procedure (see Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 163, fol. 88r, where he speaks of two possibilities: to transform the two earlier acquired lower vows into the Mantra vows at the time of initiation, or to obtain the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows during the preparation of the initiation when they have not been obtained earlier). But it should also be kept in mind that, in any case, *all three* vows are acquired when Mantra vows are taken, either "formally" or "implicitly."

p. 238, fol. 77v, l. 1
gnyis pa gtong ba'i tshe rim dang cig car gang du gtong dpyad pa la gnyis te/

sdom pa gsum rim can du blangs pa'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa lta bu'i gtong tshul dang/

dbang bskur gyi cho ga kho na las sdom pa gsum char thob pa'i gtong tshul lo/

(...) spyir rim gyis blangs pa'i gsum ldan gyi gtong tshul la
dge slong gi sdom pa btang nas gong ma gnyis po mi gtong ba dang /
gong ma gnyis btang nas dge slong gi sdom pa mi gtong ba dang
dge slong gi sdom pa dang sngags sdom gnyis btang nas byang sems kyi sdom pa mi btang ba dang /
sngags sdom btang nas 'og ma gnyis mi btang ba dang
gsum char dus mnyam du btang ba dang rnam pa lnga nas/

p. 238, fol. 77v, l. 4
dang po ni/ de lta bu'i dge slong gis sems can gyi don du 'gyur ba sogs dgos ched khyad par can gyi tshe dge slong gi bslab pa phul ba dang / shi 'phos pa'i tshe dge slong gi sdom pa gtong ste/ de'i gtong rgyu byung ba'i phyir/ de'i tshe gong ma gnyis mi gtong ste gtong rgyu ma byung ba'i phyir/

gnyis pa ni/ de lta bu'i dge slong gis smon sems gtong ba 'am/ byang sems kyi sdom pa'i pham 'dra kun dkris drag pos spyad pa'i tshe gong ma gnyis gtong ste/ byang sems kyi sdom pa'i gtong rgyu byung ba'i phyir dang / sngags sdom gyi rtsa ltung lnga pa 'am gnyis pa byung ba'i phyir ro/ dge slong gi sdom pa mi gtong ste/ gtong rgyu ma byung ba'i phyir ro/

p. 238, fol. 77v, l. 1
3.3.3.5.2. The analysis of whether vows are lost successively or simultaneously when loss [occurs] entails two topics:

3.3.3.5.2.1. The way of losing [vows] in the case of a Tantric adept monk who has taken up the three vows successively, and

3.3.3.5.2.2. the way of losing [vows] when the three vows were obtained simultaneously only from the ritual of initiation.

3.3.3.5.2.1. (...) Generally, the way of losing the [vows] for [a person] possessing the three vows who has taken them successively has five aspects:

1) Not losing the two higher [vows] after the monk's vows have been lost,
2) not losing the monk's vows after the two higher [vows] have been lost,
3) not losing the bodhisattva vows after the monk's vows and the Mantra vows have been lost,
4) not losing the two lower [vows] after the Mantra vows have been lost,
5) losing all three together simultaneously.

p. 238, fol. 77v, l. 4
3.3.3.5.2.1.1. The first case. Such a monk surrenders [i.e. gives back] his monk vows when there is a special purpose, such as that it will be of benefit to sentient beings, and he loses his monk vows at the time of death, because the cause of losing them occurred [in those circumstances]. At these times he does not lose the two higher [vows], because the causes for losing [them] did not occur.

3.3.3.5.2.1.2. The second case. Such a monk loses the two higher [vows] when he abandons the resolve [for awakening] or when he performs with violent unwholesome emotions the faults resembling infractions entailing expulsion of the bodhisattva vows, because the cause for losing the bodhisattva vows has occurred, and because either the fifth or the second fundamental transgression of the Mantra vows has occurred.[381] He does not lose the monk vows, because a cause for losing that did not occur.

---

[381] The fifth fundamental transgression against the Tantric pledges is: *byang chub kyi sems smon pa btang ba*. See Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 248, fols. 46r ff.; the second fundamental transgression is: *bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' khyad du gsod pa*, p. 243, fols. 39r ff.

gsum pa ni/ de lta bu'i dge slong gis dgos ched khyad par can med par dge slong gi pham pa bzhi spyad na dge slong gi sdom pa dang sngags sdom gnyis ka gtong ste/ dge slong gi sdom pa la ltos pa'i pham pa byung ba'i phyir dang / sngags sdom gyi rtsa ltung gnyis pa byung ba'i phyir ro/ byang sems kyi sdom pa mi gtong ste/ rang gi cho gas thob cing de'i gtong rgyu ma byung ba'i phyir ro/

bzhi pa ni/ de lta bu'i dge slong gis rtsa ltung bdun pa dang / brgyad pa lta bu thun mong ma yin pa rnams spyad pa'i tshe sngags sdom gtong ste/ de'i tshe rtsa ltung byung ba'i phyir ro/ 'og ma gnyis mi gtong ste/ de'i gtong rgyu ma byung ba'i phyir ro/

lnga pa ni/ de lta bu'i dge slong gis smon sems btang nas so thar gyi pham pa bzhi spyad pa'i tshe gsum char gtong ste dge slong gi sdom pa'i pham pa byung ba'i phyir dang / byang sems kyi smon sems gtang ba'i phyir dang / sngags kyi bde gshegs bka' 'das byung ba'i phyir ro/

p. 238, fol. 78r, l. 4
'di la byang sems kyi sdom pa btang nas sngags sdom mi gtong ba'i mu ni med de/ byang sems kyi sdom pa gtong ba'i rgyu la/ kun dkris drag pos byang sems kyi pham pa spyad pa dang / smon sems gtong ba gnyis su nges pa las dang po ni bde gshegs bka' 'das kyi rtsa ltung dang / gnyis pa la ni rtsa ltung lnga pa byung ba'i phyir dang / sngags sdom yang byang sems kyi sdom pa'i bye brag yin pa'i phyir/

3.3.3.5.2.1.3. The third case. Such a monk loses his monk's vows and the Mantra vows if he commits the four infractions entailing expulsion of the monk's [vows] without a special purpose, because infractions entailing expulsion with regard to the monk vows has occurred and the second fundamental transgression against the Mantra vows has occurred.[382] He does not lose the bodhisattva vows, because [they] were taken by their own specific ritual and a cause for losing them did not occur.

3.3.3.5.2.1.4. The fourth case. Such a monk loses the Mantra vows when he commits the exclusively Tantric fundamental transgressions such as the seventh and the eighth,[383] because at that time a fundamental transgression has occurred. The two lower [vows] are not lost, because their cause for being lost has not occurred.

3.3.3.5.2.1.5. The fifth case. Such a monk loses all three [vows] when he commits the four infractions entailing expulsion of the prātimokṣa after he had abandoned the resolve [for awakening], because an infraction entailing expulsion to his monk vows has occurred, because he abandoned the resolve [for awakening] and because a transgression against the Sugata's teaching of the Tantric vows has occurred.

p. 238, fol. 78r, l. 4
Regarding this [i.e. **3.3.3.5.2.1.2. and 5.**], having lost the bodhisattva vows, one inevitably loses the Mantra vows, [too], because there are two and only two causes for losing the bodhisattva vows: [1)] to commit an infraction entailing expulsion of the bodhisattva vows with violent unwholesome emotions, and [2)] to abandon the resolve [for awakening]. From among these, the first is the fundamental transgression of going beyond the Sugata's teachings, and the second is the occurrence of the fifth fundamental transgression [from among the fourteen Tantric pledges],[384] and [furthermore the Mantra vows are lost] because the Mantra vows, too, are a particular instance of the bodhisattva vows.

---

[382] As cited above, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 243, fols. 39r ff.

[383] The seventh is: *snod ma yin pa la gsang ba sgrogs pa*, on which see Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 250, fols. 53r ff. The eighth is: *rang gi lus la smad pa*, on which see p. 251, fols. 56r ff.

[384] As cited above, see Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 248, fols. 49r ff.

de bzhin du dge slong la sogs pa'i ris bdun btang nas gong ma gnyis mi gtong ba'i mu yod pa yin gyi/ so thar btang nas gong ma gnyis mi gtong ba'i mu ni yod pa ma yin te/ gong ma gnyis so thar gyi sdom pa'i bye brag yin pa'i phyir ro/

p. 238, fol. 78v, l. 1
sdom pa 'og ma gnyis len pa'i cho ga sngon du ma song bar dbang bskur gyi cho ga gcig pu las sdom pa gsum char thob pa la ni sngags kyi rtsa ltung byung ba'i tshe sdom pa gsum char gtong ste/ de lta bu'i sdom pa gsum ka yang sngags sdom gcig pu la ldog pa'i sgo nas gsum du phye ba tsam yin pa'i phyir dang / len pa'i cho ga yang dbang bskur kho na las thob dgos pa yin gyi cho ga gzhan las ma thob pa'i phyir ro/

'on kyang smon sems ma btang na rtsa ltung byung bas sdom pa'i ldog pa btang yang kun rdzob byang chub sems kyi ldog pa mi btang pa ni yod do/ rigs pa 'di la rten nas so thar len pa'i cho ga sngon du ma song bar byang sems kyi sdom pa thob pa'i gnyis ldan yang byang sems kyi sdom pa gtong ba'i tshe gnyis ldan gtong bar shes par bya zhing byang sems kyi sdom pa cho ga'i sgo nas ma blangs par so thar ris brgyad po byang chub kyi sems kyis zin pa'i sgo nas blangs pa'i gnyis ldan la yang so thar btang ba'i tshe sdom pa gnyis char btang bar shes par bya'o/

de'i tshe kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems kyi ldog pa ni mi gtong ste/ gzhung las/

theg chen so so thar yin yang /
dge slong la sogs sdom pa yi/
ldog pa shi ba'i tshe na gtong /
byang chub sems kyi ldog pa dang /
de yi 'bras bu shi yang 'byung /

zhes gsungs pas so/

Similarly, there does exist the possibility of not losing the two higher [vows] after the seven classes [of prātimokṣa] such as the monk [vows] are lost [as in **3.3.3.5.2.1.1.**],[385] but there does not exist the possibility of not losing the two higher vows after the prātimokṣa vows have been lost, because the two higher vows are particular instances of the prātimokṣa vows.

p. 238, fol. 78v, l. 1

3.3.3.5.2.2. For someone who has obtained all three vows through merely the ritual of initiation without any preceding ritual for taking up the two lower vows, all three vows will be lost when there occurs a fundamental transgression [against the pledges] of Mantra, because all three vows as mentioned above are merely differentiated into three by way of their being aspects of simply the Mantra vows, and because regarding the ritual for taking up [these vows], too, they must be taken solely from initiation, but they are not obtained through any other rituals, [namely, their specific prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vow rituals].

Nevertheless, if the resolve [for awakening] is not lost, even though the aspect of the vow is lost through the occurrence of a fundamental transgression, the aspect of relative resolve for awakening (*bodhicitta*) is not lost.

Based on this logic one should understand that the twofold possession, too, where the bodhisattva vows have not been preceded by a ritual of taking up prātimokṣa, will be lost at the time of losing the bodhisattva vows; and one should also understand that for the twofold possession where the eight classes of prātimokṣa vows have been taken up endowed with the resolve for awakening [i.e. with *bodhicitta* as volitional impulse] without being taken up [formally] through the ritual of the bodhisattva vows, both vows are lost when the prātimokṣa is lost.

At that time, the aspect of the relative resolve for awakening is not lost, because in the basic scripture it is said (Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 40):

"Even in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa,
that part that consists of the vows such as of a full monk
will be lost at death,
whereas that part that consists of the resolve for awakening and its fruit
will arise even after death."

---

[385] "Dying" and "special purpose" are cases where no cause for the loss of the higher vows arise.

p. 239, fol. 79v, l. 3
drug pa gsum ldan gyi gang zag gis sdom pa gsum nyams su len pa'i tshul la gnyis te/

so so'i bslab bya la slob tshul dang /

re re yang gsum ldan du nyams su len pa'i tshul lo/

dang po ni/ rten gyi gang zag sdom gsum rim can du blangs pa'i dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa des ji srid/ bslab dang dbang las rnal 'byor grol/ zhes gsungs pa lta bu'i rtogs pa ma thob kyi bar du rang rgyud kyi sdom pa gsum gyi bslab bya rnams la sems can gyi don du 'gyur ba sogs kyi dgos pa khyad par can med pa'i tshe so so'i gzhung las 'byung ba bzhin bslab dgos te/ gsang ba 'dus pa'i bshad rgyud las/

> *phyi ru nyan thos spyod pa bsrung //*
> *nang du 'dus pa'i don la dga'//*

zhes pa dang / rdo rje gur las/

> *nyan thos spyod pa srung ba po/*

zhes pa dang / ltung ba 'chad pa'i skabs su yang /

> *sdom pa gnyis kyi bcas pa las//*
> *dgos pa med par 'da' ba dang //*

zhes sogs dgos med du bcas pa las 'das pa yan lag gi ltung bar bshad pa'i phyir dang / spyod 'jug las/

p. 239, fol. 79v, l. 3
3.3.3.6. Sixth. [The explanation of] how a person possessing these three [vows] practices the three vows entails two topics:

3.3.3.6.1. How to practice the individual trainings,[386] and

3.3.3.6.2. How to practice each [of them] as possessing three [vows].[387]

3.3.3.6.1. Regarding the first, [here] the person who is the basis, [i.e.] a Tantric adept monk who has successively taken up the three vows, must train in the rules of the three vows of his own mental stream of consciousness[388] according to what is taught in the respective scriptures when there is no special purpose such as the benefitting of sentient beings until he has obtained the realization that is described as "the yoga freed from training and initiation," because it was taught in the *Explanatory Tantra* (*bshad rgyud*) of the *Guhyasamājatantra*:[389]

"Observe the conduct of the auditors outwardly,
rejoice inwardly on the meaning of the *[Guhya]samāja* ...;"

and in the *rDo rje gur*:[390]

"He who observes the conduct of the auditors ...;"

and because in the chapter on explaining the [fundamental] transgressions [it is taught]:

"Needlessly transgressing
against the restrictions of the two vows, and ...;"
thus needlessly transgressing against these restrictions is a branch transgression [among the Tantric pledges];

and because many precepts (*bslab bya*) have been transgressed, such as [that of the] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* [ch. V, v. 93c]:

---

[386] This is to explain that one has to continue the three vows individually and according to the respective authoritative scriptures relating to each particular vow.

[387] In this section Go-rams-pa explains how each vow is to be kept in the fashion of possessing all three vows together.

[388] The term *rang rgyud* is ambiguous. It might mean "independent," but later the term was mostly understood as "own mind."

[389] Perhaps *Vajramālātantra*, *P* vol. 3, no. 82, fol. 232r: *nang gi gsang 'dus la rab dga'// phyi rol nyan thos la spyod pa//* The same quote is used by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *rNam nges 'grel pa,* fol. 306v. He reads *skyong* instead of *bsrung*.

[390] *'Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa* (*Āryaḍākiṇīvajrapañjaramahātantrarājakalpanāma*), *P* 1, no. 11, fol. 283r4, belonging to the cycle of *Hevajra*.

'jig rten ma dad gyur pa rnams//
mthong dang dris te spang bar bya//

zhes pa dang /

rkang pa rkyong ste mi 'dug cing //

zhes sogs kyi bslab bya mang du gsungs pa'i phyir dang / gzhung 'dir yang /

'di la sdig to mi dge'i phyogs//
phal cher nyan thos lugs bzhin bsrungs//

zhes sogs mang du gsungs pa'i phyir ro/ sems can gyi don du 'gyur pa sogs dgos pa khyad pa can yod pa'i tshe rten gyi gang zag de lta bu la lus ngag gi bcas pa thams cad kyang gnang ste/ spyod 'jug las/

thugs rje mnga' ba ring gzigs pas//
bkag pa rnams kyang de la gnang//

zhes pa dang / bzhi ba rgya pa las/

bsam pas byang chub sems pa la/
dge ba'am yang na mi dge ba/
thams cad dge legs nyid 'gyur te/
gang phyir sems de gtso bo'i phyir/

zhes pa dang/ gzhung 'dir yang /

'jig rten 'jug pa'i rgyur gyur na//
theg chen so sor thar la gnang //

zhes sogs gsungs pa'i phyir ro/

p. 239, fol. 80r, 1. 5

gnyis pa ni/ byang chub sems dpa' phyag na pad mo'i rnam par 'phrul pa rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug sa skya pa chen po'i zhal nas

"[Having] seen and inquired [into] everything
causing loss of faith among ordinary people, I should give it up;"[391]
and [*Bodhicaryāvatāra* ch. V, v. 92c]:
"I should not sit with my legs outstretched ...;"
and because it has been taught at length in the present work such things as (ch. I, v. 36):[392]
"Here one ought to avoid sins and non-virtuous factors
for the most part according to the system of the auditors."
When there exists a special purpose such as its being for the benefit of sentient beings, even all restricted things for body and speech are allowed for such a person who is the basis, because it is said in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* [ch. V, v. 84c]:
"The Merciful One through far-sightedness
allowed them [i.e. the bodhisattvas] even [these activities] that were prohibited [for others],"[393]
and in the *Catuḥśataka* [ch. V, v. 5a-d]:
"Because of his intention [of benefiting others],
for the bodhisattva all virtuous and non-virtuous actions
become purely positive,
since they are under the control of the mind
(Go-rams-pa's *General Topics*: since they are the chief thing);"[394]
and in the present scripture (ch. I, v. 37):[395]
"If it is a cause for people in the world to enter [the higher path],
it is allowed in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa."

p. 239, fol. 80r, l. 5
3.3.3.6.2. The emanation of the bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara), [and] lord of yogis, the great Sa-skya-pa [Kun-dga'-snying-po], said:

---

[391] *P* vol. 99, p. 250-2-3; the following quote is from the same passage.
[392] Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, p. 298, fol. 4r, l. 2.
[393] *P* vol. 99, 250-1-5.
[394] Āryadeva, *Catuḥśatakaśāstrakārika*, ch. V, v. 5. See Karen Lang (1986: 54-55). Her edition reads:
b: *dge ba'am 'on te mi dge'ang rung //*
d: *gang phyir yid de'i dbang gyur phyir.*
[395] Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, p. 298, fol. 4r, l. 3.

de ltar dbang bzhi'i lam de dag bsdus nas nyams su len na sdom pa gsum ldan gyis sgom dgos te/ so sor thar pa'i sdom pa dge bsnyen nas dge slong gi bar du thob pa byang chub sems dpa'i smon 'jug gi sems bskyed thob pa gsang sngags kyi dbang bzhi'i sdom pa thob pa'o/

de la nyan thos nyon mongs pa'i skyon shes par byas nas myur du spong / byang chub sems dpas skyon yon 'dres par byas nas gnas gyur/ gsang sngags pas nyon mongs pa gang skyes pa de'i tshe chos can dang chos nyid/ dbyings dang ye shes gnyis su med par gzugs kyi sku dang chos kyi sku gnyis kyi ngo bo shes par byas nas lhun grub dang gnas 'gyur gyi sku sgrub par byed do/

de ltar shes par byas te mtshan ma dang rnam rtog ye shes kyis dbang du bsdu ba'i phyir 'di ltar bsgom ste dper na bdag la 'dod chags skyes na gnyen pos 'dod chags kyi dbang du mi gtong ba ni so sor thar pa'i sdom pa'o/

de nas sems can thams cad kyi nyon mongs pa bdag la smin nas sems can gyi nyon mongs pa bag chags dang bcas pa bral nas mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar gyur cig ces byang chub kyi sems sgom pa ni byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa'o/

de nas rang yi dam lhar sgom/ bla ma spyi bo 'am snying khar sgoms la mos gus bya/ sems rdzogs rim gyi ye shes dran par bya ste rang gi lus ngag yid gsum sangs rgyas chos kyi sku dang / gzugs skur sgom pa ni rig 'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa'o/

de nas dge ba'i rtsa ba sangs rgyas thob par gyur cig ces bsngo ba dang / de ma rtogs pa'i sems can la snying rje sgom pa dang / chos thams cad rmi lam lta bu'i ngang las spyod lam bya ba sdom pa gsum myur du smin par byed pa'o

"Thus, if you practice in a brief way the paths of the four initiations, you have to meditate through the possession of the three vows, [since one] has obtained the prātimokṣa vows from householder up to full monk, one has obtained the production of the preliminary resolve and the actualization of the resolve [for awakening] of the bodhisattvas, [and] one has obtained the vows of the four initiations of the Mantra [tradition].

Regarding these, the auditor understands the [moral] defects of the defilements and abandons [them] quickly, the bodhisattva mingles [their moral] defects and qualities and transforms [them], the Mantra practitioner when any defilement arises, understands [the defilement as] the nature of the *rūpakāya* and *dharmakāya* without the duality of phenomena and *dharmatā* [or] *dhātu* and gnosis, and [he] establishes the *kāya* of spontaneity and transformation.

Having understood accordingly, one meditates as follows in order to overcome phenomenal marks and mental constructions by means of gnosis: For example, if desire has arisen in oneself, to prevent oneself from coming under the influence of desire by means of an antidote is [how one upholds] the vow of prātimokṣa.

Then one produces the resolve for awakening, thinking: "After the defilements of all sentient beings have ripened in me, may I become free from the defilements of sentient beings together with their propensities and attain completely perfect Buddhahood!" [To practice in this way is how to uphold] the bodhisattva vow.

Then, meditating oneself as the deity of meditation (*yi dam [kyi] lha*), one should visualize the guru upon one's crown [of the head] or in [one's] heart and generate devotion toward him. One should call to mind the gnosis of the perfection stage — to meditate thus one's body, speech, and mind as the Buddha's *rūpakāya* and *dharmakāya* is [how to uphold] the vow of the Tantric adept.

Then one dedicates the root of virtue with the words: "May [I] obtain Buddhahood!" And one cultivates loving compassion for the sentient beings who have not realized [Buddhahood]. One performs activities in a state where all phenomena are [seen to be] like a dream. [In this way one] brings the three vows quickly to maturity."[396]

[396] This passage of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's teaching of the three vows has yet to be identified.

zhes gsungs pa'i don nyams len gyi rim pa la sbyor ba ni sems rgyud la 'dod chags lta bu gcig skyes pa'i tshe rang nyid rten dge slong la sogs pa yin pa rgyu mtshan du byas nas spong ba ni so thar gyi nyams len/

de'i steng du gzhan gyi 'dod chags 'bras bu dang bcas pa thams cad rang la len cing rang gi bde dges sems can de dag bde bar sgom pa ni byang sems gyi sdom pa'i nyams len/

de nas bla ma spyi bo 'am snying khar bsgoms nas gus 'dud drag po byas/ 'dod chags kyi gsal ba'i ngo bo de nyid 'od dpag med du bsgom nas sems bde stong gi ngang las mnyam par bzhag pa ni sngags sdom gyi nyams len no/

de bzhin du nyon mongs pa gzhan rnams la yang ci rigs par sbyar bar bya'o/ de dag ni so thar gsum ldan du nyams su len pa'i tshul yin la/

byang sems kyi sdom pa gsum ldan du nyams su len tshul ni gzhan la sbyin pa gtong ba'i tshe yang chang dang dug dang mtshon cha la sogs pa gzhan la gnod pa'i rgyur gyur pa'i ma dag pa'i sbyin pa spong ba ni so thar gyi nyams len/

sbyin pas 'khor du bsdus nas chos bstan pas gnas skabs dang / mthar thug gi phan bde la 'god cing de'i tshe yang 'khor gsum mi dmigs pa'i shes rab kyis zin pa ni byang sems kyi sdom pa'i nyams len/

thams cad kyang lha dang ye shes su byin gyis brlabs nas longs spyod pa ni sngags sdom gyi nyams len no/ de bzhin du pha rol tu phyin pa'i spyod pa thams cad kyang gsum ldan du nyams su len par bya'o/

sngags sdom gsum ldan du nyams su len pa'i tshul ni sgrub thabs gcig la yang sngon 'gro thams cad kyang sdom gsum gyi nyams len dang / dngos gzhi yang sdom gsum gyi nyams len dang / lha'i sku dang phyag mtshan thams cad kyang sdom gsum gyi nyams len du 'gro ba'i tshul bla ma dam pa bsten cing / dri ma med pa'i rgyud sde la sbyangs te shes par bya'o/

To apply the meaning of the above statement to the stages of practice, when something like desire has arisen in one's mental stream of consciousness, to abandon [it] is the practice of the prātimokṣa vows, taking one's [vow] status as full monk, etc., [as] one's reason [for doing so].

In addition to that, to take upon oneself all desires of others together with their fruits and to cultivate the wish that sentient beings may become happy through one's own happiness and virtue is the practice of the bodhisattva vows.

Then, meditating the guru on the crown [of one's head] or in one's heart and producing passionate devotion, the concentrative abiding in a state of bliss and emptiness [of] the mind after one has meditated that clear visible nature of desire as [the Buddha] Amitābha is the practice of the Mantra vows.

Accordingly one should apply [this] appropriately to the other defilements. These were the ways to practice the prātimokṣa as possessing the three [vows].

But regarding the way to practice the bodhisattva vows as possessing the three [vows], also at the time of presenting gifts to others, to abandon the giving of impure gifts that become the cause of harm such as alcohol, poison, and weapons is the practice of prātimokṣa.

After gathering [disciples] into a retinue through generosity, by teaching the Dharma one leads [the disciples] to temporary and ultimate benefit and happiness, and at that time, too, to endow [this] with the insight (*prajñā*) that does not objectify the three aspects (*'khor gsum mi dmigs pa*)[397] is the practice of the bodhisattva vows.

To enjoy everything after blessing it as deity and gnosis is the practice of the Mantra vows. In the same way, one has to practice all the practices of the Perfections Vehicle (*pāramitā*) as possessed of the three [vows].

Regarding the way of practicing the Mantra vows as possessing the three [vows], how even in a single ritual of evocation (*sādhana*) all the preliminaries are the practice of the three vows, and also how the actual practice is the practice of the three vows, and how the body of the deity and all the mudrās can become the practice of the three vows, you should learn [these things] by studying the pure tantras under the instructions of a noble guru.

[397] The doer, the action, and the object of the action (*byed pa po dang/ bya ba'i las/ bya ba'i yul te gsum*).

'dir ni ji ltar sbyor ba'i tshul rgyas par spro ba'i skabs ma yin pas ma bris la/ de ltar 'byung ba'i shes byed ni gsang ba 'dus pa'i man ngag 'ga' zhig las lam rim pa lnga po re re la yang rim pa lnga ldan du nyams su len pa'i tshul bshad pa dang / rje btsun na ro pa'i 'khor lo bde mchog gi man ngag 'ga' zhig las sgrub thabs spyi sku gsum gyi nyams len la sbyor zhing bye brag tu de re re yang sku gsum gyi nyams len la sbyor ba'i tshul bshad pa dang / rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi man ngag las dbang bzhi'i lam re re yang dbang bzhi ldan du nyams su len tshul bshad pa bzhin 'dir yang nyon mongs pa re re spong ba la sdom pa gsum ldan gyi nyams su len sbyor bar gsungs pas shes par nus so/

mdor na pha rol tu phyin pa'i gzhung lugs las go sgrub nyams su len pa'i tshe phar phyin re re yang phar phyin drug ldan du nyams su len pa ltar gsum ldan gyi gang zag gis sdom pa gsum po re re yang sdom pa gsum ldan du nyams su len pa (...)

Here it is not the occasion to explain in detail how to apply [the three vows as "possessing three" in the Mantra system]; thus, I have not written [more]. But the proof that it occurs in that way can be known from the explanation in several instructions of the *Guhyasamāja[tantra]* of how to practice in each stage of the five stages (*pañcakrama*) as possessing all five stages, too, and the exposition by Nāropa in several instructions on the *Cakrasaṃvara[tantra]* of how to apply the general ritual of evocation (*sādhana*) to the practice of each of the three spheres (*kāya*), while each division, too, is applied to the practice of the three spheres, and the explanation in the instructions of Virūpa of how each path of the four initiations, too, is practiced as possessing the four initiations. And according to that, here, too, the teaching that one applies the practice that possesses the three vows to the avoiding of each defilement [can be known].

In short, as one practices each Perfection (*pāramitā*) as possessing all Six Perfections [together] when one practices the "mastering of the armour" (*go sgrub / go cha'i sgrub pa*) after the scriptural tradition of the Perfection [of Insight] (*[prajñā]pāramitā*), a person who possesses the three vows [together] practices each vow as possessing the three vows (...).

[1] rgya gar skad du/ tri samba ra pra bhā[398] *mā la nā ma/*
bod skad du/ sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba zhes bya ba/

bla ma dang 'jam dpal[399] *dbyangs la phyag 'tshal lo/*

rnam dag zab yangs shes bya'i rgya mtsho las//
bstan pa'i gru dang bdag blo'i ded dpon gyis//
mkhyen pa'i dar phyar[400] *brtse ba'i rlung bskyod nas//*
sdom gsum yid bzhin nor bu kho bos blang[401] *//*

deng[402] *sang bstan pa'i mjug*[403] *'di ru//*
sdom pa gsum gyi rnam gzhag la//
mkhas pa[404] *rgyu skar 'ga'*[405] *zhig gis//*
phyogs re'i cha tsam brjod[406] *gyur*[407] *mod//*

so sor thar dang byang chub sems//
rig[408] *'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa la//*
thob[409] *tshul gnas tshul gtong ba'i tshul//*
gnyis ldan gsum ldan 'thad pa'i gzhung //
nyes pa phan yon rim pa dag
bdag blo nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor[410] *gyis//*
phyogs rnams gsal bar bya phyir bkod//[411]

---

398 *General Topics: bho.*
399 *P + D: pa'i.*
400 *P + D: 'phyar.*
401 *General Topics: blang.*
402 *D: ding.*
403 *P + D: gsham.*
404 *P + D: pa'i.*
405 *D: 'ba'.*
406 *P + D: rtogs.*
407 *P + D: 'gyur.*
408 *P: rigs.*
409 *P + D: 'thob.*
410 *P + D: 'od zer.*
411 *P + D: phyogs las rgyal bar byas te dgod.*

The Remaining Parts of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*: Text and Translation

In this chapter for the sake of completeness I would like to give the Tibetan text with translation of those sections of Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* that were not discussed in Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* and therefore have not been presented in the previous chapters. This remaining part consists of sixteen sections.[412]

[1] In Sanskrit the title is: *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā*.
In Tibetan: "The Garland of Light [of the] Three Vows."

I pay homage to the guru and to Mañjughoṣa!

I shall take the wish-fulfilling jewel of the three vows
from the completely pure, profound [and] vast ocean of knowable things
with the boat of the teachings and the captain of my mind,
having moved the hoisted sail of knowledge [with] the wind of kindness.

Nowadays, at this final period of [the Buddha's] doctrine,
some scholars who are [just like] stars
have expressed merely one side [of it]
regarding doctrinal formulations of the three vows.
With my mind, the disc of the sun,
in order to illuminate the directions of the faults [of not possessing]
[and] the benefits [of possessing the vows]
I shall compose (*dgod*) a treatise on the correct way of obtaining,
maintaining, and losing,
and on a twofold and threefold possession [of the vows]
with regard to the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows, and the vows of the Tantric adepts.

[412] For the system of numbering, see ftn. 82.

[4] bslab pa phul dang shi 'phos dang //
mtshan gnyis[413] *dag ni byung ba dang //*[414]
rtsa ba chad dang mtshan 'das las//[415]
so sor thar pa'i 'dul ba[416] *gtong*[417] *//*
gsungs so pham pa byas[418] *pas kyang //*
so thar sdom pa'i gtong tshul yin//[419]

[6] smon dang 'jug pa'i bdag nyid can//
lus ngag yid gsum rang don dang //
gzhan don thabs ma yin las[420] *sdom//*
kun rdzob byang chub sems[421] *kyi'o//*

[7] de nyid snang la rang bzhin med//
'jig tshogs[422] *shin tu*[423] *goms pa las//*
yul dang yul can gnyis las grol//
don dam byang chub sems yin no//

[8] sems dang sems byung sems bskyed gnyis//
rang don gza' dang bral ba[424] *na//*
nyi ma dang ni 'od zer bzhin//
de dag gnas pa'i tshul yin no//

[13] dgos 'dod[425] *med do skyon rnams 'byung*[426] *//*
dpag bsam shing bu 'gyel ba bzhin[427]*//*

---

413 *P*: *nyid.*
414 *General Topics*: *rtsa ba chad dang mtshan 'das dang .*
415 *General Topics*: *mtshan gnyis gcig char byung ba las.*
416 *General Topics*: *sdom pa.*
417 *D*: *gtang.*
418 *P + D*: *spyad.*
419 *General Topics*: fol. 58r. *P + D*: *so sor thar pa'i tshul yin no.*
420 *General Topics*: *pas.*
421 *D*: p. 1402.
422 *P + D*: *sogs.*
423 *P + D*: *bzhin du.*
424 *P + D*: *bas.*
425 *General Topics*: *don.*
426 *General Topics*: *phyung.*
427 *P + D*: *ltar.*

[4] It is taught[428] that the discipline of the prātimokṣa is lost
by giving back the training, by death,
by developing androgyny,
by cutting the root, and by the elapse of night.
Committing [an infraction] leading to expulsion from the order, too,
is a way of losing the vows of prātimokṣa.

[6] Possessing the nature of the preliminary resolve and the actualization of the resolve [for awakening],
restraint of body, speech, and mind for one's own sake
and for the sake of others from inappropriate activities
is of relative *bodhicitta*.

[7] Just that, being appearance without own nature,
free from both the objects and the subject [of cognition]
[which arise] from strong internalization to the false view that the [five] constituents of the person (*skandhas*) are the self (*satkāya[dṛṣṭi]*),
is absolute *bodhicitta*.

[8] When both productions of the resolve—[consisting of both] mind and mental products—
are free from the eclipse of own benefit,
like the sun and [its] rays of light,
that is the way those persist.

[13] When fundamental transgressions arise
that are like the falling of the wish-fulfilling tree,

---

[428] In Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. IV, v. 38. See my discussion of this passage in chapter 2, section 2, p. 23.

rtsa ba'i ltung ba byung ba na//
rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa gtong //

[35] phrag dog nor 'dod gti mug can//
rang bzo[429] *byed pa su yis khegs//*
mdo rgyud dpung[430] *kyang phyogs su 'phen//*
sgra tshad byung na rtags[431] *gzhan bsgyur*[432]*//*
bstan pa'i byi dor ji ltar bya//

[38] sdom gsum gang yang mi ldan na//
lha mi'i lus kyang rnyed par dka'//
nyams na mthong chos rnam smin gyi[433]*//*
rim pa gnyis kyis bstan par bya//

[39] so thar sdom pa[434] *nyams gyur na//*
rang gis rang bslus gnod pa mang[435] *//*[436]
rgyal[437] *dang de sras thams cad kyis//*
cung zad khrel gyi shin tu min//
pham pa'i bye brag lci yang gis//[438]
lo grangs ngan song gsum du gnas//

[40] byang sems nyams na 'gro ba kun//
bslus pas gnod pa shin tu mang //
rgyal dang de sras thams cad dang //
'gro ba kun gyis shin tu khrel//

---

[429] *P*: *gzo.*
[430] *P* + *D*: *spungs.*
[431] *P* + *D*: *gtam.*
[432] *P* + *D*: *sgyur.*
[433] *General Topics*: *dag.*
[434] *P* + *D*: *de las so thar.*
[435] *P* + *D*: *nyung.*
[436] *P*: 268a.
[437] *D*: p. 1405.
[438] *P* + *D*: *pham pa lci yang bye brag gis.*

[such as] the disappearing of [the source of the perfection of everything] needed [or]
desired [i.e. the deity of meditation], [and] the arising of [moral] faults,
the vows of the Tantric adepts are lost.

[35] Who will stop [such] self-fabrications
produced [by those] who are endowed with envy, desire for wealth, and ignorance?
Even though [there is] an abundance of sūtras and tantras, they cast them aside.
If grammar [and] logic is presented [to them], they turn the logical sign [into something] else(?).
How can one purify the teachings?

[38] If one does not possess any of the three vows,
even celestial and human bodies are difficult to obtain.
I shall demonstrate through the two stages
of the present life (*dṛṣṭadharma*) [and karmic] consequences [in future existences]
[the bad results] if [vows] are damaged.

[39] If the prātimokṣa vow is damaged,
one has let down oneself and there is much harm.
The Buddha and all the bodhisattvas
disapprove you somewhat, but not too much.
Through the respective weight of the fundamental infractions
the number of years one [will have to] remain in the three lower realms [is determined].

[40] If the bodhisattva [vow] is damaged, there is very much harm
because all beings have been let down.
The Buddha, all bodhisattvas, and all beings
will disapprove of you very much.

pham pa[439] *lci yang bye brag gis//*
bskal pa'i grangs bzhin[440] *dmyal bar gnas//*

[41] rig 'dzin sdom pa nyams gyur na[441]*//*
yid du mi 'ong sna tshogs 'byung[442]*//*
rgyal dang de sras kun brnyas pas//
mi 'jig[443] *mnar med gnas dag tu//*
sdug bsngal chen po de yis myong //
rtsa ba kun nyams 'chab[444] *pa dag*[445]
gso la nye bar mi brtson na//
rdo rje dmyal bar de ltung ste//
dmyal ba phal pa thams cad kyi//
sdug bsngal gcig tu dril bas kyang[446]*//*
de yi[447] *'bum gyi char mi phod//*
'jig rten 'jig na[448] *gzhan du 'pho//*
se gol gcig gis phyin par byed//
sangs rgyas stong gis[449] *'od zer dang //*
byang chub sems dpa'i phrin[450] *las kun//*
rgyun du[451] *mdzad kyang phan mi*[452] *'gyur//*
bskal pa ther 'bum la[453] *sogs su//*
de ni thon[454] *par ma gsungs so//*[455]

---

439 *General Topics*: *pa'i.*

440 *P* + *D*: *kyi.*

441 *P* + *D*: *pas ni.*

442 *P* + *D*: *can.*

443 *General Topics*: *'jigs.*

444 *P* + *D*: *phyal.*

445 This verse is from this line onwards from Vilāsavajra, *Dam tshig gsal bkra, P* vol 83, no. 4744, 149-1-2 ff.

446 *P* + *D*: *bsdoms pa bas*. Vilāsavajra: *bas ni.*

447 Vilāsavajra: *yis.*

448 *General Topics*: *zhig pas.*

449 *P* + *D*: *gi.*

450 Vilāsavajra: *'phrin.*

451 Vilāsavajra: *tu.*

452 *General Topics*: *med.*

453 *General Topics*: fol. 60v.

454 Vilāsavajra: *mthon.*

455 Vilāsavajra: *mi 'gyur te.*

Through the specific weight of the fundamental infractions
one will remain in hell the corresponding number of aeons.

[41] If one loses the vows of the Tantric adepts,
various unpleasant experiences occur [in this life].
Because of their disrespect for all Buddhas and bodhisattvas,
great pain in the locations of the unperishing hell
will be experienced by them.
If someone who keeps the complete damage of all fundamental pledges a secret
does not undertake efforts at repairing them,
he will fall into the vajra hell.
Because it combines in itself the pain
of all ordinary hells,
it is a hundred-thousand times more unbearable than those.
If one world-system is destroyed, one transmigrates into [the vajra hell of] another,
[and] one arrives there in an instant.
Even the shining forth of the light rays by a hundred thousand Buddhas
and the continuous performance of all the activities
of the bodhisattvas does not help.
It is taught that one will not escape [from there]
for many billions of aeons.

[42] so thar sdom[456] *pa'i phan yon ni//*
gnas skabs lha mi mthar thug ni[457]
dgra bcom 'bras bu nges par thob[458]*//*

[43] byang sems sdom pa'i[459] *phan yon ni//*
gnas skabs bde mang mthar thug ni//[460]
ring mo zhig nas rdzogs sangs rgyas//[461]
rgyas par mdo sde blta bar byos//[462]

[44] rig 'dzin sdom pa'i phan yon ni//
gnas skabs nyid nas kun mkhyen gyi//[463]
bde ba che la longs spyod 'gyur//[464]
gal te bsgoms[465] *pa dang bcas na//*
tshe 'dir sangs rgyas 'grub par gsungs//[466]
ma bsgoms gyur kyang ltung med na//
skye ba bcu drug nyid kyis thob[467]*//*

---

[456] *P + D*: *so sor thar.*
[457] *D + General Topics*: *gi.*
[458] *P + D*: *'thob.*
[459] *P + D*: *byang chub sems kyi.*
[460] *P + D*: *ring mo na.*
[461] *P + D*: *sangs rgyas nyid du nges par 'grub.*
[462] *General Topics*: om.
[463] *P + D*: *gnas skabs kun mkhyen bde longs spyod.*
[464] *P + D*: om. whole line.
[465] *P + D*: *bsgom.*
[466] *P + D*: *tshe 'di nyid la sangs rgyas 'gyur, P*: *bsgyur.*
[467] *P + D*: *nyid na'o.*

[42] The benefits of prātimokṣa [vows] are
in the short term [birth among] gods and men, [and] ultimately
one will definitely obtain the fruit of arhatship.

[43] The benefits of bodhisattva vows are
in the short term much happiness, [and] ultimately
[one obtains] Buddhahood after a long time.
[For details refer to the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*.][468]

[44] The benefits of the vows of the Tantric adepts are
enjoyment with regard to the great bliss
of omniscience after this life(?).
If one is equipped with meditation,
Buddhahood is manifested in this life. Thus it is taught [by the Buddha].
If [one is] without transgressions, even though one does not meditate,
one obtains [Buddhahood] with one's sixteenth birth.

[468] *General Topics*: om. whole line.

[45] mkhyen brtse dung phyur ldan pa yi//[469]
paṇ[470] *chen blo yi rgya mtsho las//*
sdom gsum nor bu'i phreng ba blangs//
bdag gzhan[471] *'gro ba ma lus kyi//*
blo gros gtsug la[472] *legs gnas pa*[473]*//*
kun mkhyen de la longs spyod shog[474]

[46] paṇḍi ta bhi bhū ta tsandras
rang 'gyur du mdzad rdzogs so//[475]

---

469 *General Topics*: om. whole line
470 *D*: *phan.*
471 *P*: 268b.
472 *General Topics*: *na.*
473 *P + D*: *te.*
474 *P + D*: *kun mkhyen dgos 'dod spyod par shog.*
475 *P + D*: *rgya gar shar phyogs dza' ga ta la'i paṇḍī ta chen po bi bhū ti tsandras mdzad de rang 'gyur du mdzad pa rdzogs so.*

[45] I took the jewel garland of the three vows
from the ocean of the mind of the great scholar,[476]
[that is endowed a hundred million times with omniscience and love.]
May I and all other beings without remainder
remain at the peak of intelligence,
[and may we] partake of that omniscience.

[46] [This text], translated by the scholar Vibhūticandra himself, is completed.

[476] Could "the mind of the great scholar" refer to his guru Śākyaśrībhadra? Note also the variant in *D*: *phan chen blo*, "the intent [to work] a great benefit."

The Three-Vow Theories of sGam-po-pa

The earliest Tibetan doctrinal formulations on the three vows that I was able to locate are contained in the collected works of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153), the illustrious disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123), Tibet's beloved yogi.[477] He went through a multifaceted career as a physician, bKa'-gdams-pa adept, and finally foremost disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa. His own collected writings, and to some extent also those of his numerous immediate disciples, reflect his genius with regard to doctrinal formulations and his great skill in developing teaching methods to match the differing needs and abilities of his students. It is, in general, impossible at present to determine exactly how his collected works were compiled and which of the texts contained in them were actually not written down by himself, but rather by his immediate disciples—or perhaps by masters of even later generations. But I have come to the conclusion (as will be explained further in chapter 13) that at least the main passages of those doctrinal formulations regarding the three vows that I investigate in my thesis are very likely sGam-po-pa's teachings. In these passages we find statements that are not yet burdened with considerations of a predominantly theoretical nature, unlike so many later treatises on the three vows. Instead, they are self-confident expressions of an independent, simple, straightforward thinking, and their doctrinal contents can be summarized in very few words. It was a task reserved for later masters of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition to elaborate on the originally simple kernel, and this they have done in considerable measure, as we will see in chapters 10 through 12.

[477] The sentiments that Mi-la produces in Tibetan masters of all traditions until the present day are perhaps best illustrated through the example of H.H. the Dalai Lama, whom I have seen shed tears when he merely mentioned Mi-la's name.

9.1. Biographical Notes on sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen

rJe sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153) is the founder of the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition within the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa.[478] In his early years he had been a physician (*lha rje*) and a married householder. Due to the shock of the sudden death of his wife and child (or children?), he entered monastic life and soon underwent full monastic ordination at the age of twenty-five (1104). Before meeting Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123) in 1110, he studied various subjects including Vinaya and Tantra under such masters of the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition as Mar-yul Blo-ldan, sNyug-rum-pa, and lCags-ri Gong-kha-pa. From Mi-la-ras-pa, with whom he stayed for little more than a year, he received instructions, especially on "inner heat" (*gtum mo*). In the following years he lived the contemplative life of a yogi in places of solitude such as in 'Ol-kha[479] (ca. 1112) and, later (ca. 1118), in 'O-de-gung-rgyal.[480]

In the beginning of the 1120s, i.e. in his fourth decade, bSod-nams-rin-chen settled in Dwags-po at the sGam-po mountain and started his increasingly illustrious career as a teacher of Buddhism and gave, especially in the later part of his life, more and more attention to transmitting directly the highest insight of Mahāmudrā. In doing so he showed great skill and compassion in teaching in accordance with the specific abilities and needs of his disciples. His special teaching of Mahāmudrā outside of the traditional framework of Mantra vehicle and his stressing of the simple, direct insight into the nature of the mind was viewed by his later followers as a sign of greatness, but it also drew the criticism of later scholars of other traditions such as Sa-skya-Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251).

---

[478] The main accessible extensive Tibetan sources on sGam-po-pa's life are the second Zhwa-dmar-pa, mKha'-spyod-dbang-po, *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa*, and the biography by bSod-nams-lhun-grub Zla-'od-rgyal-mtshan (1488-1552) based on that, i.e. the *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che*. Other Tibetan sources are the well-known compilations of the "Religious History" (*chos 'byung*) genre such as 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba's *Deb ther sngon po*, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba's *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, and Padma-dkar-po's *Padma dkar po'i chos 'byung*. Since sGam-po-pa is already relatively well-known to Western academic readers, I have confined myself in this biographical sketch to drawing from Jackson (1994: 9-14). See also Jampa Mackenzie Stewart (1995), *The Life of Gampopa: The Incomparable Dharma Lord of Tibet*. Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca, New York; and Guenther (1955: 90-96); and (1959: XI-XII).

[479] 'Ol-kha lies in the South-East of gDan-sa-mthil, to the north of the gTsang-po. Wylie (1962: 172, n. 524), quotes the *Vaidurya ser po*, fol. 155v, as identifying 'Ol-dga-bsam-gtan-gling as the place of sGam-po-pa's meditation.

[480] 'O-de-gung-rgyal is the mountain range at the 'Ol-kha valley. See Wylie (1962: 116, n. 21).

9.2. The Collected Works of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen

A collection of the works of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen was first compiled as late as the sixteenth century by his biographer bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1488-1552).[481] The earliest available printed version appears to be the one that was published in Derge in two volumes (*e vaṃ*). One copy of this Derge print exists in Fonds Migot (École Française d'Extrême Orient, cf. Ruegg 1962: 322 ff.). In addition, there are two recent handwritten editions of the same collected works. The first is the *Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, Reproduced from a manuscript from the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul by Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin*, 2 vols., Delhi, 1975; and the second is an edition with the same title, prepared in Darjeeling in three volumes (1982) from a manuscript of the Hemis Monastery in Ladakh that is said to go back to the "Dwags-lha-sgam-po redaction" (i.e. the same that was brought to Derge?) by bSod-nams-lhun-grub. I have noticed also some selective compilations of sGam-po-pa's writings such as the *rTsib ri par ma*, Darjeeling, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1984, vols. *ka* and *ca*, and the *Dwags po'i gsung tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*, Delhi, Karmapae Choedheg, not dated.

For the following account I have used the 1975 (Lahul manuscript) edition of the collected works, which appears to contain the greatest number of titles. The contents of the collected works can be divided provisionally into seven categories (a-g):[482]

a) Biographies (*rnam thar*). The first section of the first volume contains biographical works on the lives of Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar-pa and Mi-la-ras-pa, and the aforementioned biography of sGam-po-pa by bSod-nams-lhun-grub.

b) Teachings to the assembly (*tshogs chos*). The second section of the first volume continues with five collections (by different compilers) of teachings to the assembly, covering various topics that appear to have been compiled more or less at random.[483]

c) Replies to questions (*zhus lan*). The last section of the first volume contains sGam-po-pa's replies to questions from four of his eminent

---

[481] See ftn. 478.

[482] This classification follows roughly the one that was proposed by Ulrich Kragh in his M.A. thesis (1998). I do, however, disagree with some of his conclusions. In my view, for example, these collections of teachings to the assembly (*tshogs chos*) show every sign of having been thrown together in a fairly random way. Dan Martin informs me that to his experience the contrasting terms *lkog chos* ("private teachings") and *tshogs chos* were in common use by bKa'-gdams-pas and bKa'-brgyud-pas during the 11th-13th centuries.

[483] See my remark in the preceding footnote.

disciples.

d) Instructions on the six yogas and Tantra. The first section of the second volume contains five teachings of Tantric contents covering such subjects as the six yogas of Nāropa, the stages of production (*bskyed rim*) of the deity (in connection with the *Hevajratantra*) and perfection (*rdzogs rim*), teachings of the path of means (*thabs lam*), as well as Tantric rituals pertaining to *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma*. This section also contains one teaching—namely the *Sems kyi mtshan nyid gab pa mngon du byung ba*, pp. 24-32—which rather belongs in the next section.

e) Instructions on Mahāmudrā through various approaches (*phyag chen skor*). The second volume continues in its second section with nine teachings pertaining mainly to Mahāmudrā within the frameworks of Mantra as well as conventional Mahāyāna.

f) Miscellaneous (*sna tshogs*). This section appears to be a collection of various teachings on a great variety of themes, including Mantra and Mahāmudrā.

g) Treatises of the "stages of the doctrine (*bstan rim*)" genre.[484] The last teaching is sGam-po-pa's treatise *Lam mchog rin chen phreng ba*, a general guide to Buddhist practice.[485]

* * *

Since sGam-po-pa founded the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa school, his writings should theoretically be authoritative for his followers. But to what extent are his "collected works" to be accepted as actually his own words? As lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786) observes in a work on philosophical and religious tenets, the *Grub mtha' rnam bzhag*:[486]

> But the many unintelligent notes inserted into the collected works of these [early Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa masters] by numerous learned and unlearned disciples, appear to lack in trustworthiness.

These remarks appear to be true at least for those of sGam-po-pa's writings that were never corrected or arranged by himself, and which therefore should be treated

---

[484] Cf. Jackson (1994).

[485] sGam-po-pa's most famous work, the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*, is contained in some editions at the very end, but because of its character of being an independent and larger work, it was left out in the edition I have used.

[486] lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, *Grub pa'i mtha' rnam par bzhag pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan*, p. 459.1, *cha kha* 20b: *'on kyang 'di dag gi bka' 'bum rnams su slob ma mkhas pa dang mi mkhas pa du mas zin bris nyag nyog mang po bcug 'dug pa la yid brtan mi snang ngo.* Also quoted by Jackson (1994: 10, n. 17).

carefully as mainly consisting of notes from the memory of students, later thrown together without any clear thematic order.[487] The following remarks are thus based on some observations pertaining to the "teachings to the assembly" and the "replies," but they do *not* refer to the larger systematic treatises on the "stages of doctrine" (*bstan rim*) such as sGam-po-pa's *Lam mchog rin po che'i phreng ba* and *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan.*[488]

The first volume of sGam-po-pa's collected works contains a number of "teachings to the assembly" (*tshogs chos*) and collections of "replies" (*zhus lan*) compiled by different persons.[489] The colophon to the *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs* (p. 171) mentions the attendant Sho-sgom Byang-[chub]-ye-[she]s as the one who composed (these instructions) as notes on the teachings of the Dharma Lord sGam-po-pa (*chos rje sgam po pa'i gsung la ... zin bris su mdzad pa*).[490] The colophon to another "teaching to the assembly," the *Tshogs chos legs mdzes ma* (p. 258), says that the attendant bsGom-pa-legs-mdzes[491] (after whom the text is apparently named) had asked for instructions (*zhal ta zhus*) and had compiled (*bsdebs pa*) these without reduction and addition, and without insertions or deletions (*'phri snan dang lhag chad med par*) according to the Dharma Lord's teachings. A third collection of teachings, the *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs,* has again been composed as notes (*zin bris su mdzad pa*) "on the holy Dharma that was taught to the saṃgha" by Byang-chub-ye-shes (p. 293). Yet another collection, the *Tshogs chos mu tig phreng ba,* was written down (*bris*) by sGom-tshul, i.e. by Dwags-po sGom-tshul Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-1169), eldest nephew of sGam-po-pa and one of the "four lineage holders" (*brgyud pa 'dzin pa bzhi*) among sGam-po-pa's main disciples.[492] These writings are said to be "unmixed with other biographies(?)" (Tib. *rnam thar gzhan dang ma 'dres pa*) and again "without decrease or increase" (*ma chad ma lhag par*). Some later hand added two lineages for these instructions

---

[487] See also Jackson (1994: 10).

[488] The *Thar rgyan* contains one short passage that refers to the transformation of vows. It is discussed in chapter 13, on p. 317.

[489] As already mentioned, I have used the 1975 Delhi edition by Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin as my textual basis.

[490] Sho-sgom Byang-chub-ye-shes is, however, not mentioned as one of the four attendants of sGam-po-pa in 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 550, or dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 800. But in a lineage at the end of an instruction recorded in the *Collected Works*, vol. 2, p. 282, he is found in the position directly after sGam-po-pa.

[491] sGom-pa Legs-mdzes, one of the "four attendants" (*nye gnas bzhi*), see 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 550, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 800.

[492] sGom-tshul was also the first abbot at sGam-po, see 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 551.

(p. 326):

1. Vajradhara, Ye-shes-mkha'-'gro, Tilopa, Saraha, Nāropa, Maitripa, Marpa, Mi-la-ras-pa, Bla ma lHa-rje (= sGam-po-pa).

2. Buddha Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Asaṅga, Śāntideva, gSer-gling-pa, Atiśa, 'Brom-ston, sPyan-snga-ba, rGya-bsgom, Bla-ma lHa-rje-rin-po-che (= sGam-po-pa), Bla-ma bsGom-tshul, "thereafter successively descending."

And finally the colophon of the great assembly teaching, the *Tshogs chos chen mo*, mentions the full monk (*bhikṣu*) Shes-rab-gzhon-nu[493] as the one who has set it down in writing (*yi ger bkod*, p. 360). The last four teachings of the first volume are the respective replies (*zhus lan*) to sGom-tshul, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa,[494] Phag-mo-gru-pa,[495] and rNal-'byor Chos-g.yung.[496] These do not possess proper colophons, and I noticed that some of the teachings found in them, for example at the end of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's *Reply*, contain remarks like "instruction to the master sGom-chung" (p. 465), "heard ... by the master sGom-tshul, taught to the master Tshul-khrims-ye-shes, through him to me" (p. 466), and "taught by the master sGom-chung to the master sTong-lungs-pa (i.e. sTod-lung-pa?[497]), through him to me" (p. 469).

Most of the teachings of the second volume of the collected works do not have a proper colophon, and often sGam-po-pa is only mentioned in the (often fabricated) titles as the originator of the teachings, such as, to give only one example, the *Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung/ phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag thog babs dang mgur*

---

[493] Could Shes-rab-gzhon-nu be another name for sGom-chung Shes-rab-byang-chub (1143?-1171?), second abbot of sGam-po?

[494] Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa was the first Karma-pa and one of the "four lineage holders" (*brgyud pa 'dzin pa bzhi*) among sGam-po-pa's main disciples.

[495] Phag-mo-gru-pa was one of the "four lineage holders" (*brgyud pa 'dzin pa bzhi*) among sGam-po-pa's main disciples. His disciples were the fathers of the eight "smaller" bKa'-brgyud-pa schools (*phag gru bka' brgyud chung brgyad*). It is, however, not clear when this term was coined, and what it refers to. Historically, some of the "smaller" schools like the 'Bri-gung-pas, rose to importance earlier than, for example, the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas. But this may well be disputed—it depends on what exactly "greatness" is and where it begins.

[496] rNal-'byor Chos-g.yung must be Ram-snyi-ba Chos-kyi-g.yung-drung, one of the "four (Tantric) adepts" (*siddha*) among sGam-po-pa's main disciples.

[497] Could this be Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, who founded mTshur-pu monastery at sTod-lung? Note that *bsDong-lungs-pa is also mentioned in the lineages below as one who received instructions from sGom-chung, and that Khams-pa dBus-se (= Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa) is elsewhere mentioned as one who received instructions from Tshul-khrims-snying-po.

'bum rnams. Some teachings mention at the end the recipient of the teaching, such as rNal-'byor Chos-g.yung (p. 32), or the beginning of the lineage, such as Rin-po-che Bye-dkar-ba[498] (pp. 24 and 58). One instruction ends "taught by the master sGom-chung to the master bsDong-lungs-pa (sTod-lung-pa?)" (p. 209). Other teachings mention lineages, some of which go well beyond the first generation of sGam-po-pa's disciples:

> Vajradhara, Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros, Mi-la bZhad-pa-rdo-rje, sNyi-sgom bSod-nams-rin-chen (i.e. sGam-po-pa), Sho-sgom Byang-chub-ye-shes, Jo-gdan Legs-mdzes, master lHa-sgom (vol. 2, p. 282).
>
> *gSang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i rim pa gnyis kyi skor*: Vajradhara, Ye-shes-kyi-mkha'-'gro, Tilopa, Nāropa, lHo-brag-pa-chen-po (i.e. Mar-pa), Mi-la-ras-pa, Zla-'od-gzhon-nu (i.e. sGam-po-pa), Sangs-rgyas-sgom-pa, Khu-dbon-gnyis-kyis (i.e. sGam-po-pa and sGom-pa?), Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, 'Gro-mgon-ras-chen, rGyal-sras Pong(Pod?)-rag-pa, Grub-chen Karma Pak-shi, Grub-thob U-brgyan-pa, Bla-ma sNyan-ras de-gnyis-kas (i.e. through both U-rgyan and sNyan-ras transmitted to) Rang-byung-rdo-rje, rGyal-ba-g.yung-ston, rTogs-ldan mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan, Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, rTogs-ldan mKha'-spyod-dbang-po, La-phyi-pa Nam-mkha'i-rgyal-mtshan, sGam-po-pa Bla-ma Rin-po-che Dharmāranda (p. 328).
>
> Still another tradition (*yang lugs gcig la*): Vajradhara, Blo-gros-rin-chen, Sha-ba-ri-dbang-phyug, Maitripa, Mar-pa-chen-po, Mi-la-ras-pa, Dags-po-lha-rje (= sGam-po-pa) (p. 328).
>
> A further tradition (*yang lugs gcig la*): Vajradhara, Blo-gros-rin-chen, Nāgārjuna, Mataṅgipa, Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar-pa, Mi-la, sNyi-sgom (= sGam-po-pa) (p. 328).
>
> Another tradition (*yang lugs gcig la*): Vajradhara, Vajrapāṇi, Saraha, Luhīpa, Dingipa, Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar-pa, Mi-la (p. 329).
>
> Another tradition (*yang lugs gcig la*): [Vajradhara?], Ḍombhiheruka, Virūpa, Lavapa, the lesser Indrabodhi, the lineage of the four instructions (*bka' babs bzhi'i brgyud pa'o*) (p. 329).[499]

---

[498] Bye-dkar-ba is otherwise unidentified.

[499] Perhaps the "four instructions" were each transmitted through one of the previous four (continued...)

Another tradition (*yang lugs gcig la*): Vajradhara, Sumati, Kun-tu-bzang-po, Thanglopa, Karṇaripa, Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar-pa, Mi-la, bSod-nams-rin-chen (= sGam-po-pa), (sGom-tshul) Tshul-khrims-snying-po, Khams-pa dBu-se (= Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa), 'Gro-mgon Ras-pa-chen-po, Pong(Pod?)-rag-pa, Karma-pa, U-rgyan-pa, sNyan-ras, Rang-byung-pa, rGyal-ba-g.yung, mGon-rgyal-ba, Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, Zhva-dmar-pa, De-bshin-gshegs-pa, La-phyi-pa, Bla-ma Chos-rin-pa (p. 329).

Given the huge amount of writings involved, I can only provide a preliminary glance here at the state of sGam-po-pa's collected works. But it is interesting to note lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje's impression mentioned above, according to which many interpolations may have been added later. Generally it was quite common and acceptable that first-generation disciples provided the material for recording their masters' oral instructions, lectures, and similar works (*zin bris, tshogs chos, zhus lan*, etc.), but that sGam-po-pa, for example, ever approved the manuscripts at any stage seems unlikely. The *Redaktionsgeschichte* of the four replies (*zhus lan*) is, for lack of any colophon, unknown, and I have detected clear insertions by later disciples and some records of lineages that also must have been added or completed much later. Therefore, when we turn to the four teachings from sGam-po-pa's collected works that deal with the three vows, we must bear in mind that their being contained in the received "collected works" alone does not convey any certainty about their origin, real author, or time of composition.

9.3. The Teachings on the Three Vows in sGam-po-pa's Collected Works

Four brief works in the collected works are devoted exclusively to a treatment of the three vows. None of these brief works bears a title, and three of them are so similar in content and wording that I consider them to be the same teaching (recorded by different persons or revealing different stages of editorial activity), as I shall explain in more detail below. Thus I shall refer to these four works as "*Work A*" and "*Work B1*," "*B2*," and "*B3*." The largest is *Work A*, while *Work B1*, *B2*, and *B3* are each only two pages in length.[500] In the following sections I shall investigate *Work A* (in chapter 9, section 3.1.), *Work B1, B2,* and *B3* (in chapter 9, section 3.2.), and will consider a possible connection between *Work A* and *Work B2* (in chapter 9, section 3.3.). Their texts and translations will be presented in chapter 9, section 4., pp. 201 ff.

---

[499](...continued)
lineages?

[500] For *Work A*, see sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 163-168; for *Work B1*, *B2*, and *B3*, see vol. 1, pp. 158-159, vol. 2, pp. 287-288, and 294-295.

9.3.1. The Teaching on the Three Vows in *Work A*

This teaching is contained in the first of the teachings to the assembly, i.e. the *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs*, a work ascribed to the attendant Sho-sgom Byang-[chub]-ye-[she]s. This teaching to the assembly (*tshogs chos*) also contains *Work B1*, but since we are uncertain about the way the teachings to the assembly (or even the collected works as a whole) were compiled, we can neither presuppose that both works were written or compiled by the same person, nor that any one of them was actually written or compiled by Byang-chub-ye-shes. Teaching *Work A* bears no title, except for the line "furthermore the Dharma Lord sGam-po-pa taught" (*yang chos rje sgam po pa'i zhal nas*), the standard introduction for a new teaching in this section of the collected works.

The text of *Work A* may be divided roughly into two parts, the borderlines of which are marked by a "subject outline" (*sa bcad*) that contains five main headings for the remaining text (*Work A*, section 4). The first part contains a short introduction and some general teachings on the vows. The second part contains the teaching on how a person should practice possessing the three vows together. I have, for the sake of easier reference, furthermore divided the first part into three sections (*Work A*, section 1-3) and the second part into seven sections (*Work A*, section 4-10).

Work A **1.** The theme of the three vows is introduced here through a quote from the *Vajra-Peak Tantra*, which I was able to locate in the *Peking* and *Derge* canons.[501] I also found the same quote in the commentary of the eighth Karma-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-1557) on the 'Bri-gung-pa's *Same Intention*.[502] The *Vajra-Peak* quote in *Work A* differs not only considerably in its wording from the *Derge* and *Peking* versions,[503] but is also problematic on account of its inclusion of two lines that are missing in *P* and *D*:

---

[501] See *P* vol. 5, no. 113, on p. 26-1-5, and *D* vol. 30, no. 480, p. 1167.

[502] Vol. *ca*, fol. 48v. A photocopy of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's unpublished ms. from the Peking *Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang* is in my possession. See bibliography; and *Shes bya'i gter mdzod, Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang gi dpe tho las gsung 'bum skor gyi dkar chag*, no. 003880. For the 'Bri-gung-pa's *Same Intention*, see chapter 14.

[503] According to the colophon of *D* and *P*, the translation of the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* was made by Zangs-dkar gZhon-nu-tshul-khrims together with the scholar Karmavajra. Unfortunately almost nothing is known about them, but a passage in 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba suggests that they translated the work in the eleventh century (*Deb ther sngon po*, vol. 1, p. 354). The *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod* (Kun su'i mi rigs dpe skrun khang, p. 1505) also mentions gZhon-nu-tshul-khrims as the translator of the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* and also places him in the eleventh century.

Work A

byang chub sems 'dzin gyur nas ni//
lha gzhan la ni mi mos pas//
dkon mchog gsum la dad pa dang //
de la gzhol zhing 'bab pa yin//
gsod dang rku dang 'khrig pa dang //
brdzun dang chang ni rnam par spang //
khyim pa'i tshul du gnas na ni//
gsang sngags rgyal po rab tu bsgrub//

gal te de ni rab byung na//
bsdom pa gsum la gnas par bya//
so so thar dang byang chub sems//
rigs 'dzin nang gi bsdom pa'o//
gnyis po rigs 'dzin rten yin te//
yang na rigs 'dzin nang du 'dus//

***D* no. 480 / *P* no. 113**

*byang chub sems **ni lhur blangs nas**//*
*lha gzhan **'dod pa brtson mi bya**//*
*dkon mchog gsum la dad **bya ste**//*
*de **gzhol ba la brtson par bya**//*
***srog gcod** rku dang 'khrig pa dang //*
*brdzun dang **myos byed** rnam par spang //*
*khyim pa'i **sdom pa la gnas nas**//*
***de tshe rig pa'i rgyal po bsgrub**//*

*gal te de ni rab byung **gyur**//*
*bsdom pa gsum la **yang dag gnas**//*
so so thar dang byang chub sems//
*rigs 'dzin **sdom pa mchog yin no**//*
om.
om.

According to the last two lines of the quotation in *Work A*,

> the two [lower vows] are the support for the [vows of] the Tantric adept,
> or else they are included within the [vows of] the Tantric adept.

If these two lines were authentic (i.e. already contained in the Indian basic text that was transmitted to Tibet), they would be the earliest doctrinal formulation on the three vows that I have seen so far—moreover, they would be a rare quote of Indian origin. But these lines are quoted nowhere else, even though the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* is a frequently quoted Indian source,[504] and later on they are not referred to at all in the entire text of *Work A*. Furthermore neither the tantra itself nor the quote's vital points of support and inclusion are quoted or maintained by later scholars of sGam-po-pa's tradition.[505] In fact, since these concepts would also be completely

---

[504] Different passages from the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* were quoted, for example, by Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 15; Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 72v; and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, fol. 47v.

[505] With the minor exception of Karma-nges-legs' teaching that the prātimokṣa vows are the support of both higher vows (*Good Vase*, fol. 2r). Both support and inclusion were known in general to Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 6.2, and Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.1., who both mention an otherwise unidentified though possibly Indian text called *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde'u mig*), which enumerates the completeness of the

(continued...)

incompatible with each other, one wonders whether a basic tantra would offer two such contradicting positions as alternative explanations.[506] Finally, these two lines also stand in contradiction to what is stated in *Work A* 8, where it is taught that there is no moral fault if one abandons the lower for the sake of practicing the higher. Such an abandoning obviously contradicts the concept of the support of the higher through the lower, and it also has a certain tension with the concept of inclusion, for if the lower vows were included within the higher, the higher would be incomplete if the lower is abandoned or lost.[507] Thus we have an indication here that these lines have been inserted into the text by a later hand.

***Work A* 3.** The nature of the first two vows is taught through the standard "quote" from the *Awakening of Vairocana*:[508]

---

[505](...continued)
lower vows within the higher ones (*gong ma gong ma la 'og ma 'og ma tshang bar 'dod pa*) and the support of the lower vows for the higher ones (*sngags sdom gyi rten byang sdom dang de'i rten so thar du bshad pa rten can*) as two of several alternative Indian opinions. For a translation of the listed opinions, see p. 287.

[506] These positions are incompatible, because something that is the support of something else cannot also be included in it, as the legs of a chair, when defined as the support of the seat, can not also be included within the seat. And if one correctly maintains that the legs of a chair are included within that chair, one can not also maintain that the legs are the support of the chair, since in that case they would also be a support of themselves.

[507] In fact, this kind of argument is used by Karma-'phrin-las-pa against the dGe-ldan-pas; see *Replies to Ngo-gro* 10.

[508] This quote has become the standard formulation in probably all Tibetan traditions, cf. for example Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 234, fol. 70v, and p. 236, fol. 73v; Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension"*, fol. 301r; Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 2, and Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to rGya-ston* 2. Unfortunately, however, I have neither as yet been able to locate this quote in the relevant chapters of the Tibetan version (*P* vol. 5, no. 126, the whole text has well over a hundred folios) nor even traces of it in the English translation from the Chinese by Yamamoto.

In general, the *Awakening of Vairocana*—though I am far from being an expert on this field—has not the feel of an early Mahāyāna work. Wayman (1992: 9), too, has placed it in the middle of the sixth century. Noteworthy is the Tibetan chapter 20 (= Chinese chapter 18), that, with regard to the discipline, explicitly states that the bodhisattva has to follow the discipline as laid out for the auditors (in *P* pp. 267-2-7 ff., in Yamamoto pp. 150-153). Also noteworthy is the fact that the *Awakening of Vairocana* is considered a "practice tantra" (Skt. *caryātantra*, Tib. *spyod rgyud*) in the Tibetan tradition (see p. 60), whereas it is considered a sūtra in the Chinese tradition. Especially when viewed against the background of the said chapter 20 (i.e. 18 in the Chinese version), this work appears to be oriented in the direction of, that is back to, the Vinaya, which the compilers might have felt to be necessary due to the

(continued...)

> The nature of the prātimokṣa vows is to be completely adverse to harming others together with the [mental] basis [for that], and the nature of the bodhisattva [vows] is, in addition to that, to benefit sentient beings.

The Mantra vows are taught with reference to the eighth fundamental transgression that is quoted from an unidentified work.[509] Accordingly, the nature of the Mantra vows is the inseparability of the three, i.e. form manifested as deities (*rnam pa lhar gsal ba*), experience that arises as bliss (*nyams myong bde ba*), and nature that is mental non-construction (*rang bzhin mi rtog pa*).

One of the most problematic terms of the whole *Work A* is "the nature of vows" (*sdom pa'i ngo bo*). Except for one part of the nature of the bodhisattva vows, which is (according to this section) the same as the nature of the prātimokṣa vows, i.e. the "being completely adverse to harming others together with the [mental] basis [for that]," later on, the natures of the vows will be taught in general as "not existing as one" (*cig tu gnas pa ma yin, Work A* 5), as "existing as something incompatible" (*ngo bo 'gal bar gnas pa, Work A* 5), and even as "of a very different nature" (*ngo bo shin tu tha dad, Work A* 6), obviously contradicting the quote from the *Awakening of Vairocana*, which teaches a vital common point between the bodhisattva and the prātimokṣa vows. But this is not all. Even in the same section that teaches the natures as very different (*Work A* 6) one also finds explained that "it is also not acceptable that the natures of the vows are on all occasions different."

***Work A* 4.** Five headings for the remaining text, beginning with section 5, are introduced. This fourth section marks the borderline between the two major parts of this teaching. The headings are:

(a.) If these three vows exist for [one] person who is the support, how do they persist (*ji ltar gnas*)?
(b.) If they are observed, how are they observed (*ji ltar bsrung*)?
(c.) If they are possessed, how are they possessed (*ji ltar ldan*)?
(d.) If they are repaired, how are they repaired (*ji ltar 'chos*)?

---

[508](...continued)
new interpretations of *śīla* that one finds in other Mahāyāna works, for which see my introduction, p. 4.

Stephan Hodge, who was so kind as to send me his translation of chapter 20 from his unpublished study on the *Awakening of Vairocana*, agrees with me that the "quote" that appears in the Tibetan works listed above is most probably a paraphrase, or perhaps better: a condensation of chapter 20. It might, however, also stem from a commentary.

[509] *phung po sangs rgyas mnga' bdag nyid// de la brnyas pa brgyad pa yin//* "The [five] constituents of the person (*skandhas*) are the Buddhas themselves, to slander them is the eighth [root transgression]." Cf. the almost identical *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*, *P* vol. 69, no. 3308 p. 278.

(e.) If they are maintained without incompatibility, how are they maintained (*ji ltar [mi 'gal bar] bsrung*)?

The first heading is connected with *Work A* 5 and 6, which teach how the vows persist. Each of the other headings refers to one of the remaining sections (*Work A* 7 to 10).

It is not at all astonishing that these headings appear in the middle of the teaching. They mark the beginning of the discussion of how the vows are possessed *all together*. In many other discussions, too, such as mNga'-ris-paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, such headings separate a more general discussion, or a presentation of the individual rules of the vows from the discussion of a threefold possession. Nevertheless it appears to be a bit puzzling at first that the nature of the vows is taught before the headings are introduced and then again under the first heading, and that the teaching in *A* 3 is different and even contradictory to the teachings in *A* 5 and 6. One possible explanation is that the natures taught in *A* 3 are the natures of the respective vows alone, while the natures taught in *A* 5 and 6 pertain to a situation where all the vows are possessed together. Another possible explanation is of course that both parts were taught individually and later thrown together by a compiler, or even that some parts were added by a later editor.

Work A 5. The reason for the natures of the vows not to exist as one and to be incompatible is that the vows are different (*tha dad pa*) in many respects:

- their causes for arising (*skye ba'i rgyu*), presumably their specific rituals, are not the same;
- they are taught separately (*tha dad du bshad pa*), which presumably means that the occasions when they are obtained are different, i.e. their rituals are performed in different sessions;
- the sections of the teachings in which they are established are not the same (*grub pa'i sde*), i.e. they are taught in what is known (also in this pre-canonical time in Tibet) as the Vinaya, Mahāyānasūtra, and Tantra sections;
- the time when the vows are obtained (*thob pa'i dus*) is not the same, which appears to be almost the same point as "taught separately" (*tha dad du bshad pa*) above;
- they must be obtained in succession (*rim pa bzhin du thob dgos*), i.e. the higher vows need previously obtained lower vows for their arising;
- their duration (*gnas pa'i dus*) is not the same, because while the prātimokṣa is taken for as long as one lives, the bodhisattva vow exists until one arrives at the seat of awakening (skr. *bodhimaṇḍa*);[510]
- the causes for losing (*gtong ba'i rgyu*) are different, i.e. the seven non-

[510] For the "seat of awakening," see p. 50.

virtuous practices of body and speech that are prohibited through the prātimokṣa vow are permitted for the bodhisattva, if they are performed for the benefit of sentient beings, and in the Mantra one takes these as the path;
- the support (*rten*) of the vows is different, i.e. certain beings that are excluded from the prātimokṣa are admitted to the bodhisattva vow rituals;
- their natures in terms of being material (*gzugs*), a specific kind of mind (*sems kyi khyad par*), and innate simultaneously arisen gnosis (*lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes*) are different;
- and the first vow may be continued as single vow even without the other two vows and the higher vows may be continued even without the first vow.

***Work A* 6.** A difficult section. After explaining in section 5 in much detail that the natures of the three vows are incompatible and that it is impossible that the vows are the same, this section begins: "It is also not acceptable that the natures of the vows are on all occasions different." The reason for the nature of the vows not to be different on all occasions supplied in the text is that "if they were different, they would be perceived (*rig pa*) to appear as three different consciousnesses through self-cognizing direct perception, namely 'these are the prātimokṣa vows,' 'these are the bodhisattva vows,' [and] 'these are the Mantra vows,' but there is no more than [just] one consciousness." The argument seems to be the following: The thought-perceiving consciousness can only perceive one thought at a time. If the vows are different, one can not think of them as one undifferentiated thing. Thinking of them, one would have to think of three separate things, and thus the self-cognizing direct perception would perceive three thought-consciousnesses, which is unacceptable, because there is only one such consciousness possible. But however that may be, it seems to be clear that sGam-po-pa rejects both possibilities, i.e. on the one hand that the vows "are the same [with regard to their natures]" (= conclusion of section 5) and on the other hand that (their natures) are "always different" (= conclusion of first paragraph in section 6).

The second paragraph then explains how the vows persist. They persist in such a way that "[their] natures are totally different" [but] "mixed [on] occasion." In this paragraph "on occasion" seems to mean, judging at least by the example, "when possessed together." According to the example, the different vows are like "water and milk," (i.e. different?). But when they exist together they are not different and they exist in an admixture. This does not mean, however, that such an admixture of vows is lost altogether when one vow is lost. Instead, the other two vows continue to exist. This is presumably so because the vows can be separated even within that admixture as the goose is able to take only the milk from an admixture of milk and

water.[511]

Work A 7. This section answers the question "how are [the vows] observed" by stating that they are observed "as entrusted" (*'chol par bsrung*). If I understood the basic idea of the explanation that follows correctly, this section teaches (1) that the prātimokṣa should not be observed if it endangers one's life (see also section 10, topic no. 3) or if it becomes an obstacle for the bodhisattva vows (i.e. if one hesitates to practice or refrains from practicing something, because it is incompatible with the prātimokṣa vows, even though it would be of benefit for others), and (2) that, in general, the lower vows should not be observed if they become an obstacle for the Mantra path. Thus, on the basis of a threefold possession, the vows are observed in such a way that the lower may be abandoned if it endangers one's life (in the case of prātimokṣa alone), or if it obstructs one of the higher vows. The same holds for cases of internal contradictions (*'dom thug byung ba*), i.e. when the rules of the lower vows are incompatible with the practice of the higher vows. It is also stated here that a non-observation in such cases entails no moral fault. How this explanation fits with the heading "observed as entrusted" is unclear to me, and the possibility that the heading has been added later must be considered.

In 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's *sDom gsum gnad gcig* (fol. 2v), a work of the early thirteenth century, this position is characterized in short as "one engages in all the necessary activities" (*mdor na spyod pa gang 'kho 'kho byed*), i.e. that one observes the bimonthly ceremony of confession of the vehicle of auditors, the rituals of the Mahāyāna system, and the activities of Mantra such as Tantric feasts, etc. It is interesting to note that 'Jig-rten-mgon-po and his teacher Phag-mo-gru-pa (who was a direct and close disciple of sGam-po-pa) did not accept this "going to assemblies of all three classes of vows," even though they apparently did not view it as a system that was faulty on principle such as for example the one of the Red Master (*ācārya dmar-po*, see p. 324). In 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's text, *'chol par bsrung* seems to mean something like "mixed observance." With such a connotation it appears to

---

[511] For another use of this topos, see Lamotte (1973: 20), *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, ch. I, v. 49: *yang ji ltar na kun gzhi rnam par shes pa dang / kun gzhi rnam par shes pa ma yin pa chu dang 'o ma bzhin du lhan gcig gnas pa rnam pa thams cad du 'grib par 'gyur zhe na/ nang pas chu las 'o ma thungs pa lta bu dang / 'jig rten pa'i 'dod chags dang bral ba na/ mnyam par bzhag pa ma yin pa'i sa'i bag chags 'grib ste/ mnyam par bzhag pa'i sa'i bag chags 'phel nas gnas gyur pa bzhin no//* See Lamotte's translation on p. 70. See also Monier-Williams, p. 1286, s.v. *haṃsa*.

Work B 3 has: "Apart from thinking in that way [i.e. 'I have obtained the prātimokṣa,' etc.], they are of the same nature and not different." This statement is neither supported by the other versions *B* 1 and 2, nor by anything in *Work A*. It appears to be a gloss that is an over-interpretation, perhaps even based on this section in *A* 6.

fit as a heading for the second part of *A* 6. According to the later tradition, however, *'chol par bsrung* is to be understood as "to be observed as entrusted." See for example Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 6.4.: "Since [the three vows] are observed wholly as they were taught in each [vow system], they are observed as individually entrusted" (cf. also sGam-po-pa's *B*2-5).

***Work A* 8.** Under the heading "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) this passage repeats the above two points about internal contradictions (here termed *nang thug byung ba*) and the abandoning of the lower rather than the higher. This section also states a reason, namely that there is no moral fault in practicing the higher and abandoning the lower, since just that is the functioning of the powerful rituals and the excellent means of Mantra, and it is fixed in the hierarchy of the vehicles and through the Buddha's intention.

One wonders in section 8 what "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) actually means. "*Yar ldan*" is, to be sure, one of the most problematic terms of the three-vow discussions—firstly, because of the problems involved with translating it, and secondly, because it is interpreted differently by Tibetan authors. Here, I have tried to solve the first problem by provisionally rendering it as "possessing 'upwardly,'" in accordance with the basic meaning of the possessive particle "*ldan*" as "possessing" and the adverb "*yar*" as "upwardly." The second problem, i.e. that of the different explanations, will be dealt with mainly in chapter 13, where I shall focus on the historical development of this and other important terms appearing in the Tibetan works that I have translated in this study.

In this particular treatise, in section 8 of *Work A*, "possessing 'upwardly'" seems to indicate an upward hierarchy of the vows possessed. That is to say that in possessing the three vows, the yogi should, in cases of conflict between the vows, rather maintain the higher vow instead of the lower. In that case, the quote from the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, according to which "the deliverance of the three vehicles exists as the fruit of the one vehicle," is perhaps to show that from the perspective of the fruit of Mantra, all three vehicles are included within the highest vehicle, and thus that the abandoning of the lower vows does not prevent the arising of the fruit through the practice of the highest vow alone.

On the other hand, it appears that both sections 7 and 8 teach something quite similar, which could be adequately described through a single heading, namely "preeminence of the higher in cases of conflict," which is, to be sure, a topic in many other expositions, such as, for example, those of Klong-chen-pa, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, Lo-chen Dharma-shrī,[512] Karma-'phrin-las-pa, Karma-nges-legs, and

[512] See Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *rNam nges 'grel pa,* part six, which comments upon mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, who in turn has taken his "six topics" from Klong-chen-pa's writings. See (continued...)

Kong-sprul.[513] It might therefore be that the headings in *Work A* 7 and 8 were added later by a scribe or an editor not too familiar with this particular subject. The verse at the beginning of section 8, too—since it somehow interrupts without a clear motive what I believe to have originally been a single section—might be a later justification of sGam-po-pa's strong emphasis on the higher vows to the obvious disadvantage of the lower ones.

***Work A* 9.** However neglectful the attitude has been towards the preserving of the lower vows in previous sections, this section teaches nevertheless how to repair these vows according to their respective tenets. But also another perspective with regard to confession is introduced, namely the yogi's realization consisting in perfectly perceiving reality or the mind through the purity of their own-nature. In that case "there is no difficulty with regard to confessing." That is to say that there is no need for a formal confession when the yogi realizes all phenomena as being an illusion and does not perceive that which is to be confessed, the confessor, and the confession.

***Work A* 10.** Six elements of "non-contravening" are taught. Despite the presentation through six (actually only five) topics, this section lacks a clear principle of structure and order. Some of these non-contravenings actually introduce preferences, i.e. times or associations in which a vow is to be practiced (nos. 1 and 2). The third is, more or less, a repeating of section 7, and thus it teaches circumstances under which a vow is to be abandoned. The remaining two non-contravenings teach that even though one performs apparently non-virtuous activities, the vows are not contravened. What these topics do have in common, though, is that, following these teachings, one does not contravene the Buddha's teachings even though at times some vows remain in the background, or they may be abandoned, or their rules are transgressed through the yogi's behaviour.

The first two topics are actually also a restriction of the yogi in that they prohibit certain yogic practices (apparently damaging lower vows) by day and in the presence of ordinary people. The last two non-contravenings contain also more or less explicit reasons that there is no contravening (of the lower vows through Mantra practice),

(a.) because of the higher intention consisting in the benefit for others and the arising of the higher path;

(b.) because the yogi has at his disposal magic powers such as reviving the dead, etc.;

---

[512](...continued)
chapter 15.

[513] See Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 12 and 20; Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 6.1, 6.3, and 6.4; and Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(a).

(c.) because the yogi possesses insight through which the conflict is "weighed up" (*srang la dbab*).

Thus those powerful tools through which the higher vows are superior are identified as being their specific intention, means, and insight.

Summary of sGam-po-pa's *Work A*

The three most vital points of this teaching of sGam-po-pa can be listed as follows:

1. the three vows have in general different natures; when they are possessed together, they are possessed in an admixture;
2. the higher vows are more important than the lower ones, thus the lower may even be abandoned;
3. the strength of the higher vows lies in the vow possessor's superior intention, means, and insight (*prajñā*).

9.3.2. The Teaching on the Three Vows in sGam-po-pa's *Work B1*, *B2*, and *B3*

One of the remaining three smaller works of sGam-po-pa, i.e. *Work B1*, is found in the same collection of teachings as *Work A*. Another one, i.e. *Work B2*, is contained in a compilation of fragments (*dum sgrig ma*), while *B3* is the first of several teachings that were gathered together as doctrinal formulations concerning the three trainings of morality, concentration, and insight (Skt. *śīla, samādhi,* and *prajñā*). But despite the different sections of the collected works ascribed to different authors or compilers in which we find these small works *B1, B2,* and *B3,* we shall see that their structure, contents, and even wording is so close, that I assume them to be notes of the same teaching, either by different people, or revealing different degrees of editorial activity.

Work B1, the largest of the three smaller works, is contained in the first of the teachings to the assembly, i.e. the *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs*, ascribed to the attendant Sho-sgom Byang-[chub]-ye-[she]s. *Work B2*, the shortest one, belongs to the compilation of fragments (*dum sgrig ma*). This compilation ends with a curious poem:

In general I pay respect to the gurus.
In particular may I be blessed by the Dharma lord himself.
If people ask who I am,
I am Tshul-khrims-snying-po.
Some people call [me] "the main one, the main one."
Even though they call me so, I do not regret it [because]

in my mind[514] remains Śākyamuni [and he is the main one].
Some call me "an elder and elder (*gnas brtan*, skr. *sthavira*)"
Even though they call me so, I do not regret it.
As my residence (*gnas gzhi*) there are the two [Jo-bo temples] of Lhasa (etc.)[515]

The Tshul-khrims-snying-po mentioned there must be Dwags-po sGom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-1169), nephew of sGam-po-pa, one of the four main lineage holders among sGam-po-pa's main disciples and first abbot of sGam-po, who lived in Lhasa in the mid twelfth century.

The third work, *B3*, is the first teaching of a section containing, among other things, doctrinal formulations concerning the three trainings (*bslab gsum rnam bzhag la sogs pa*). This collection ends with the recording of several lineages. Most of them end with sGam-po-pa, but two of them go well beyond that generation. In these two cases, the position after sGam-po-pa is held by Tshul-khrims-snying-po and by a certain sGom-pa Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes. The last teaching before this record of lineages appears to be the end of a passage entitled *sGam po pa'i bka' 'bum dpags bsam ljon shing* (vol. 2, pp. 327-328). But nothing else is known about this *bKa'-'bum* collection (or part of such a collection), and it remains unclear who compiled it, and whether *Work B* 3 is one if its parts.

Let me now briefly describe some peculiarities of the three smaller works *B1*, *B2*, and *B3*. All of them are organized into three sections according to the "three higher trainings," i.e. morality, concentration and insight.[516] It is rather conspicuous, however, that the largest section on morality (*śīla*) is heavily glossed in *B1* and *B3*

---

514 "Mind" as in Sanskrit *mati*. The Tibetan text, however, reads "*gros*," which does not make sense. I suppose that "*gros*" is a misreading of dBu-med "*blos*," which again is short for *blo gros* (Skt. *mati*). "*Blos*" and "*gros*" are in dBu-med script easily mistaken for each other. The poem has eight syllables in the first three lines and afterwards alternates between seven and nine syllables. The line in question has only six syllables; with *blo gros* it would properly contain seven. *Blo gros* is usually explained in the dictionaries as *rig rtsal* ("intelligence") and *shes rab* ("insight"). Here, in this early Tibetan poem, it seems to connote "mind," which is well attested for the Sanskrit *mati*.

515 sGam-po-pa, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, p. 294: *spyir bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo// dgos lha rje nyid kyis byin gyis brlobs(!)// mi nga rang gang yin zer tsa na// nga rang tshul khrims snying po yin// mi la la ni gtso bo gtso bo zer// gtso bo zer yang 'gyod rgyu med// gros(!) su shākya mu ne(!) bzhugs// la la ni gnas brtan gnas brtan zer// gnas brtan zer yang 'gyod rgyu med// gnas bzhir (gzhi?) lha sa rnams(!) gnyis bzhugs// (...).*

516 The three trainings are usually this three: morality (Skt. *śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and insight (*prajñā*). But here we have for "concentration" the "training of the mind" (Tib. *sems kyi bslab pa*).

(in comparison to the shortest of the three, namely *B2*), while the wording of the two smaller sections on "mind" (Tib. *sems*, standing for "concentration," Skt. *samādhi*) and insight (*prajñā*) is almost entirely the same in all three. Also the first few lines in *B1* and *B3* that introduce the framework of the three trainings are missing in *B2*. I suppose, therefore, that the nucleus of all this is *Work B2*, which appears to be merely a few keywords loosely connected and noted down on a single sheet. The framework of the three higher trainings might have been originally part of this, since the teachings on mind (i.e. concentration) and insight are contained in all three.[517]

There are two further reasons for supposing that *B2* was the earliest version. The first is that it does not (yet) contain the heading "to be observed as entrusted" (*'chol par bsrung*). I have already mentioned that the heading "to be observed as entrusted" does not fit and may be an insertion in *Work A* 7, too. Could it be that *Work B1* and *B3* are glossed versions of *B2*? This impression is furthermore strengthened by the following observation: Section 4 of the three smaller works simply says in *B2* that the vows exist as separate units, in that the recipient of the vow thinks at the appropriate time, "I have heard the prātimokṣa," "I am a bodhisattva," and "I am a Tantric adept." Teaching *B1*, on the other hand, explains this under the topic "how [the vows] arise," which might be acceptable,[518] but also adds at the same time a totally incomprehensible explanation for "existing as particular [entities]" (*bye brag tu gnas*), so that it appears that a plain and uncomplicated *B2* has been expanded and "improved" by the editor of *B1*.[519]

Taking all this into consideration, we may consider here as the nucleus of the three teachings *B1, B2*, and *B3,* the sections *B2*-2 to *B2*-7. This nucleus might have furthermore contained the mind (i.e. concentration) and insight sections, but these do not concern us here. The statements contained in this proposed nucleus can be summarized in the following way:

***Work B2*-2.** This section teaches that a person should maintain the vows "as one support [and one] cycle." Here "support" (*rten*) must refer to the person who

---

[517] The introductory parts in *B1* and *B3* (sections 1 and 2) were either lost in *B2*, or added in *B1* and *B3*. We are, however, mainly concerned with sections 3 through 7, which contain the actual notes on the threefold possession of the vows.

[518] It might be acceptable since such a thought marks the beginning-boundary of the vow according to the Sautrāntikas; see ftn. ?.

[519] This "improving" in *B1* can furthermore be witnessed in its section 6, which teaches "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*). Here *B1* contains a gloss conveying a sense of inclusion of the lower vows within the higher that clearly goes beyond *B2*. And furthermore we have the sentence "*gang zag gcig gi rgyud la sdom pa gsum rten 'brel skor cig tu gnas*" in *B1* (section 2), where *'brel* is certainly an incompetent gloss. In this case, however, that gloss has somehow found its way also into *B2*.

possesses the vows, and "cycle" (*skor*) to the vows that are possessed. In other words, one person possesses all three vows as his cycle of vows. The following headings in *B2*-3 should explain some details of this "cycle."

Work B2-**3.** The headings given here introduce some aspects of the "cycle" [of vows].

Work B2-**4.** The vow possessor thinks at the time of obtaining each vow that he has become respectively a practitioner of the prātimokṣa, a bodhisattva, and a Tantric adept. Since this is the explanation for the way the vows persist, namely as separate units or particular entities (*bye brag tu gnas*), I assume that the "one cycle" of the vows has the different sections of prātimokṣa, bodhisattva, and Mantra.

Work B2-**5.** How are these particular entities of the one cycle of vows observed? According to this section they are observed in accordance to their respective teachings from which they stem, i.e. the Vinaya-prātimokṣa, the bodhisattvapiṭaka, and the root commentary of the fundamental transgressions of Mantra. This means that the fact that the vows exist together as one cycle does not change their way of being observed—they are observed according to their respective systems.

Work B2-**6.** But if there appears a conflict (*thug 'dom*) between the vows, the respectively higher vow is to be practiced as the preeminent one. The heading "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) perhaps simply indicates a hierarchy of the vows possessed (cf. *Work A* 8).

Work B2-7 Finally it is taught, very much as in section 5, that the vows are repaired according to their respective sections of the teachings.

Summary of *Work B2*

This small work teaches that the vows are possessed together, that they persist, and that they are observed and repaired according to their respective teachings. In cases of conflict, however, one observes the higher vow.

9.3.3. Is There a Possible Connection Between *Work A* and *B2*?

The similarity between the headings of *Work A* 4 and *B2*-3 is apparent. Except for the additional heading "observed without contradictions" in *A*, they cover exactly the same topics in exactly the same order. It is therefore astonishing to observe how different the respective teachings appear to be. While *A* has nothing of the type of "one cycle with different sections" and has—except for a heading that might have been added later, i.e. "observed as entrusted"—nothing on how the vows are observed, *B2* is totally silent on the nature of the vows and also does not teach the

functioning of insight (*prajñā*)[520] in connection with the vows. The only thing that they seem to have in common in substance is that they both teach that the higher vow is to be observed in cases of conflict.

On the other hand, nothing is really contradictory between the two teachings; for example, even though *A* 5 insists that the vows do "not persist as one" (*cig tu gnas pa ma yin*), *B*2-2 and 4 teach that they exist as one cycle, but as different sections. In the same way, even though the statement in *B*2-5 that the vows are observed according to the different teachings is not taught in *A*, nothing in *A* really contradicts that. It might, therefore, well be that these are teachings by the same master taught at different occasions, perhaps with different purposes in mind.

Even though it is dangerous to speculate before more thorough research has been conducted on sGam-po-pa's collected works, my tentative impression is that here the headings in both teachings might have been inserted later. This was perhaps done in order to connect these teachings, and, in general, perhaps to systematize them along the lines of other later teachings.

[520] The functioning of insight in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* will be discussed in more detail in chapter 13.



Abb. 1: Padmasambhava (9th c.)
(Same Intention, vol. 1, p. 125)



Abb. 2: Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216)
(Collected Works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. dza, fol. 1v.)



Abb. 3: Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489)
(Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, vol. 11, p. 1)



Abb. 4: mNga-ris Pan-chen (1487-1542)
(Commentary to the Clear Comprehension, vol. 37, fol. 1v)

Work A 1

yang chos rje sgam po pa'i zhal nas/ rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i sangs rgyas thob par byed pa la/ bsdom pa gsum dang ldan dgos gsung/ sdom pa gsum dang ldan dgos par ga nas bshad snyam na/ rgyud rdo rje rtse mo nas

byang chub sems 'dzin gyur nas ni//
lha gzhan la ni mi mos pas//
dkon mchog gsum la dad pa dang //
de la gzhol zhing 'bab pa yin//
gsod dang rku dang 'khrig pa dang //
brdzun dang chang ni rnam par spang //
khyim pa'i tshul du gnas na ni//
gsang sngags rgyal po rab tu bsgrub// <164>
gal te de ni rab byung na//
bsdom pa gsum la gnas par bya//
so so thar dang byang chub sems//
rigs 'dzin nang gi bsdom pa'o//
gnyis po rigs 'dzin rten yin te//
yang na rigs 'dzin nang du 'dus//

shes gsungs pas na/

Work A 2

de yang so so thar pa'i dge bsnyen gyi bsdom pa ni/ grogs dge bsnyen gyi bsdom pa thob pa yan (chad?) dang 'brel/ cho ga skyabs su 'gro ba yan chad dang 'brel/ bslab bya rtsa ba bzhi chang dang bcas pa bsrung / dge tshul gyi bsdom pa ni grogs mkhan po dang / slob dpon mtshan nyid dang ldan pas 'brel/ cho ga skyabs su 'gro ba dang 'brel/ bslab bya rtsa ba bzhi dang 'brel(?)[521]*/ yan lag drug mkhan po las thob pa bsrung / dge slong gi sdom pa ni grogs mkhan po dang slob dpon gnyis/ dge 'dun mtshan nyid dang ldan pa dang 'brel/ cho ga gsol ba dang bzhi'i las*[522] *la sogs pa dang 'brel/ bslab bya khrims nyis brgya lnga bcu rtsa gsum la sogs pa phran tshegs dang bcas pa bsrung bar bya'o//*

byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni/ yul[523] *bla ma mtshan nyid dang ldan pa dang 'brel/ cho ga smon 'jug don dam byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed pa dang 'brel/ bslab bya ni rang gi srog la bab kyang / byams snying rje byang chub kyi sems mi btang zhing / pha rol tu phyin pa drug la sogs pa mdor na sdom pa nyi shu pa dang / tshul khrims kyi le'u la sogs pa nas gsungs pa bzhin du bslab par bya'o// (...)*

---

[521] One expects as in the parallels above and below "*dang bcas pa bsrung*."
[522] Skt. *jñapticaturthaṃ karma*, see p. 48.
[523] I.e. *blang yul*, cf. p. 260.

9.4. Tibetan Texts and Translations of sGam-po-pa's *Work A*

Work A 1 (Summary)

In the beginning of teaching A, the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* is quoted in order to show the necessity of possessing the three vows (*sdom pa gsum dang ldan dgos par*). And indeed the quotation contains the lines:

gal te de ni rab byung na//
bsdom pa gsum la gnas par bya//
If [a householder] is ordained,
he has to remain in the three vows.

Work A 2 (Summary)

In this section, the text explains very briefly the connection of the different vows with the respective groups of householders, novices, fully ordained monks and nuns, bodhisattvas, and Tantric adepts, and their respective rituals and trainings.

theg pa chen po gsang sngags kyi sdom pa ni/ yul rdo rje slob dpon dang 'brel/ cho ga dbang dang byin brlabs kyi rim pa dang 'brel/ bslab bya rtsa ltung yan lag dang bcas pa la bslab par bya'o//

Work A 3

de lta bu'i sdom pa gsum gyi ngo bo ni/ rnams(!) snang mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud las/

> *so so thar pa'i bsdom pa'i ngo bo ni gzhan la gnod pa bzhi(!) dang bcas pa la*[524] *rnam pa thams cad du log pa* <*165*> *yin la/ byang chub sems dpa'i ngo bo ni de'i steng du sems can la phan 'dogs pa'o*

ces gsungs pa dang / yang rdo rje gur las/

> *phung po sangs rgyas mnga' bdag nyid//*
> *de la brnyas pa brgyad pa yin//*

zhes pa gsang snags kyi sdom pa'i ngo bo ni/ rnam pa lhar gsal ba/ nyams myong bde ba/ rang bzhin mi rtog pa gsum dbyer med pa'o//

Work A 4

de yang rten gyi gang zag la sdom pa gsum de dag gnas na ji ltar gnas/ bsrung na ji ltar bsrung / ldan na ji ltar ldan/ phyir bcos na ji ltar 'chos/ mi 'gal bar bsrung na ji ltar bsrung zhes na/

Work A 5

[525]*de la sdom gsum gyi ngo bo ni cig tu gnas pa'am*[526] *ma yin te/ dang po skye ba'i rgyu phyogs cig pa med pa la/ tha dad du bshad pa dang / grub pa'i sde mi cig ste/ dang po thob pa'i dus cig pa med de/ rim pa bzhin du thob dgos pa dang / gnas pa'i dus cig pa med de/ so so thar pa'i rtsa ba ni ji srid mtsho*[527] *ba yin la/ sdom pa gnyis po ni dus snying po byang chub la ma mchis kyis*[528] *bar yin pa dang /*

---

[524] Read: *las*.
[525] The beginning of this passage is structurally unclear.
[526] Read: *pa'ang*?
[527] Read: *'tsho*.
[528] Read: *kyi*.

Work A **3 (Summary)**
Then, in order to explain the nature of the first two vows, the *Awakening of Vairocana* is quoted:

> The nature of the prātimokṣa vows is to be completely adverse to harming others together with the [mental] basis [for that], <165> and the nature of the bodhisattva [vows] is, in addition to that, to benefit sentient beings.

With reference to the eighth fundamental transgression of Mantra that is quoted from a text called "*Vajra Tent*" (*rdo rje gur*[529]), the nature of the Mantra vows is explained as the inseparability of the three, i.e. form manifested as deities (*rnam pa lhar gsal ba*), of experience [that arises as] bliss (*nyams myong bde ba*), and nature [that consists in] mental non-construction (*rang bzhin mi rtog pa*).

Work A **4 (Summary)**
After the connection of the vows with the respective assemblies and the basic nature of the vows have been introduced, the next passage introduces several new headings through a formulation that is often found in one or another form at the beginning of many treatises or chapters that explain how the three vows exist in harmony:

> Now, if these three vows exist for [one] person who is the support, how do they persist? If they are to be observed, how should they be observed? If they are possessed, how are they possessed? If they are repaired, how are they repaired? If they are to be maintained without incompatibility, how should they be maintained?

Work A **5 (Summary)**
This instruction explains that the natures (*ngo bo*) of the vows do not exist as one (*cig tu gnas pa ma yin*) for several reasons. First of all, the causes for the arising (*skye ba'i rgyu*) of the vows are not the same, they are taught separately (*tha dad du bshad pa*), and the sections [of the teachings] in which they are established (*grub pa'i sde*) are not the same. Furthermore, the time that the vows are obtained for the first time (*dang po thob pa'i dus*) is not the same, and they must be obtained in succession (*rim pa bzhin du thob dgos*). Their duration (*gnas pa'i dus*), too, is not the same, because while the prātimokṣa is taken for as long as one lives, the bodhisattva vow exists until one arrives at the seat of awakening (*bodhimaṇḍa*[530]).

---

[529] *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, an explanation tantra belonging to the cycle of Hevajratantras.

[530] For the seat of awakening, see p. 50.

gtong ba'i rgyu gcig min te/ so so thar pa'i rtsa ba bzhi shor na gtong bar bshad la/ byang chub sems dpa'i dbang du byas na mi dge ba bcu la yid kyi gsum po ma gtogs pa bdun po sems can gyi don du 'gyur bar bshad pa dang / gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa ni de de dag nyid lam du gsung ba'i phyir dang / yang rten dang ngo bo la'ang tha dad ste(!)/ so so thar pa ni gling gsum gyis[531] skyes pa dang / bud med skye bar bshad pa la/ sdom pa gnyis po ni skyes pa dang ma ning dang / mtshan gnyis dang / byang gi sgra mi snyan dang / lha dang klu la sogs pa mi khom pa'i gnas brgyad spangs pa thams cad la skye bar bshad pa dang / sdom pa rang gi ngo bo 'gal te/ so so thar pa'i bsdom pa'i ngo bo ni sems ma yin te/ sems las byung ba yul dang dbang po lnga dang bca (bcu? bcas?) ste/ <166> rnam par rig pa'i gzugs ma yin pa la rnam par rig byed ma yin pa gzugs/ bstan du med cing thogs pa med pa'i gzugs su 'dod pa dang / byang chub sems dpa' ni sems kyi khyad par la 'dod pa dang / gsang sngags ni lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes la 'dod pas/ ngo bo 'gal bar gnas pa dang / yang bsdom pa gnyis po phul yang so so thar pa gnas par bshad pa dang / so so thar pa phul yang gnyis po mi gtong bar bshad pas des na sdom pa cig pa 'ang mi btub po/

Work A 6

sdom pa gsum po'i ngo bo gnas skabs thams cad du tha dad du 'ang mi btub ste/ tha dad na rang rig mngon sum las 'di ni so so thar pa'i sdom pa'o// 'di ni byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa/ 'di ni gsang sngags kyi bsdom pa yin zhes/ sems tha dad pa gsum du snang bar rig pa la/ sems cig las med pa'i phyir/ thams cad du tha dad pa'ang mi 'thad do//

'o na ji ltar gnas shes(!) na

sdom pa gsum/ ngo bo shin du(!) tha dad gnas skabs 'dres pa'i tshul du gnas pa yin te/ dper na chu dang 'o ma 'dres pa la/ tha dad med kyang ngang pas chu gzhag nas 'o ma blang du btub pa bzhin du/ sdom pa gsum po 'di yang gang rung cig phul nas kyang / gnyis po gnas su btub pas des na ngo bo tha dad/ gnas skabs 'dres pa'i tshul du gnas so//

[531] Read: *gyi.*

The causes for losing (*gtong ba'i rgyu*) the vows are also different, because in the prātimokṣa, if the four fundaments (i.e. to abandon killing, etc.) are deteriorating, one loses the vows, whereas in the scope of the bodhisattvas, from among the ten non-virtuous—except for the three non-virtuous of the mind—the seven of the body are permitted if performed for the benefit of sentient beings, and in the Mantra one takes these as the path. The support (*rten*) of the vows is also different, because the prātimokṣa is taught to arise only for men and women of the three continents,[532] and the bodhisattva vow is taught to arise for men, eunuchs, hermaphrodites, beings of the northern continent of "Harsh Sounds,"[533] gods, serpent demons (*nāgas*) etc., i.e. for all who have avoided the eight existences with no chance to hear the teaching. Finally it is explained that the nature of the prātimokṣa vows is not mind, <166> that the bodhisatva vows are a specific feature of the mind (*sems kyi khyad par*), and that the Mantra vows are innate simultaneously arisen gnosis (*lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes*[534]). The text concludes:

> The natures [of the vows] exist as [something] incompatible. And furthermore, even though the two [higher] vows [may be] lost, the prātimokṣa is taught to continue, and even though the prātimokṣa [may be] lost, the two [higher] vows, it is taught, are not lost. Therefore, too, it is impossible that the vows are the same.

Work A 6

It is also not acceptable that the natures of the vows [exist] as different [things] on all occasions, because if they were different, they would be perceived (*rig pa*) to appear as three different consciousnesses through self-cognizing direct perception, namely "these are the prātimokṣa vows," "these are the bodhisattva vows," [and] "these are the Mantra vows," but there is no more than [just] one consciousness. [Therefore] it is also not acceptable that [the nature of the vows] are always different.

[Question:] In that case, how do they persist?

The three vows persist in such a way that their natures are totally different [but] mixed [on] occasion. For example, with regard to water mixed with milk, even though they are not different [when mixed], the goose is able to take the milk, leaving [only] the water. Similarly these three vows, too, which are of a different nature because one is able to continue the [other] two vows also after any one [of the three vows] has been lost, exist in the manner of an admixture [on] occasion.

---

[532] See my remarks on *Garland of Rays* 2, pp. 36 ff.
[533] See previous note.
[534] Cf. *Garland of Rays* 11.

Work A 7

bsrungs[535] *na ji ltar bsrungs zhes na/ bsrung na 'chol par(!) bsrung ste/ sdom pa gsum po na ba la sogs pa'i srog gi bar chad du 'gro ba dang / sdom pa gnyis pa'i bar chad du gang 'gro ba dang / lam gong ma rgyud la skye ba'i bar chad dang / bar chad gsum po dang / sdom pa gsum po 'dom thug byung na/ bar chad du gang 'gro ba ste ma bsrungs kyang nyes pa med pa ste/ bsrungs na de ltar 'chol bar bsrung ngo//*

Work A **8**

ldan na yar ldan te/

theg pa gsum gyi nges 'byung la//

theg pa cig gi 'bras bur gnas// <*167*>

shes gsungs pas chung ngu'i ngor chen po mi gtong ste/ so so thar pa dang byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa nang thug byung na/ byang chub sems dpa' ltar spyad la/ byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa so so thar pa yal bar dor ba la nyes pa med/ byang chub sems dpa' dang gsang sngags 'dom thug byung na/ gsang sngags ltar spyad la/ byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa yal bar dor ba la nyes pa med de/ de ci'i phyir zhe na/ gong ma bsrungs pas nyes pa med/ 'og ma mi gnas pas nyes pa med/ nyes pa gnyis po gang med pa cho ga btsan po/ thabs bzang po/ theg pa'i go rims sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa yin gsung /

de ltar ma yin te/ gong ma dor nas 'og ma bsrungs na/ 'og ma bsrungs pas nyes pa bskyed/ gong ma dor bas nyes pa bskyed/ nyes pa gnyis gang bskyed pa de cho ga dman pa thabs dman pa la zhugs pa/ theg pa'i go rims nor ba/ sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa ma lon pa ste/ chung ngu'i ngor chen po btang ba'i phyir ro// de bas na ldan na yar ldan no//

---

[535] In this passage the verb *srung ba* appears three times in its perfect and three times in its future form. I suggest to read it as *bsrung ba* (future, i.e. with optative connotation).

Work A 7

<166> [Question:] If they are to be observed, how are they to be observed?

[Answer:] If they are to be observed, [they are to be observed] as entrusted. If the three obstacles [for] the three vows, [i.e.] that which becomes an obstacle for [one's] life, such as illness, [or if] that which becomes an obstacle for the second vow, [or if] an obstacle for the arising of the higher path in [one's] mental stream of consciousness [arise], and if [furthermore] there arises a conflict [between] the three vows, there is no moral fault even if that which becomes the obstruction is not observed. [Thus] if they are to be observed, they are to be observed as entrusted like that.

Work A 8

If they are possessed, they are "possessed 'upwardly.'" [*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, 9,17cd; cf. Wayman 1985: 104]:

> Having delivered the three vehicles,
> he stays in the fruit of the one vehicle. <167>

Therefore the greater is not to be abandoned for the smaller. If an internal conflict arises between the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows, one practices like the bodhisattva, and there is no moral fault in ignoring the prātimokṣa.[536] If there arises a conflict between the bodhisattva [vows] and the Mantra [vows], one should practice according to the Mantra, and there is no moral fault in ignoring the bodhisattva vows. Why? There is no moral fault because the higher is observed. There is no moral fault because the lower is not continued. That[537] which is the absence of the two moral faults is taught to be [the functioning of] the powerful rituals, the excellent means, the hierarchy of the vehicles, [and thus it is] the Buddha's intention.

Otherwise, if the lower is observed after the higher has been abandoned, a moral fault is produced because the lower is observed, [and] a moral fault is produced because the higher is abandoned. The two moral faults that are produced are having entered into the lower ritual [and] the lower means, mistaking the hierarchy of the vehicles, [and] not realizing the Buddha's intention, because the greater has been abandoned for the smaller. Therefore, if [the vows] are possessed, [they] are "possessed 'upwardly.'"

---

[536] Here the repetition of *byang chub sems pa'i sdom* appears to be an (inept) gloss.

[537] Read *gang med pa de*, as in the parallel construction below.

Work A 9

phyir 'chos na grub mtha' bzhin du phyir 'chos te/ so so thar pa dang 'gal na bsam pa dang sbyor ba'i sgo nas/ byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa dang 'gal na stobs bzhi'i sgo nas/ gsang sngags kyi sdom pa dang 'gal na bshags bsdom/ dbang rigs kyi sgo nas phyir 'chos/ de yang de gsum dang / chos thams cad sgyu ma lta bur rtogs pa la ni bshags pa la tshegs med de/ de ltar yang

bshags bya bshags byed bshags pa rnams//
gang tshe rnal 'byor pas ma mthong //
rang bzhin dag pas yongs su mthong //
de ni bshags pa'i sdom pa('o?)

ces gsungs so//

Work A 10

gnas skabs tha dad/ gong gi 'gal ba ltar snang ba rnams/ mi 'gal bar bsrung na ji ltar bsrung zhes na/

de la mi 'gal ba rnam pa drug ste/ dus mi <168> 'gal ba ni/ nyin mo so so thar pa mi 'gal/ mtshan mo gsang sngags kyi dam tshig dang mi 'gal/ gnyis kar byang chub sems dpa'i bsdom pa dang mi 'gal bar bya'o//

grogs mi 'gal ba ni nyan thos kyi nang du so so thar pa dang mi 'gal/ theg pa chen po'i rigs can gyi nang du byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa dang mi 'gal/ rgyud smin grol dang ldan pa'i nang du gsang sngags kyi dam tshig dang mi 'gal bar bya'o//

Work A 9

If [damages of the vows] are repaired, they are repaired according to the [respective] doctrinal tenets. If one transgresses against the prātimokṣa, that is repaired through intention (*bsam pa*) and preparation (*sbyor ba*),[538] if one transgresses against the bodhisattva vows, that is repaired through the four powers (*stobs bzhi*),[539] and if one transgresses against the Mantra vows, that is repaired through confession [of the fault and] binding [henceforth] (*bshags sdom*), [and] through the [different] kinds of initiation (*dbang rigs*). Now, for one who realizes these three and all phenomena as being like an illusion, there is no difficulty with regard to confessing, as it is said:

> When that, which is to be confessed, the confessor, and the confession
> is not perceived by the yogi,
> [then] this perfect perception [of reality] because of the purity of own-nature,
> is the discipline of confession.

Work A 10

Different occasions. [Question:] If one observes the above-mentioned seemingly incompatible [vows] without contravening, how are they to be observed?

[Answer:] There are six non-contravenings:[540] (1) Non-contravening [of] time: [By] day one should not contravene the prātimokṣa, [by] night one should not contravene the pledges of Mantra, [and] at both [times] one should not contravene the bodhisattva vows.

(2) Non-contravening [with regard to one's] association: Among auditors, one should not contravene the prātimokṣa, among those who are endowed with the Mahāyāna-family, one should not contravene the bodhisattva vows, [and] among those who possess a ripened and liberated mental stream of consciousness, one should not contravene the pledges of Mantra.

---

[538] According to the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary: sems kyi kun slong dang / lus kyi lag len.*

[539] These are variously known as the four powers of the antidote (*gnyen po*), of confessing sins (*sdig pa bshags pa*), etc. In short they are "power of reliance" (*rten gyi stobs*), "power of repentance" (*rnam par sun 'byin pa'i stobs*), "power of not repeating the fault" (*nyes pa las slar ldog pa*), and "power of the antidote that is righteous conduct" (*gnyen po kun tu spyod pa*),

[540] Only five points are mentioned in the text, but a scribe seems to have understood the "weighing up" (*srang la dbab*), although it rather is a conclusion, as the sixth point.

rkyen mi 'gal ba ni na ba dang / srog gi bar chad du 'gro ba dang / lam gong ma'i bar chad du 'gro na mi bya ste/ ma bsrungs kyang 'gal ba med do//

bsam pa mi 'gal ba ni gzhan don du 'gyur ba dang / lam gong ma rang gi rgyud la rten nas srog gcod pa la sogs pa byas kyang mi 'gal lo//

gang zag gi gnas pa mi 'gal ba ni/ bsad pa bso nus/ rig ma 'gugs nus/ dngos po sbed nus pas de ltar byas kyang 'gal ba med do//

de ltar bslab pa gsum po rnams kyang 'dom thug byung ba'i dus su shes rab kyis srang la dbab/

gnang bkag gis kyang 'di bsdus na/ 'gal bya che shos spangs pa'i don du chung shos gnang / che shos spangs pas nyes pa med/ chung shos gnang bas nyes pa med de/

shes rab thabs dang ldan pa yis//
dus tshod gtso bor khyer ba gces//

shes gsungs pas/ bla na med pa'i byang chub thob par 'dod pa'i gang zag gis/ rgyud sdom pa gsum dang ldan par bya gsung//

(3) Non-contravening [with regard to] conditions: If [a vow-activity] becomes an obstacle for [one's] life, such as illness,[541] and if [it] becomes an obstacle for the higher path, one should not perform it. There is no contravening even though [the vow] is not observed.

(4) Non-contravening [with regard to] intention: Even if one performs [sins] such as killing, one does not contravene, [if one does it] for the sake of others and based on [the arising] of the higher path in one's mental stream of consciousness.

(5) Non-contravening [with regard to] the abiding of the person [on higher spiritual levels]: Because one is able to revive [beings] killed, to summon [Tantric] consorts, [and] to cause things to disappear(?), there is no contravening even if one performs [sins] in that way.

[Thus?] at the time when there arises a conflict also [between] the three vows in that way, it is [non-contravening because one acts only after having] weighed up [the conflict] through insight.

Also, to summarize this through that which is permitted and that which is prohibited, the smallest activity contravening [the vows] is permitted in order to abandon the greatest. There is no moral fault because the greatest [sin] is abandoned, [and] there is no moral fault because [only] the smallest is permitted. [As] it is said:

> It is important that one carries on [the vows?] at the main occasions [or: in critical times?]
> through possessing insight and skill in means.

Therefore a person who wishes to obtain unsurpassed awakening has to possess the three vows [in his] mental stream of consciousness. [Thus] taught [sGam-po-pa].

---

[541] Read, as in *Works A* 7, *na ba la sogs pa*?

9.5. Parallel Edition of sGam-po-pa's *Work B1, B2,* and *B3*

bold — parallel text of all three
italics — parallel text of *B1* and *B3* only
underline — parallel text of *B1* and *B2* only

Work B3, vol. 2, pp. 294-295

***B3*-1**

na mo gu ru// rin po che lha rje'i *zhal nas/ bslab pa rnam pa gsum ni/ lhag pa tshul khrims kyi bslab pa dang / lhag pa sems kyi bslab pa* dang / *lhag pa shes rab kyi bslab pa*'o//

***B3*-2**

tshul khrims gang zhe *na/*

mkhan po dang slob dpon la so so thar pa'i bsdom(!) pa blangs nas/ ji lta ba bzhin bsrung ba ni (so thar) *bsdom(!) pa'i tshul khrims/ de nas byang chub* mchog tu *sems bskyed nas bslab bya la slob pa ni/* (byang sems) *sdom pa'i tshul khrims/ de nas gsang sngags kyi dbang* bskur *zhus nas/ dam tshig ji lta ba bzhin bsrung ba ni/ bsdom pa'i tshul khrims* **gang zag gcig gi rgyud la sdom pa gsum rten bskor cig tu gnas dgos te/**

Work B1, vol. 1, pp. 158-159

***B1*-1**

yang chos rje sgam po pa'i *zhal nas/* ston pa bde bar gshegs pas gsungs pa'i chos thams cad bslab pa rnam pa gsum du ma 'dus pa med gsung / de yang *bslab pa rnam pa gsum ni/ lhag pa tshul khrims gyi bslab pa dang / lhag pa sems kyi bslab pa/ lhag pa shes rab kyi bslab pa* gsum yin/

***B1*-2**

de la *tshul khrims* kyi bslab pa *gang* yin *na*

mkhan po dang slob dpon la so so thar pa'i sdom pa blangs nas ji lta ba bzhin bsrung ba ni bsdom(!) pa'i tshul khrims/ de nas smon pa dang 'jug pa'i *byang chub sems bskyed nas/* byang chub sems dpa'i *bslab bya la slob pa ni sdom pa'i tshul khrims/ de nas gsang sngags kyi dbang zhus nas* rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi/ yan lag gis(!) ltung ba brgyad la sogs pa'i *dam tshig ji lta ba bzhin bsrung ba ni bsdom(!) pa'i tshul khrims/* **gang zag gcig gi rgyud la sdom pa gsum rten 'brel skor cig tu gnas dgos te/**

***B1*-3**

skye na ji ltar skye/ gnas na ji ltar gnas/ bsrung na ji ltar bsrung / ldan na ji ltar ldan/

Work B2, vol. 2, pp. 287-288

***B2*-2**

na mo gu ru/ **gang zag gcig gi rgyud la/ sdom pa gsum rten 'brel skor cig tu gnas dgos te/**

***B2*-3**

gnas ni ji ltar gnas bsrung na ji ltar bsrung / ldan na ji ltar ldan/ 'chos na ji ltar 'chos/

B3-4

bye brag *gang zhe na/* **mkhan** po'am **slob dpon la sdom pa blangs pa'i dus su/** *ngas* **so so thar pa'i sdom pa thob snyam/ sems bskyed pa'i dus su/ ngas sems bskyed thob/ byang chub sems dpa' yin snyam/** *de ltar snyam pa* tsam las/ *ngo bo cig so so ni yod pa ma yin no//*

B1-4

mkhan slob la sdom pa blangs pa'i dus su *ngas* **so so thar pa'i sdom pa thob snyam** pa'i dus su skye/ byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa thob snyam pa'i dus su byang chub **sems** dpa'i bsdom(!) pa **skye/** dbang bskur ba'i dus su gsang sngags kyi dam tshig thob snyam pa'i dus su gsang sngags kyi sdom pa skye/

gnas na **bye brag** tu gnas te/ *bye brag gang zhe na/ de ltar mnyam pa'i ngo bo cig so sor yod pa ma yin te/* sems nyid kyi ngo bo gang zag cig gi rgyud la gsum tshang ba'o//

B2-4

gnas pa **bye brag** tu gnas te/ **mkhan slob la sdom pa blangs pa'i dus su/ so thar gyi sdom pa thos snyam/ sems** bskyed pa'i **dus su/ sems bskyed/** byang chub sems dpa' yin snyam/ gsang sngags kyi dus su/ ngas dbang thob theg chen gsang sngags pa yin snyam/

B3-5

bsrung *na 'chol par bsrung / 'chol pa gang zhe na/* **so so thar** *pa'i dus su* **'dul ba bzhin bsrung** *// sems bskyed nas byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa bya// dbang bskur nas gsang sngags kyi dam tshig bsrung //*

B1-5

bsrungs *na 'chol par bsrungs/ 'chol pa gang zhe na/* **so thar** *gyi dus su* **'dul ba** 'od ldan **bzhin du bsrung** */ sems bskyed* byas *nas* sdom pa nyi shu pa la sogs pa bzhin bsrung */ byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa bya/ dbang bskur nas* rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa la sogs pa nas ji ltar gsungs pa bzhin du *gsang sngags kyi dam tshig* **bsrung /**

B2-5

bsrung ba/ **so thar 'dul ba bzhin bsrung /** sde snod kyi ma mo bzhin du bsrung / rtsa ltung rtsa 'grel bzhin bsrung /

B3-6

ldan na yar ldan te/ thug 'dom **byung** *ba'i* **dus** *su/* **rims kyis gong ma gtso cher bya'o//**

B1-6

ldan na yar ldan te nang **thug byung** *ba'i* **dus** *su/* 'og ma gong ma'i khongs na yod pas **rims kyis gong ma gtso cher bya/**

B2-6

ldan na yar ldan te/ thug 'dom byung dus/ rim gyi gong ma gnyis gtso bor bya'o/

B3-7	*B1-7*	*B2-7*
'chos na grub mthas 'chos te/ so thar la skyon byung na/ mkhan po la sogs pa la bshags pas chog na *bshags// bskyar dgos na bskyar/ byang chub sems dpa'i dus su skyon byung na/ sems bskyed pa'i byang chub sems dpa' bshags pas chog na bshag //* bsdam par 'os na bsdam/ gsang sngags kyi ltung ba byung na/ bla ma la bshags pas chog na bshag // bskyar dgos na bskyar ro//	'chos na so so thar pa la skyon byung na/ *mkhan po la sogs pa la gshags* dgos na *gshags/* skyor dgos byung *na skyar/ byang chub sems dpa'i dus su skyon byung na/ sems bskyed pa'i byang chub sems dpa'* la *bshags pas chog na bshags/* skyor dgos na skyor/	'chos na/ grub mthas 'chos te so thar la skyon byung na 'dul ba bzhin 'chos/ sems bskyed la sde snod bzhin/ dam tshig la rtsa ltung bzhin 'chos/
de ni lhag pa tshul khrims kyi bslab pa'o//	**de ni lhag pa tshul khrims kyi bslab pa'o//**	**de ni lhag pa tshul khrims kyi bslab pa'o/**
lhag pa sems kyi bslab pa ni/ bsdom(!) pa rnams la bsngo bgrang byed cing / rang gi sems nyid glang po che smyon pa lta bu de/ *lhag pa* **tshul khrims kyi dmigs pa'i ka pa la/ dran pa'i zhags** *thag gis* **dam du bcings/ shes rab kyi lcags kyus bzung nas/ blo rims kyis bsgom pa ni zhi gnas so//**	**lhag pa sems kyi bslab pa ni/ sdom pa rnams la bdag gis so so thar pa'i dus su skyon ma byung ngam snyam du sngo bgrang byed cing / rang sems glang** *po* **che snyon pa dang 'dra ba ste/** *lhag pa* **tshul khrims kyi dmigs pa'i ka ba la dran pa'i zhags** *thag gis* **bcings/ shes rab kyi lcags kyus bzung nas/ blo rims kyis bsgom par byed pa ni zhi gnas so//**	**lhag pa sems kyi bslab pa ni/ sdom pa rnams la bsngo bgrang byed cing / rang gi sems glang chen smon pa dang 'dra ba ste/ tshul khrims kyi dmig pa'i ka pa la/ dran pa'i zhags pas dam du bcing / shes rab kyi lcags kyus bzung nas/ blo rims kyis sgom pa ni zhi gnas so//**
de ltar zhi gnas *kyi sems* **rtse gcig tu bzhag nas/ lhag mthong gis** *spyod(dpyod?)* **pa** *zhig* **byed de/ sdom pa la rtog dpyod btang bas/ ji srid rtog dpyod 'dug phan chad bsam shes la/ rtog dpyod las 'das nas bsgom shes//**	**de ltar zhi gnas kyi sems rtse cig tu byas nas lhag mthong gis** *spyod(dpyod pa?) zhig* **'gyed(byed?) do// sdom pa la rtog dpyod btang nas ji srid rtog dpyod 'dug phan chad du bsam pa'i shes rab yin la/ rtog dpyod las 'das phan chad bsgom pa'i shes rab bo//**	**de ltar zhi gnas la rtse gcig tu bzhag nas/ lhag mthong gis byong(dpyod pa?) zhes 'gyed(byed?) de/ sdom pa la rtog dpyod btang bas/ ji srid rtog dpyod 'dug phan chad bsam shes la/ rtog dpyod las 'das phan chad sgom shes so//**
lhag pa **shes rab kyi** *bslab pa ni/* **chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin spros pa thams cad dang bral ba** *de go zhing* **rtogs pa'o//**	*lhag pa* **shes rab kyi** *bslab pa ni/* **chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin spros pa dang bral ba** *de go zhing* **rtogs na shes rab kyi bslab pa yin gsung//**	**shes rab kyi chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin spros pa'i mtha' dang bral bar rtog pa ste/ lhag pa shes rab yin gsung ngo//**

Work B2-2. Homage to the guru! The three vows must exist in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person as one support [and one] cycle.[542]

Work B2-3. If[543] they persist, how do they persist? If they are observed, how are they observed? If they are possessed, how are they possessed? If they are repaired, how are they repaired?

Work B2-4. If[544] they persist, they persist as particular entities. At the time when one takes the vow from the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) and the master (*ācārya*), one thinks, "I possess[545] the prātimokṣa vows;" at the time when one has produced the resolve [for awakening] one thinks, "[I] have produced the thought, I am a bodhisattva;" at the time of Mantra one thinks, "I have obtained initiation, I am a practitioner of the Mahāyāna Mantra."

Work B2-5. If[546] they are observed, they are [respectively] observed according to the Vinaya-prātimokṣa, according to the root (*ma mo*?) of the [bodhisattva?]-scripture collection (*piṭaka*), [and] according to the root commentary of the fundamental transgressions.

Work B2-6. If they are possessed, they are "possessed 'upwardly.'" When conflicts arise, the respective higher is to be practiced as the preeminent [vow].[547]

Work B2-7. If they are repaired, they are repaired through [their] tenets, [i.e.] if a defect arises for the prātimokṣa, that is repaired according to the Vinaya [and respectively] for the production of resolve according to the [bodhisattva]-scripture collection (*piṭaka*), [and] for the pledges according to the [commentary of] the fundamental transgressions.

---

[542] *'brel* is incomprehensible, it is certainly an inept gloss.

[543] Read *na* for *ni*.

[544] Read *na* for *pa*.

[545] Read *thob* for *thos* as in *B1* and *B3*.

[546] Read *na* for *ba*.

[547] *gnyis* must be an inept gloss here.

Karma-'phrin-las-pa on the Theory of the Three Vows: Replies to the Questions of Ngo-gro and rGya-ston

Four eventful centuries elapsed between sGam-po-pa, the founder of the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa, and Karma-'phrin-las-pa (1456-1539), a major figure who stands between the seventh and eighth Karma-pa in the history of this tradition. During this productive period in the development of Tibetan Buddhist scolasticism, many masters had dealt with the three vow theories. For the Sa-skya-pas, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, the great Sa-paṇ, and many commentators such as Go-rams-pa had appeared on the scene in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Vibhūticandra's doctrine had spread from the thirteenth century onwards, the rNying-ma-pas had developed their own doctrine with Klong-chen-pa and mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen from the fourteenth to early sixteenth century, and within the bKa'-brgyud-pas themselves, many often competing doctrines had emerged, such as the *Same Intention* (*dGongs gcig*) teaching of the 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po. It is therefore not surprising that those who saw themselves as upholders of sGam-po-pa's teachings joined the debate to spread their master's three-vow doctrine, and, to be sure, to refine it further. In the present chapter, I shall present the efforts in this regard by Karma-'phrin-las-pa, whose explanations of the theories of the three vows were a major influence on the subsequent developments within the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas and beyond.

10.1. Biographical Notes on Karma-'phrin-las-pa-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal

Karma-'phrin-las was born in the Eastern part of gTsang in a house called "dPal-khang."[548] His paternal lineage was "dGyer" and he was the paternal nephew of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal (1399-1458), second abbot of Na-lendra.[549] At the age of seventeen he received full monastic ordination and the ritual for the production of the resolve according to the Madhyamaka system. His studies included the full range of Buddhist scholarly subjects such as the Perfections Vehicle, Abhidharma, Vinaya, the five treatises of Maitreya, Madhyamaka, as well as grammar and poetics. He received numerous Tantric initiations and instruction on Mantra and Mahāmudrā. From the fourth Zhwa-dmar-pa, Chos-grags-ye-shes (1453-1524), for example, he received, among other things, the initiations of *Kālacakra, Cakrasaṃvara*, and *Mahākāla*.

When Karma-'phrin-las-pa met the seventh Karma-pa, Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506), he understood him to be the real Buddha. Having requested from him

---

[548] These notes are based on Si-tu Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas and 'Be-lo Tshe-dbang-kun-khyab, *History of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa Sect*, vol. 1, fols. 325v-328r.

[549] On bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal see Jackson (1989b: 9 f.).

the instruction on the non-duality of "wind" and mind (*rlung sems gnyis med*) and on the six special instructions of Nāropa (*nā ro chos drug*), he was ordered to function as a holder of the lineage. He practiced the instructions he received for five months, and experience was born in him according to the instructions. The teachings he received from the Karma-pa also included the *dBu ma'i lta khrid*, the *Rang stong gzhan stong mi 'gal bar ston pa'i gzhung chung*, the collected works of (the third Karma-pa?) Rang-byung-(rdo-rje? 1284-1339), the *rNam shes ye shes kyi rab dbye*, and the *mKha' 'gro snying thig gi myong khrid*. He also studied under a great number of other illustrious teachers such as Si-tu bKra-shis-dpal-'byor (?-1512), the tenth occupant of the earth-throne of Na-lendra, Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1450-1524), rJe sMyug-la Paṇ-chen (1518-1576),[550] gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507), and Zhwa-lu Lo-chen Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527).

In 1527 Karma-'phrin-las-pa met the young reembodiment of his guru, Karma-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-55), and after serving as the master at the Karma-pa's ordination, he taught him the Perfections Vehicle, four of the five treatises of Maitreya, the (*Tshad ma'i*) *Rigs gter* and *rNam 'grel*, the upper and lower Abhidharma, *Hevajra*, etc. Among the vast number of disciples he taught were included the tulkus of the upper and lower seat of the Karma-pas. He is to be considered one of the greatest Karma bKa'-brgyud masters of his time, hence his name "[Embodiment of] the Activity [of the] Karma [bKa'-brgyud-pas]" (*Karma 'phrin las pa*). His full name is sometimes given as Karma-'phrin-las-pa Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal.

Karma-'phrin-las-pa was also the nephew of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal (1399-1458), second abbot of Na-lendra, following the monastery's founder Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449). David Jackson (1989b: 10), portrays bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal as a "non-fanatical teacher and practitioner of traditions coming from several different schools" with "universalist" or "ecumenical" leanings. Even though Karma-'phrin-las-pa was only two when his uncle passed away, a very similar approach is certainly also evident in his writings on the three vows.

10.2. The Replies of Karma-'phrin-las-pa

Karma-'phrin-las-pa deals in some detail with the three vows in two of the replies he wrote to answer the questions of his students and contemporaries, namely rGya-ston Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan and Ngo-gro Bla-ma, written respectively in 1502 and 1509 (the latter being revised in 1516). These *Replies* are two of the eleven replies included in the compilation *The Rosaries of the Common Replies to Questions from*

[550] Since Myug-la was a teacher of Karma-'phrin-las-pa, his dates are 1458-1515 and not 1518-1576, a full cycle later, as Khetsun Sangpo suggests.

the Collected Writings of the Lord of Dharma Karma-'phrin-las-pa (*Chos kyi rje karma 'phrin las pa'i gsung 'bum las thun mong ba'i dri lan gyi phreng ba rnams*), which was published as the fifth section of his collected works, covering 69 folios. The blocks for these were carved in 1539 in Rin-chen-ri-bo.[551]

The reply to the questions of rGya-ston touches briefly on some interesting topics with regard to the three vows and is written in prose (except, of course, for some quotations), while the second, the reply to Ngo-gro Bla-ma, starts with a question about the nature of the vows. This second work is written in verses and includes a discussion of the nature of the outfits worn by auditors (*śrāvakas*) and Tantric adepts, as well as further interesting discussions of the three vow theories of Sa-skya-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216)—including Vibhūticandra's subsequent criticism—the 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217), the dGe-ldan-pas, and finally (and mainly) the seventh Karma-pa rGyal-dbang Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506), who followed the teachings of sGam-po-pa. In general, the first text, i.e. the *Replies to rGya-ston*, contains twenty questions and the second text, i.e. the *Replies to Ngo-gro*, many more than that. The questions range widely, from purely doctrinal questions about the differentiation between Sūtra and Tantra, etc., to a question about how the names of Tibetan Lamas should be transcribed in Sanskrit.

10.3. Explanations of the Three Vows in Two Replies of Karma-'phrin-las-pa

Karma-'Phrin-las-pa wrote his answers about four hundred years after sGam-po-pa's time. His three-vow doctrine, especially as presented in his reply to Ngo-gro Bla-ma, is accordingly in some respects different from what we have seen in sGam-po-pa's collected works. Although the main thrust seems to be the same, it is evident that his presentation was influenced to some degree by all major systems that developed between sGam-po-pa's and his time. In the following sections (3.1. and 3.2.), I shall describe the contents of both replies. The texts and translations themselves will be presented in chapter 11. The question of a connection between the texts found in sGam-po-pa's collected works and this teaching will be discussed in chapter 13, where I shall attempt to analyze the development of some of the vital terms that make up the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas' teachings on the three vows.

---

[551] His songs and replies are available in *The Songs of Esoteric Practice (mgur) and Replies to Doctrinal Questions (dris lan) of Karma-'phrin-las-pa*, published by Ngawang Topgay, New Delhi 1975.

In the following diagrams I would like to sketch in a preliminary way some of the historical key relationships that I have found indicated within the main works investigated in the following chapters. Possible predecessors of the authors are shown above the author, the doctrines criticized by him to the right.

sGam-po-pa (1079-1153)
|
Karma-pa VII Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506)
|
Karma-'phrin-las-pa (1456-1539)

- 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217, mentioned one of the *Same Intention* commentaries) criticized here.
- Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216)), *Rem Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*
- "dGe-ldan-pas"

sGam-po-pa (1079-1153)
|
Karma-pa III Rang-'byung rdo-rje (1284-1339)
|
Si-tu Chos-kyi-'bung-gnas (1699/1700-1774)
|
Karma-nges-don (1808-1864 or 67)

- Abhayākaragupta (d. 1125)
- Vibhūticandra (12/13th century), *sDom gs 'od phreng*
- Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), *Rem Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*
- Sa-paṇ (1182-1251), *Clear Differentiation the Three Vows*
- bKa-'gdams-pas, mKhas-grub Ge-legs-dpal bzang-po (1385-1438), *sDom gsum rnam*
- Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363)

10.3.1. Karma-'phrin-las-pa's Reply to rGya-ston

rGya-ston Bya-bral Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan was recognized by the eighth Karma-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje as the Tulku of rGya-ston Chos-rje. Except for a brief note in Si-tu Paṇ-chen and 'Be-lo's *History of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa Sect*, vol. 1, p. 646, nothing is known about him. That history mentions him practicing intensively in the monastery of rGyu-ston (*rGyu-ston gDan-sar sGrub-pa-snying-por-dril*), and that he spread the teachings and practices greatly. He was mainly occupied later in life (i.e. after these questions) with being the personal attendant of the eighth Karma-pa (born in 1507). According to the colophon of the reply to rGya-ston, p. 108, Karma-'phrin-las-pa wrote this reply on the fourteenth day of the second month of the *rnga chen* (= *chu khyi*) year, i.e. in 1502, at the temple of Ra-mo-che. Neither the colophon nor the introduction of the text mention the circumstances in which the questions were brought forward.

***Replies to rGya-ston* 1.**[552] The ninth question of the *Reply to rGya-ston* inquires about four key terms that should by now be familiar in connection with the three vows, namely "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*), "internal contradiction" (*nang 'gal*)[553], "preeminence [of] the higher" (*gong ma gtso bo*), and the "times of losing" (*gtong ba'i dus*). Of these, only the last term lacks a corresponding term in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* and *B2*.

Karma-'phrin-las-pa introduces the theme of the three vows from the three perspectives of the Vinaya, the Abhidharma,[554] and the Mahāyāna-Mantra. Of these three, the question concerns the latter.

***Replies to rGya-ston* 2.** With regard to the latter three vows, the prātimokṣa referred to here is that of the seven or eight classes of prātimokṣa vows (i.e. from householder to full monk).[555] The bodhisattva vow referred to is that of the Mahāyāna, i.e. that which is endowed with "the special supreme resolve of establishing the benefit for others together with [the mental] base [for that]," thus excluding the production of the resolve of the auditors and solitary Buddhas.[556] The Mantra vow referred to is that "which is connected with an initiation endowed with

[552] I have introduced these section numbers for the purpose of easier reference. They are all part of the same question, namely the ninth.

[553] The corresponding term in sGam-po-pa, *Work A*, would be "conflicting" (*'dom thug pa*).

[554] For the three vows in the *Abhidharmakośa*, see the section "The Meaning of the Three Vows" in my introduction.

[555] Referring to explanations in reply no. seven, *Replies to rGya-ston* p. 98.

[556] For the productions of the resolve of these, see p. 45.

the special means of protecting the mind from phenomenal marks and [mental] constructions," i.e. presumably one obtained in a tradition of the highest tantra class (*niruttaratantra).*

***Replies to rGya-ston* 3.** Furthermore, the three vows are differentiated into those obtained from their respective rituals and those obtained from the single ritual of an initiation.[557] Interestingly, this is then connected with the problem of same and different natures of the vows. Since it is evident that Karma-'phrin-las-pa teaches the vows to be of different natures because they are—among other things—obtained from different rituals (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 14), one may assume here that the three vows obtained from the same ritual, namely initiation, would be accepted as having the same nature.

***Replies to rGya-ston* 4.** This section contains a very brief remark on "possessing [the vows] 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*)." Nevertheless, two pieces of information can be derived from this section. The first is that the concept of *yar ldan* seems to be understood against the background of a obtaining of the vows in succession, because it is taught here that "the simple prātimokṣa became improved through the possessing of the bodhisattva vows, and these became even better through the possessing of the Mantra vows." Thus "simple prātimokṣa" (*so thar rkyang pa*) seems to refer to the prātimokṣa received from the specific ritual of the prātimokṣa vows, and not received from an initiation together with bodhisattva and Mantra vows. It "became improved" (*bzang du song*) when the higher vow was additionally obtained. It is interesting to note that "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) is here not explained in the same way as in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* 8 and in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's other reply, i.e. *Replies to Ngo-gro* 21. This difference will be discussed in chapter 13.

The second piece of information is the bare fact that the lower vows improve through the possession of the higher. At first glance one would assume this to involve some kind of a transformation of the lower vows themselves, but this is apparently not the case, since we read a little later in section 5 that "such cases [namely prohibiting the monks to have meals after noon and the performing the Tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*) at night are] in reality [...] differentiated through means and volitional impulse and therefore purely non-contradictory." In other words, from the *perspective* of the practitioner of the higher vow, there is no fault. Then the text continues:

> On the merely conventional [level], [the solution] is that after blessing [i.e. controlling] the conflicting prātimokṣa [vow] by means of being mindful of

[557] This is also referred to in more detail in Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fols. 70v ff. (the section through which he introduces what he accepts as his own tradition), see p. 89.

time, etc.,[558] so that there is no fault, one should in the first place observe the conflicting [vow of the] vajra vehicle.

Thus it is not the lower vows as such that are transformed or changed, but the perspective of the practitioner. Since he has become a yogi on a higher level, his skilful and well-motivated activities produce no faults for the lower vows. Note also that the lower vows are continued, however, on a "merely conventional [level]."

The point of the changed perspective will be of importance when discussing the *Replies to Ngo-gro* 15 ff., and the continuation of the lower vows on a merely conventional level will be further discussed in connection with *Replies to Ngo-gro* sections 12 and 20.

***Replies to rGya-ston* 5.** This is the longest section—and probably the central point of the answer—but also the most difficult passage to understand. It starts off with a discussion of "internal contradictions" (*nang 'gal*) and ends with a short note on "preeminence [of] the higher" (*gong ma gtso bo*) through which these topics are connected. At first Karma-'phrin-las-pa says:

> If as regards the nature of the vows, they are taken to be matter (*gzugs su 'dod*), they are internally contradicting; but if one takes them to be consciousness (*shes par 'dod*), one does not speak of internal incompatibility with regard to the vows as such.

With regard to that, he furthermore states that he understands the question at the beginning, namely "what are the (...) internal contradictions (...) of the three vows," as referring to contradictions of the demarcations of observing the vows. Thus it appears that the original question is slightly altered: Karma-'phrin-las-pa is not dealing with an incompatibility of the vows *as entities*—whatever "entity" might mean in this regard—but is concerned with the three vows's apparent incompatibility in contents, i.e. the question in how far the specific vows are to be maintained if they contradict in contents.

Having established this as the basis of the answer, let me now turn to his examples. His first example is the prātimokṣa vow (of a monk) that prohibits tactile contact with women, and the Mantra pledge that prohibits the verbal abuse of women. It is quite clear how this illustrates the borderlines of observing the vows in that the prātimokṣa deals with restrictions of bodily acts and the Mantra with restrictions of incorrect states of minds (namely depreciating women whose nature is insight). The internal contradiction is a bit less apparent, but I suppose that not to

---

[558] Being "mindful of time" might, in general, refer to such commemorations as of the guru's passing away, and in this particular case to the recurrent ceremonies of the prātimokṣa, such as the rituals of confession. On the other hand, it might refer to such teachings as given in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* 10, where the first of the six non-contravenings is to observe the prātimokṣa by day and the Mantra by night. See p. 209.

touch women is thought to contain an element of depreciation in that the monk is usually led to think of women as something impure.[559] Thereby a Tantric adept monk finds himself in a conflict with his vows, because when he follows the prātimokṣa closely, he contradicts the Mantra vows through depreciating women, whereas when he follows the Mantra, he is supposed to view woman as being the nature of insight (*prajñā*) and thus as something that should be very attractive to him.[560] The second example is "the teaching that one [as a monk] must observe [the vow prohibiting] meals after noon, and the teaching that one [as a Tantric adept] must perform the Tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*) in the evening." Here the apparent internal contradiction in the teachings for a Tantric adept monk is readily understandable, namely that in performing the tantric feast ceremony he transgresses against his prātimokṣa vow of abandoning meals after noon.

In reality (*yang dag par na*), however, these vows are purely non-contradictory. The reason is that their systems "are differentiated through means and volitional impulse." Thus Karma-'phrin-las-pa refers to the developed abilities of the yogi, such as his production of the resolve for awakening and his possessing the complex means consisting in visualizations, etc. With these greater abilities, he mainly guards against that which is incompatible with the Vajra Vehicle. Therefore the higher vow is also "preeminent." The lower vows, on the other hand, are maintained "merely on a conventional [level]."

As an authoritative statement that the higher system through its higher understanding disproves (or here: overpowers?) the lower one, a famous verse of Śāntideva is quoted:

> And the yogis too [are such that one] is disproven by the respective higher one by means of superior understanding.[561]

***Replies to rGya-ston* 6.** (As a consequence of section 4?) it is taught that, when the possessor of the vow enters the Mahāyāna, the teaching that the prātimokṣa is lost

---

[559] Cf. the examples of Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ch. VIII, vv. 49 ff., where the monk is told to view a woman as a sack of excrement, etc.

[560] Karma-'phrin-las-pa uses as an example for this a quote from Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 20. That section, however, was not meant as a critique of such a contradiction as I have just sketched it, but as a critique of the Sa-skya-pa's doctrine of the same nature of the vows. See the section on Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 20, p. 69.

[561] Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ch. IX, v. 4ab. This, however, was stated in the context of philosophical discussion. The same quote is also contained in Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *sDom gsum rnam nges 'grel pa*, part four. There it appears in connection with the topic "possessing [qualities] upwardly" (*yar ldan*).

at death does not hold.[562]

Summary of the *Replies to rGya-ston*

This teaching thus concerns the threefold possession of the prātimokṣa, bodhisattva, and Mantra vows as obtained in a gradual succession. When obtained through such a succession, the perspective of the practitioner is changed: Since he has become a yogi on a higher level, he possesses more skill in means and greater volitional impulses. In reality, the vows are purely non-contradictory, because their systems are differentiated through means and volitional impulse. With his greater abilities, the Tantric adept mainly guards against that which is incompatible with the Vajra Vehicle. Therefore the higher vow is also "preeminent." The lower vows, on the other hand, are maintained "merely on a conventional [level]."

10.3.2. Karma-'phrin-las-pa's Reply to Ngo-gro Bla-ma

The interlocutor of the second text, Ngo-gro Bla-ma, is perhaps to be identified as Ngo-khro Rab-'byams-pa dBang-phyug-dpal. On him there exists a small biographical note in Si-tu Paṇ-chen and 'Be-lo's *History of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa Sect* (p. 648). According to that source, when Ngo-khro was still very young, Drung Rinpoche came to him and touched his feet (i.e. bowed down before him). Then he ordered him to study in gSer-mdog-can. Thus he stayed with Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchod-ldan and easily understood all the scriptures (*gsung rab mtha' dag bde blag tu khong du chud*). He also studied under many other masters such as Bla-ma

---

[562] This reminds one of the 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's teaching in the *Same Intention*, ch. III, no. 8, see rDo-rje-shes-rab, vol. 2, pp. 31-37, and Chos-kyi-grags-pa, *dGongs gcig 'grel pa nyi ma'i snang ba*, pp. 152-157. The argumentation is quite complex, and limitations of time and space make it impossible to reproduce this very interesting discussion here, which involves a theory on the intermediate state (*bar do*) and a special interpretation of the six special instructions of Nāropa (*nā ro chos drug*). In general, most vajra utterances of the *Same Intention* are interwoven with a number of other vajra utterances, and in many cases, such as the topic under discussion, it is impossible to understand 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's intention without reading the whole work. The vajra utterances that I have translated in the section on the theory of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pa's, however, may be understood if taken together and in the context of the discussion of this thesis. There are some very interesting remarks on prātimokṣa (*not* being lost) at the time of death by the eighth Karma-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, contained in his lengthy commentary on the *Same Intention*, ch. II(?), i.e. *Dam pa'i chos dgongs pa gcig pa las so so thar pa'i tshoms kyi kar tik chen po*, fols. 43v ff. In the same section we also find a discussion of the example from *The Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*. Because of limitations of time and space again, however, I have not been able to include the eighth Karma-pa's remarks in this present study.

Tshe-dbang-rgya-mtsho and rJe Blo-gros-dbang-phyug. The list of Karma-'phrin-las-pa's main disciples in the same work (pp. 653 f.) contains a Ngo-khro mKhyen-rab, who presumably is this same "Ngo-gro Bla-ma."

In the colophon of the *Replies to Ngo-gro* (p. 139), the interlocutor's name is given as Ngo-gro Bla-ma sGron-mdog-'bum-pa. It mentions that since Ngo-gro was well versed in the rNying-ma-pa Mantra teachings, he was highly knowledgable and realized with regard to all Sūtra and Mantra teachings and treasures of the New and Ancient Tradition (*gsar rnying bka' gter mdo sngags ma lus pa la mkhyen rtogs rgyas pa*). The reply was written down at Phreng-po dGa'-ldan-gling in a single session on the morning of the eighth day of the sixth month of the earth-female snake year (*sa mo sbrul*), i.e. 1509, and then later expanded a bit at Yol Rin-chen-gling in the *'dzin byed* (= fire mouse/*me byi*) year, i.e. in 1516.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 1.**[563] This reply among the replies to Ngo-gro amounts almost to a small work, and it begins with Ngo-gro Bla-ma's question on the nature of the vows. The interlocutor refers to the outfits and equipment of the practitioners of different vow systems. In general, *cha lugs* refers to the outfit that is worn, i.e. the different clothing or dress. Thus we have terms like "Chinese outfit" (*rgya'i cha lugs*), "outfit of Tibetans" (*bod pa'i cha lugs*), "outfit [or uniform] of a soldier" (*dmag mi'i cha lugs*), as well as for example "outfit of a householder" (*khyim pa'i cha lugs*) and "outfit of a Buddhist(?)" (*nang pa'i cha lugs*). The term "marks of an ordained person" (*rab byung gi rtags*), refers according to Geshe Thubtan Ngawang (Hamburg), to a shaved head, the Dharma robes, the Dharma name, the alms bowl, the mat, etc. *Cha lugs* refers in the case of non-ordained persons to the ornaments and dress they wear. In the case of ordained persons, they are the same as the *rab byung gi rtags*.

The interlocutor points out that if the vows were of the same nature, the rules for the outfits and marks of the auditor and the yogi of the highest tantra class (*niruttaratantra*) would still remain "different and unmixed." Is it not actually incompatible that the monk has the saffron robes and the alms bowl, while the yogi wears the tiger skin and the skull filled with blood? Why is there not only one outfit? And if the vows were not of the same nature, "[the system of the auditors] would be completely incompatible with the tantras of the highest Tantra section, such as the

---

[563] The questions in the *Replies to Ngo-gro* are not numbered. My section nos. 1-23 refer all to the 24th question by Ngo-gro Bla-ma, which deals with the three vows. As before, in the case of the *Replies to rGya-ston*, I have introduced the section numbers (within this reply) for the sake of easier reference.

six *Guhyasamājatantras*."[564]

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 2.** This is then taken by Karma-'phrin-las-pa as the starting point of a detailed discussion of the nature of the vows and of related topics such as "transformation" (*gnas 'gyur*), "maintaining [of vows]" (*bsrung ba*), "occurrence of conflicts" (*'dom thug byung ba*), and "possessing qualities 'upwardly'" (*yon tan yar ldan*). The problem of the different marks and outfits is discussed below only in passing in section 8.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 3.** The famous work of the Sa-skya-pa master Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), namely the *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, is referred to in this section.[565] The relevant passage has been versified here, but it appears to be a fairly accurate restatement. Even though the term "transformation" (*gnas 'gyur*) does not appear in that work, Go-rams-pa[566] has taken that passage as an authoritative statement by one of the great five founders of the Sa-skya-pa tradition, teaching a transformation of vows. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan said:

> At the time the monks produce the resolve for awakening,
> all [their] prātimokṣa [vows] turn into the vows of a bodhisattva (*byang sems sdom par 'gyur*).
> At the time they enter into the maṇḍala [through Tantric initiation],
> all vows [become] vows of the Tantric adept (*rig 'dzin sdom pa*).

He continues with a quote from *The Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*,[567] teaching that the vows of the three families (*rigs can gsum*

---

[564] The *Guhyasamājatantras* are Tohoku catalogue numbers 442-447, in *P* 81-85. The Tohoku no. 443 is in *P* the eighteenth chapter of no. 81. Furthermore 444=83, 445=82, 446=85, 447=84. The eighteenth chapter of *P* 81 is considered a distinct text called *rGyud phyi ma* (skr. *uttaratantra*), and only *P* 81 is considered to be the "root tantra" (*mūlatantra*) according to the major part of the Indian and Tibetan commentaries. Besides the "root tantra" and the "subsequent tantra" (*uttaratantra*), the other four tantras are considered to be the *ākhyānatantras* (Tib. *gtam rgyud*), and they are only extant in Tibetan translation. See Yukei Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. XX-XXI, with a small printing error in n. 4, read Tohoku 444-447, instead of 443-446. See also Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, p. 84.

[565] See bibliography. The passage that is discussed by Karma-'phrin-las-pa is Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 258, fols. 47v f.

[566] See my translation on p. 135, and the discussion on p. 89, and in chapter 13, on pp. 314 ff.

[567] The work is described by Karma-'phrin-las-pa as being merely a treatise *(śāstra)*. See my discussion of Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23 below.

gyi sdom pa) exist because of the existence of particularities of mind (*sems kyi bye brag*). When they enter into the great maṇḍala of Tantric initiation, they are called Tantric adepts. This is likened to the different metals that exist thanks to the particularities of ore. But "through applying the elixir that turns [metals] into gold, all of these are transformed into gold." Through this example, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan teaches that the elixir resembles the training of the Vajra Vehicle.

Thus two transformations are taught, namely the transformation of the auditor prātimokṣa into the bodhisattva prātimokṣa, and the transformation of all vows into the vows of the Tantric adept.[568] Since all vows turn into the Tantric adept's vows in the end, this also appears to be an example for the teaching of the same nature of the vows after the transformation.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 4.** Here some lines from Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* are restated. This also appears to be a faithful rendering of the contents of this passage (i.e. parts of *Garland of Rays* 18 and 22, and 20). The modest deviations are mostly caused by the difference in metre: Vibhūticandra uses the traditional seven-syllable lines, while Karma-phrin-las-pa composed his work in the more elaborate style of nine syllables per line.[569] Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays* 19, omitted in this quotation, serves as an introduction to the following verses and makes clear that the argument is directed against the theory that the vows have the same nature.[570] Vibhūticandra says (*Garland of Rays* 20):

How could it be that the fundamental [prātimokṣa] vow guarding against tactile contact [with women] is lost
if a [fundamental] transgression [against the fourteenth Tantric pledge that forbids] abusing women arises?
If that were [a loss of the vows], that would be an overextension [of the

---

[568] A number of problems are connected with Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's interpretation, for example that the example may be good for a Vajra-Vehicle type of transformation, but not really for a transformation of the prātimokṣa into the bodhisattva prātimokṣa. Except for a discussion of the source of the quotation, which is discussed below in connection with Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23, these problems are addressed in chapter 13, on pp. 314 ff.

[569] It should not be forgotten that Vibhūticandra's work exists in at least two traditions (see above, p. 24). Even though it is hard to judge from this small portion of text, it appears that Karma-phrin-las-pa's text is closer to the version which is documented in Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* than to the canonical versions of *P* and *D*. Six out of seven relevant orthographic variants follow the *General Topics*, and in a further case even the wording follows the *General Topics* (i.e. *bor* instead of *las*).

[570] The fact that the argument quoted was originally directed against the theory that the vows have the same nature has also been omitted in *Replies to rGya-ston* 5.

term "loss"].[571]

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 5.** Karma-'phrin-las-pa does not comment on Vibhūticandra's critique. Instead, he presents the Karma-pa's critique of the passage from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*.[572] The seventh Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506) criticizes the Sa-skya-pa's position, focusing on the incompatibility of transformation and same nature. He argues in four steps.[573]

(1) If one accepts a transformation: *A* is thus transformed into *B*, but *A* and *B* are neither before nor after the transformation of the same nature, because before the transformation *A* does not exist as of the nature of *B*, and after the transformation *A* does not even exist any more. The examples for *A* and *B* are iron and gold, and the basic consciousness and the mirror-like gnosis.

(2) If one accepts same nature: *A* and *B* are thus of the same nature, but in that case a transformation is not even necessary. If iron already is of the nature of gold, there is no purpose in transforming it into gold once more.

(3) If the opponent argues against the first step that *A* and *B* are not of the same nature before the transformation, but they are afterwards, the answer remains the same as in (1), namely that after its transformation, *A* still does not even exist any more.

(4) Finally it is shown that the opponent would have to accept the absurd consequence that anything that has the same nature after the transformation must also have had the same nature before. (The reason is not given here, but if that were not so, it would be the same case as step one).

It should be clear from this that the Karma-pa was not arguing against the single concept of a same nature, but against a combination of both concepts of transformation and same nature.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 6.** Here Karma-'phrin-las-pa introduces the teachings of

---

[571] It is difficult to understand what is actually meant here. Why should the one vow be lost because of a transgression of another? The answer is perhaps that since both vows have the same nature, they must be lost together. In that case, "same nature" is perhaps understood as "single entity." See my discussion on pp. 69 ff.

[572] See ftn. 565 for the *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*. The Karma-pa's critique is only known to us through Karma-'phrin-las-pa's teaching.

[573] This argumentation is closely connected to Go-rams-pa's answer to Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 22. See pp. 74 f.

'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217), who was an almost exact contemporary of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and one of the closest disciples of Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170). The latter was, in turn, one of sGam-po-pa's four main disciples. Karma-'phrin-las-pa quotes from the *rDo shes ma*, the earliest available commentary on the *Same Intention*:[574]

> The vows become three because the [vow]-possessor has changed.
> And: All three vows remove the ten non-virtues together with anything of their kind,
> and [they] achieve the ten virtues together with anything of their kind.
> And therefore the nature of the vows is not to be even slightly differentiated.

Thus the nature of the vows is here identified as the removing of non-virtue and the achieving of virtue. They are three because there are three different types of persons who perform the removal and achieving in different ways.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 7.** Here it is established that both the Sa-skya-pas and the 'Bri-gung-pas agree that the nature of the three vows is the same.[575] And Karma-'phrin-las-pa continues:

> One is unable to refute [them[576]]
> through the fault of unmixed distinct aspects for [things with] the same nature,
> just as one is unable to refute
> through the fault that [something with] a single nature has different distinctive aspects.

The "fault of unmixed distinct aspects" is referring back to the objection of the interlocutor in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 1: "Do the three vows have the same nature or not? If [they have] the same [nature], [would it not be that] their respective own distinctive aspects [would be] unmixed [and] for themselves."

What the Karma-pa or Karma-'phrin-las-pa appear to say is that one cannot

---

[574] For 'Jig-rten-mgon-po see chapter 14, section 1. For the *Same Intention* see chapter 14, section 3. For the citation from the *Same Intention* see rDo-rje-shes-rab, vol. 2, p. 438.

[575] The 'Bri-gung-pas do not speak of a same nature of the vows, but of the same vital point (*gnad gcig*) in all of them, which may be regarded as implying a "same nature" (*ngo bo gcig*).

[576] Probably this refers only to the Sa-skya-pas, since 'Jig-rten-mgon-po or Shes-rab-'byung-gnas are not known to have taught distinctive aspects (*ldog pa* or *rang ldog*) in connection with the three vows. But in a wider sense one could say that the 'Bri-gung-pas acknowledge specific features of the vows besides their same vital point of abandoning non-virtue and achieving virtue, since they acknowledge different ways of losing and achieving of the three types of persons who practice the vows.

refute the concept of the three vows having the same nature or vital point by referring to the fact that they also possess aspects that they do not hold in common. In other words, it is legitimate to say that the vows have some things in common, but not everything. This might connect with the latter two lines of the above quote in so far as Karma-'phrin-las-pa himself, for example, is a Tantric adept monk with all the different vows, and one cannot say that he is several persons instead of just one.

Replies to Ngo-gro **8.** Karma-'phrin-las-pa returns to the question of section 1, where an objection was raised against the same nature of the vows on the grounds of the incompatibility of the outfit of monks and yogis. This objection is rejected since the different outfits are not held to be virtuous, but rather, the vows. (It is also pointed out that the outfit of the yogis has no connection with the characteristics of the *sambhogakāya*[577] as claimed by the interlocutor.)

Replies to Ngo-gro **9.** The three-vow theory of the dGe-ldan-pas is presented. According to them, the vows are different because they are obtained through different rituals, and the lower vows are branches of the highest vow. The example is a jewel that has been placed in a tub filled with water. Even though they are all different, through the power of the jewel, the water and the tub turn into the colour of the jewel.[578]

Replies to Ngo-gro **10.** The refutation of the dGe-ldan-pas by the seventh Karma-pa has three parts:

1. If the lower vows were branches of the higher, the Mantra vows would be incomplete and lost when the lower vows were not obtained or lost.
2. If the lower vows, because they are branches of the higher, were obtained from the same ritual as the Mantra vows, the three could not be different as claimed.
3. If it is claimed that only those lower vows are branches of the highest that are endowed with the Mantra vows, the highest vow would still be lost through losing the lower vows.

Replies to Ngo-gro **11.** Karma-'phrin-las-pa states that the (Sa-skya-pa's) system of transformation and same nature, and the (dGe-ldan-pa's) system of the lower vows as branches of the highest are religious systems of Tibetans that were not taught by

---

[577] These are the "five certainties" (*nges pa lnga*) of the *sambhogakāya,* referring to place, body, assembly, doctrine, and time.

[578] See for example mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po (1385-1438), disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, third abbot of dGa-ldan, *sDom gsum rnam bzhag,* fol. 95r; and sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, *dPal ldan gso ba rig pa'i khog 'bugs legs bshad bai ḍūrya'i me long drang srong dgyes pa'i dga' ston,* p. 477. However, the readings of Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho are in very many cases doubtful.

Indian masters.[579]

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 12.** From here onwards, Karma-'phrin-las-pa presents a system of the three vows that is connected by him to sGam-po-pa collected works. Its five major points are:

1. The natures of the vows are different (*ngo bo tha dad*).
2. The vows are observed as entrusted (*'chol par bsrung*).
3. In cases of conflict, the higher vow is preeminent (*'dom thug byung na gong ma gtso che*).
4. The qualities of the vows are possessed "upwardly" (*yon tan yar ldan*).
5. The occasions for losing and obtaining the vows are different (*gtong thob tha dad*).

The remaining part of the reply to Ngo-gro addresses five major topics. The first is the different natures of the vows, which also involves a discussion of transformation (sections 12-18). Then follow the explanations of (19) "observed as entrusted," (20) "the higher vows being preeminent in cases of conflict," (21) "qualities possessed 'upwardly,'" (22) "different occasions for losing and obtaining the vows," and (23) a conclusion. The largest of these remaining topics is the explanation of the different natures of the vows. It consists of the following sections:

Section 12. The reason for the different natures.
Section 13. Objections.
Section 14. Further reasons for the natures being different.
Section 15. Different types of persons.
Section 16. A different interpretation of the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*.
Section 17. A different interpretation for the example of the elixir.
Section 18. Changing of persons *versus* changing of vows.

Section 12 continues: When the auditor prātimokṣa is obtained, it is the uncommon or extraordinary vow since it is obtained through pure objects (i.e. persons), means, and rituals, which are all taught in the authoritative scriptures of the auditor prātimokṣa. Thereafter, when the bodhisattva vows are obtained through their respective pure objects, means, and rituals, the prātimokṣa becomes ordinary while the bodhisattva vows are now the extraordinary vows because of the more developed

---

[579] Compare the reference to the Indian systems with Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 6.2, and Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.1., who both quote an unidentified (Indian?) text called the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde'u mig*) that teaches six positions that were held in India. Among them, there is indeed no system that teaches the lower vows as branches of the higher, and none that explicitly teaches a same nature of the vows. There exists, however, a system that teaches a transformation, but again none that teaches transformation and same nature together.

production of the resolve, vow, and mental stream of consciousness of the practitioner. The same applies for the Mantra vows. This is taught to be the reason for the different natures of the vows. Thus the natures of the vows are identified here as those things through which the vows are obtained, and since these things are different for each vow, the natures of the vows are different. In other words, the nature of a vow is something that causes the vow to be distinctive (see also chapter 13, on pp. 310 ff.).

There is also something else implied here, namely that when a higher vow is obtained, the lower is not transformed or integrated into it, but it remains as it is, although it is not the unique extraordinary vow of that person any more. Instead, it remains as something ordinary, which the vow holder has in common with other Buddhists, such as auditors, while the new vow is uncommon in that it is the specific vow of the bodhisattvas or Tantric adepts.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 13.** Some object that since, for example, "abandoning killing" is the nature of each vow, are the vows not of the same nature in that they have the same nature in their resolution to abandon? Since the Sa-skya-pa doctrine and the 'Bri-gung-pa doctrine were given as examples for a theory of the same nature of the vows,[580] one assumes the masters of these traditions as the objectors here. In the case of the Sa-skya-pas, however, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan has not offered an explanation of the nature of the vows as the resolution to abandon in his *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*. But in the later tradition, namely in the writings of Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489), one finds the explanation:

> The meaning of "transforming the lower vow into the medium vow" must refer to the giving up of the inferior volitional impulse and to not discarding of the resolution to abandon (...).[581]

And:

> (...) after one has completely abandoned the inferior intention to pursue peace and happiness merely [for] oneself, that very resolution to abandon that discards opposing factors becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows.[582]

Thus "that very resolution to abandon that discards opposing factors" (such as killing) that has not been removed in the process of transformation is considered to be the (same) nature of both vows.

A very similar idea has been noticed by Karma-'phrin-las-pa (sections 6 and 7) also in the 'Bri-gung-pa's *Same Intention* (*dGongs gcig*) treatise, namely that the abandoning or removing of non-virtue such as killing, etc., is the same vital point

---

[580] In Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 3 and 6. See p. 227 and p. 229.
[581] Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 72v. See p. 139.
[582] *Ibid.*

(*gnad gcig*) in all three vows. Therefore, the objection might indeed come from both traditions, although the use of the term ("same nature") suggest the later Sa-skya-pas as the more likely candidates.

The answer to this objection is that abandoning killing, stealing, etc., is indeed "the same in their capacity merely as the resolution to abandon." Similarly, with regard to the three vows they are also the same in their capacity merely as the resolution to abandon. Thus the continuation and sameness of avoiding within the three vows is acknowledged in principle. But the differences between avoiding killing and avoiding stealing, and between avoiding killing on the level of each vow are also pointed out and, in fact, emphasized. Of these, the first is trivial and the second is explained through the different rituals of the vows, their ways of obtaining the vows, and their durations.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 14.** Furthermore the vows are different with regard to their vehicles, canonical sections, objects from which they are received, rituals, durations, volitional impulses, productions of the resolve, causes and times for losing the vows, and persons who are the support.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 15.** The last remark, namely that the persons who are the support of the vows are different is explained in some more detail. When one obtains the three vows (successively), one turns into, respectively, a Hīnayāna-type person, a bodhisattva, and a Tantric adept.

In the following sections this will be explained through the quote from the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*, section 16, through the example of the elixir (17), and through a passage of sGam-po-pa's *Thar rgyan* (18).

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 16.** The *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]* has already been quoted in the section on rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* (section 3), and it was referred to in the section on Vibhūticandra's teaching (section 4). Karma-'phrin-las-pa's interpretation, however, differs from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's. He explains that the specific kinds of ores are an example for the different vows (instead of being an illustration for "different people"). Through the process of smelting one gains the different metals iron, copper, and silver. In analogy the three types of persons are different when they have obtained their respective vows.[583]

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 17.** He also explains the example of the elixir in a different way. According to him, the example of iron, etc., that turns into gold when touched by the elixir shows that the person who is the support changes when he enters into the great maṇḍala of Tantric initiation. It does not indicate a transformation of the vows and their becoming the same.

---

583 The fact that both explanations do not fit perfectly with the example will be discussed in chapter 13, pp. 650 ff.

Replies to Ngo-gro **18.** Furthermore, he explains that it is also the intended sense of sGam-po-pa's treatise the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan* that the prātimokṣa vows turn into morality of the bodhisattva vows because they have turned into the vows of the mental stream of consciousness of a bodhisattva. In other words, the person changes into a bodhisattva, and only because of that the prātimokṣa vows turn into the vows of a bodhisattva. He concludes:

> Therefore, do not confuse [sGam-po-pa's] teaching of the changing person with [the Sa-skya-pa's] teaching of the changing vows.

The following should be the passage in question from the *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*:[584]

> The prātimokṣa vows of the bodhisattvas, too, do not need a specific ritual for obtaining them. If the very training of the auditors [of] before that has been obtained is later endowed with the specific volitional impulse [of the bodhisattvas], it turns into the vows of a bodhisattva having been transformed, because even though the lower volitional impulse has been abandoned, the resolution to abandon has not been discarded.

Here the crucial words are "having been transformed" (*gnas gyur nas*), but grammatically the subject is the vow. According to Karma-'phrin-las-pa's explanation of the intention of this passage, however, the person who was formerly an auditor (with prātimokṣa vows) has become transformed, because he has produced the resolve for awakening. Now that one has become a bodhisattva, i.e. "having been transformed," one's former vows that are now endowed with the specific volitional impulse of the bodhisattvas turn into the prātimokṣa of a bodhisattva. They have not been abandoned, because one still maintains that resolution to abandon that is required for the prātimokṣa, but just that former lower volitional impulse of an auditor (i.e. self-liberation) has been abandoned when the bodhisattva's resolve was produced. This concludes the teachings on the different natures of the vows.

Replies to Ngo-gro **19.** That the vows are to be "observed as entrusted" (*'chol par bsrung*) means that the factors that oppose the vows are to be guarded against according to the different systems of vows. And since the factors that oppose the vows also arise as entrusted, the antidotes, too, must be produced as entrusted. This probably means that a specific opposing factor such as verbal abuse of women can only arise when that specific vow has been entrusted. Therefore, the antidote, namely to view women as the nature of insight (*prajñā*), is to be produced according

---

[584] sGam-po-pa, *Dwags po thar rgyan*, fol. 61r: *byang chub sems dpa'i so so thar pa'i sdom pa de yang / len pa'i cho ga ni logs su mi dgos te/ sngar nyan thos kyi bslab pa blangs pa nyid phyis bsam pa khyad par can gyis zin na/ gnas gyur nas byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par 'gyur ba yin te/ dman pa'i sems btang yang spong ba'i sems pa ma dor ba'i phyir ro.* Guenther (1959: 107 f.), at the end of ch. VIII.

to the entrusted vow.[585]

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 20.** This section teaches that the higher training is to be practiced as the preeminent one when a conflict between the vows occurs. This is so, because the practice of the Mahāyānist involves the benefit of others. Thus he has to kill for the sake of others, steal for the poor, etc. Even though it is taught (in the prātimokṣa) that the prātimokṣa vows are lost through acts of that kind, this is not so, because the defects of such infractions are outshone (*zil gyis gnon pa*) through the higher vow.[586]

If, however, someone objects against this kind of behaviour and accuses the Tantric adept of having "performed an infraction entailing expulsion," the Tantric adept returns the lower vows. Unfortunately no reason is given for this, but we know already from the parallel discussion of Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to rGya-ston* 5 that the lower vows are anyhow maintained "merely on a conventional [level]." Thus here, too, the Tantric adept merely complies with the convention.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 21.** The qualities of the higher vows are greater than those of the lower vows. Thus even such deeds as killing become a cause of Buddhahood. Here it seems that "possessing qualities 'upwardly,'" (*yon tan yar ldan*) is understood in such a way that the infractions of lower vows are outshone through the greater qualities of the higher vows. Presumably these greater qualities are the higher volitional impulses and greater means of the bodhisattvas and Tantric adepts. Here, "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) is specified as "possessing qualities 'upwardly'" (*yon tan yar ldan*). Moreover, the concept of the infractions of the lower vows being "outshone" (*zil mnan*) is employed.[587]

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 22.** The explanation for the different occasions for losing and obtaining the vows are known from the explanation of the vows as different.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 23.** The conclusion consists of two parts. The first is that these explanations (of sGam-po-pa's teachings) are attributed to Karma-'phrin-las-pa's principal guru, the seventh Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506), to whom the author offers prostrations.

---

585 To view women as the nature of insight (*prajñā*) is taught through the fourteenth fundamental pledge of Mantra; see *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*, *P* vol. 69, no. 3308.

586 This "outshining" is not the same as that taught by Vibhūticandra. The latter taught an outshining of the lower vows as such. Here only the defects of the infractions are outshone, and thus the vows are not lost. See my discussion of these concepts in chapter 13, on p. 321 ff. See also pp. 79 ff. for Vibhūticandra's doctrine of "outshining."

587 This explanation of "possessing qualities 'upwardly'" will be discussed in chapter 13, on p. 321 ff., on the background of sGam-po-pa's teaching of "possessing 'upwardly'" in *Work A* 8 and Karma-'phrin-las-pa's explanation of the same in his other Reply, i.e. *Replies to rGya-ston* 4.

The second part is again linked with the last part of the objection in section 1, according to which through a different nature of the vows the system of the auditors would be completely incompatible with those of the highest tantra class (*nirnuttaratantra*) such as the six *Guhyasamājatantras*. Once again he refers to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, who is credited with great knowledge with regard to the highest tantra class. His quotation from the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*, which appears to be the most significant source for the Sa-skya-pas' system of the three vows, is criticized as being merely a quotation from the *De kho na nyid ye shes grub pa [śāstra]*, and thus not as a quotation from the Tantra-section of the canon itself. Its validity, however, is not questioned, but for its correct interpretation one should refer to the Karma-pa's teachings.

The quotation from the *"Hundred-Thousand Verse Tantra" [Treatise]* is indeed crucial for the discussion of the three vows. It appears (in those works translated in this thesis) first in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, on p. 258, fol. 48v. Thereafter it has been quoted by Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 17; in Go-rams-pa's *General Topics*, fol. 71v; and by Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 16, in connection with the theory of the Sa-skya-pas. It has also been quoted by mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen in the last chapter of his *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fols. 19vf, and in Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *sDom gsum rnam nges 'grel pa*, fol. 300v. It can furthermore be found in Mi-pham's *sDom gsum ngo bo gcig tu sgrub pa*, fol. 69v.

I found the first mentioning of that text in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* where it is called *The Authoritative Text* or *Teaching* (*lung*) *of A Hundred-Thousand Tantras* (*rgyud 'bum pa'i lung*), *The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness* (*de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa*). The question is: what is meant by "A Hundred-Thousand Tantras" (*rgyud 'bum pa*)? When Vibhūticandra referred to this text, he called it the *Hundred-Thousand Authoritative Texts* (*gzhung 'bum pa*), where "Authoritative Text" (*gzhung*) has a very similar meaning as Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's "Tantras" (*rgyud*). Thus this appears to be first of all a large collection of texts, probably tantras. (Go-rams-pa has exactly the same as Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.) Karma-'phrin-las-pa, however, has *Tantra of the Hundred-Thousand* (*bum pa'i rgyud*, in his *Replies to Ngo-gro* 16) and *Teaching on the Tantra of the Hundred-Thousand* (*'bum pa'i rgyud kyi lung*), and also *The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness* (in *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23). He makes also explicitly clear (in *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23) that "*lung*" is to be understood as "Teaching" or "Treatise On," indicating that Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan cites a quotation from a treatise (Skt. *śāstra*) instead of directly from the tantra (*rgyud*). In sum, we have on the one hand either an authoritative text consisting of a hundred-thousand tantras, or a teaching on that, or, on the other hand, a teaching or treatise on the *Tantra of the Hundred-Thousand*.

In the rNying-ma-pa tradition we have with mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī the *Authoritative Text* or *Teaching on the Five-Hundred Thousand* (*'bum phrag lnga pa'i lung*), and in Mi-pham's teaching the *Five-Hundred Thousand: Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness* (*'bum phrag lnga pa de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa*), where "Five-Hundred Thousand" seems to refer to the (probably mythical) size of 500,000 verses. Could this refer to the *Hevajratantras* that consisted, according to some traditions, of several root tantras, of which either the largest or the medium one has 500,000 (*'bum phrag lnga*) verses (*ślokas*; Snellgrove 1959: I, 15; Sonam Dragpa 1996: 50)? For the sake of comparison, the root tantra that exists in the canon, and that has been edited and translated by Snellgrove, has a mere 750 *ślokas*. Snellgrove also mentions (vol. 1, p. 15) that no other tantra has been transmitted apart from the one that he translated. The mentioning of the "*Hundred-Thousand Tantra(s)*," if it means "*Hundred-Thousand Verse Tantra*," on the other hand, rather points to the mythical *Lakṣābhidhāna Cakrasaṃvara Tantra* of 100,000 (sometimes 300,000) verses (Tsuda 1974: 31 ff.). However, the "*Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness*," even though treatises with that title exist in the canon, could not be identified, for the passage in question was not found in them.

In any case, considering the long title (i.e. including "*The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness*"), we seem to have here a Tantric treatise expressing or summarizing the insights of many tantras, or of a mythical Tantra of 100,000 or 500,000 verses—none of which seem to have survived. Karma-'phrin-las-pa obviously wanted to warn his reader not to expect to find the work in the *Kanjur* collection of tantras, i.e. not in a "*rgyud 'bum*" collection, as they would automatically expect from its title. I regret to say here that I have nothing else to offer that could clarify the problem.

Summary of Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro*

Karma-'phrin-las-pa's answers are mainly concerned with the natures of the vows and with related topics such as transformation, maintaining of vows, appearing of conflicts, and possession of qualities "upwardly." While a transformation of vows and a same nature of vows are incompatible, the same nature of the vows cannot be refuted through pointing out the distinct aspects of the vows that exist in an unmixed way. In fact, that which is identified as the nature or the vital point of the vows by the Sa-skya-pas and 'Bri-gung-pas is acknowledged as the continuity of the resolution to abandon as such.

The natures of the vows are identified here as being those things through which the vows are obtained, and since these things are different for each vow, the natures of the vows are different. Thus the nature of a vow is something that causes the vow to be distinctive. When a higher vow is obtained, the lower vow remains as something ordinary, which the vow holder has in common with other Buddhists such

as the auditors, while the new vow is uncommon in that it is the specific vow of the bodhisattvas or Tantric adepts. Through such an obtaining, the vows are not transformed, but the person who is the support of the vow changes into a bodhisattva and a Tantric adept. Thereby the different vows become vows of their respective mental streams of consciousness. This is also the intention of a passage in sGam-po-pa's *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*.

The vows are to be maintained according to the specific rules of their respective systems. In cases of conflict between the vows, however, the highest training should be observed as the preeminent one. The infractions of lower vows that may occur thereby are outshone through the greater qualities of the higher vows, which presumably are their higher volitional impulses and greater means.

CHAPTER 11

Two of Karma-'phrin-las-pa's Replies about the Three Vows: Texts and Translations

Since I have already presented a topical outline with a discussion of the main topics of the two relevant passages from Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies* in chapter 10, parts 3.1. and 3.2., here I would like to present their Tibetan texts with translation.

***Replies to rGya-ston* 1**
<100> dri ba dgu pa/ sdom gsum yar ldan nang 'gal gong ma gtso ba[588] *gtong ba'i dus rnams ji ltar lags/*

shes pa'i lan ni/ sdom gsum zhes bya ba'i 'dod lugs kyang mang ste/

'dul ba pa rnams/ dge bsnyen/ dge tshul/ dge slong gi sdom pa gsum la der 'dod pa dang /

mngon pa ba rnams sor zag med bsam gtan gyi sdom la der 'dod pa dang /

sngags pa rnams so thar byang sems snags sdom gsum la der 'dod pa yod kyang dri po'i zhe 'dod phyi ma la blo rtsi gtad par bsams nas 'di bshad par bya'o//

***Replies to rGya-ston* 2**
de la so so thar pa ni gong du bshad pa'i rigs bdun nam brgyad po de yin la/ byang sems kyi sdom pa la smon 'jug gnyis sam/ nyan thos dang theg chen gyi lugs gnyis sam/ dbu ma sems tsam gyi lugs gnyis sogs bshad tshod mang du yod <101> kyang / don ni gzhan phan gzhi bcas bsgrub pa'i bsam pa khyad par can chog[589] *la brten pa zhig gzhir byed do//*

---

[588] Read: *bo.*

[589] Read: *cho ga.*

11.1. Text and Translation of the Ninth Question and Answer in the *Replies to rGya-ston*

Replies to rGya-ston 1

<100> Question no. 9: What are the "being possessed 'upwardly'" "internal contradiction," "preeminence [of] the higher," and the "times of losing" [of] the three vows?

Answer: The doctrinal positions about the so-called "three vows" are many.

(1) The Vinaya[vādins] hold the three vows of the householders, novices and fully ordained monks [and nuns] to be the [three vows],

(2) the Abhidharmikas hold the observances of individual liberation, of [guarding against] evil influences, and of concentrative absorption to be the [three vows],[590] and

(3) the Tantric adepts hold the three vows of prātimokṣa, of the bodhisattvas, and of Mantra to be [the three vows].

Nevertheless, thinking that the intention of the interlocutor was directed at the latter [set of three vows],[591] I shall explain this.

Replies to rGya-ston 2

Regarding that, [i.e. the three vows of prātimokṣa, of the bodhisattvas, and of Mantra], the prātimokṣa is the seven or eight classes explained above.[592] With regard to the bodhisattva vows there is an abundance of explanations such as the twofold preliminary resolve [for awakening and] actualization of the resolve [for awakening], or the two systems of the Vehicle of Auditors and the Mahāyāna, or the two systems of Madhyamaka and Cittamātra, <101> but in reality someone who relies on the ritual of the [resolve, i.e. the production of the] altruistic thought to establish the benefit for others together with [the mental] base [for that] serves as the basis.

---

[590] See on these observances ftn. 20.

[591] In other words: "thinking that the interlocutor had the latter in mind while asking the question."

[592] "As above" refers to the reply to the seventh question of rGya-ston, dealing with different aspects of the seven classes of the prātimokṣa such as the demarcations of obtaining the vows (*sdom pa thob mtshams*), their differentiation (*dbye ba*), nature (*ngo bo*), and means for repairing in cases of damage (*nyams na 'chos thabs*). The seven classes are there listed as the well known twin groups of (male and female) householders, novices, and fully ordained ones; the seventh being the probation nun and the eighth the holders of the approximation vow. See *Replies to rGya-ston*, p. 97-100.

sngags sdom la'ang rgyud sde'i dbye ba dang / cho ga'i dbye ba dang / dbang bzhi so so'i dus su thob pa dang / rgyu dus dang / lam dus kyi dbye ba sogs yod kyang / mtshan ma dang rnam rtog las yid skyob pa'i thabs khyad par can dbang dang 'brel ba'i sdom pa zhig la 'dod do//

***Replies to rGya-ston* 3**
de yang so sor blangs pa'i gsum ldan dang / dbang gcig pu thob pa'i gsum ldan dang gnyis 'byung ba ni yongs su grags pa ltar yin la/ sdom gsum ngo bo gcig dang tha dad ces bod na lab brjod shin tu mang bas 'dir ma spros/

***Replies to rGya-ston* 4**
yar ldan ni/ so thar rkyang pa de byang sems kyi sdom pa dang ldan pas bzang du song la/ de sngags sdom dang ldan pas je bzang du song bar 'dod pa yin no//

***Replies to rGya-ston* 5**
nang 'gal zhes pa/ sdom pa'i ngo bo gzugs su 'dod na ni nang 'gal yang / shes par 'dod na sdom pa nyid la nang 'gal gyi tha snyad mi byed/ bsrung mtshams nang 'gal ba ltar snang ba rnams ji ltar bsrung zhes pa'i don du go bas/ dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa'i sdom gsum gyi mi mthun phyogs nang 'gal ba ltar snang ba mang bas de yang so thar gyi skabs su bud med la reg pas ltung ba 'byung bar bshad pa dang / rdo rje 'dzin pa'i skabs su bu med la dmod pas ltung ba 'byung bar bshad pa lta bu/ bi bhu ti tsandras kyang /

[And] even though there exist [differentiations] with regard to the Mantra vows as well, such as the differentiation of the tantra classes,[593] the differentiation of the ritual, and the differentiation of obtaining [the Mantra vows] at the time of the respective four initiations,[594] the differentiation of the time of the cause, and of the time of the path, I maintain it to be a vow that is connected with the special means of protecting the mind from phenomenal marks and [mental] constructions, [i.e.] the initiation.

Replies to rGya-ston 3

Moreover, as is well known, there exist two [threefold possessions of the vows, i.e. one] threefold possession where [the vows] are obtained from the respective [rituals], and [another] threefold possession where [the vows] are obtained from the single [ritual of] initiation, but since there is very much discussion about "same nature and different natures [of] the three vows" in Tibet, here I have not elaborated on that.[595]

Replies to rGya-ston 4

"Possessing 'upwardly'" is to maintain that the simple prātimokṣa became improved through the possessing of bodhisattva vows, and that these became even better through the possessing of Mantra vows.

Replies to rGya-ston 5

"Internal contradictions." To be sure, if as regards the nature of the vows, they are taken to be matter, they are internally contradicting; but if one takes them to be consciousness, one does not speak of internal incompatibility with regard to the vows as such. [In this sense I] understand [your question] in the sense of "How are [specific vows] the demarcation of observation of which is apparently incompatible to be observed?" Therefore, since apparent mutually opposed internal contradictions of the three vows of a Tantric adept monk are many, e.g., like the teaching that a transgression arises through tactile contact with a woman within the context of the prātimokṣa, and the teaching that a [fundamental] transgression arises through abusing a woman within the context of [being a] Tantric adept, as has also been said by Vibhūticandra:

---

[593] See pp. 57 ff. for differentiations of the tantra classes. In general, this point refers to the different Mantra vows that are obtained from initiation into different tantras belonging to different classes, on which, see, for example, Lessing and Wayman (1968).

[594] See pp. 62 f. for initiation obtained in different tantra classes.

[595] He does elaborate on that point in his *Replies to Ngo-gro* 14.

bud med la dmod ltung ba yis//
reg pa'i sdom pa 'chor ram ci// [gtong ngam ci]
'o na ha cang thal gyur te// [gal te gtong na ha cang thal]
mkha' la sprin chen 'khrigs pa yis//
sa yi lo thog bskems(!) shes bsgre//
zhes gsungs pa bzhin no//

gzhan yang phyi dro'i kha zas bsrung dgos par bshad pa dang / tshogs 'khor phyi dro byed dgos par bshad pa sogs mang po yod pas/ 'di lta bu'i rigs can rnams ni yang dag par na thabs dang bsam pas khyad par phye ba yin pas mi 'gal ba 'ba' zhig / kun rdzob tsam du ni/ so thar gyi 'gal zla dus dran pa sogs kyis nyes med du byin gyis brlabs nas/ rdo rje theg pa'i 'gal zla gtso bor bsrung ba <p. 102> yin te/

rnal 'byor pa yang blo khyad kyis//
gong ma gong ma rnams kyis gnod//

ces gsungs pa'i gnad go dgos so// gong ma gtso bo zhes pa'i don kyang sngar gyi 'dis shes par nus so//

Replies to rGya-ston 6

gtong ba'i dus/ theg dman gyi lugs la so thar rigs bdun ji srid 'tsho ba yin pas shi 'phos pa na gtong bar 'dod kyang / theg chen pa byang chub bar du gnas par 'dod pas sdom pa'i gtong rgyu gzhan ma 'byung na gsum ka ma thob kyi bar du mi gtong ngo//

[*Garland of Rays* 20] How could it be that the [prātimokṣa] vow protecting against tactile contact [with women] is lost
by a [fundamental] transgression [against the fourteenth pledge that prohibits] abusing women?
If that were a loss [of the vows], that would be an overextension [of the term loss].
It would be like arguing by analogy:
By the gathering of the [rain] clouds in the sky the crops of the earth are desiccated.

—moreover: since there are many [apparent contradictory rules like] the teaching that one must abstain from meals after noon, and the teaching that one must perform the Tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*) [in the] evening, etc., [there seems to be a problem; my answer is that] such cases, in reality, are not at all incompatible since they are differentiated through means and volitional impulse (*bsam pa*, skr. *cetanā*) and therefore purely non-contradictory. On the merely conventional [level], [the solution] is that after blessing [i.e. controlling] the conflicting prātimokṣa [vow] by means of being mindful of time, etc., so that there is no fault, one should in the first place observe the conflicting [vow of the] Vajra Vehicle. One must understand the vital point that is taught [in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (IX, 4ab)] <102>:

> And the yogis, too, [are such that one] is disproven by the respective higher one
> through superior understanding.

One is able to understand the meaning of "preeminence [of] the higher," too, through this preceding [explanation].

***Replies to rGya-ston* 6**

"Times of losing." Even though it is held in the Hīnayāna tradition that the seven classes of prātimokṣa are lost when one dies because [they were obtained for] "as long as one lives," since a Mahāyānist holds that [vows] remain until awakening, all three [vows] are not lost until [awakening] is obtained, if no other cause for losing the vows occurs.

Replies to Ngo-gro **1**
<p. 122> *sdom gsum ngo bo gcig mi gcig //*
gcig na de nyid rang sa yi//
rang ldog ma 'dres so so ste//
nyan thos lhung bzed ngur smrig dang //
<p. 123> *rab byung rtags dang cha lugs 'dzin//*
bla med stag sham ko rlon dang //
zhing lpags thod shal thod khrag dang //
rkang gling mchog phur la sogs pa'i//
longs sku'i rtags dang cha lugs 'dzin//
mngon sum 'gal bar mi 'gyur ram//
gcig na lugs gcig rgyu mtshan gang //
mi gcig gsang 'dus rgyud drug sogs//
bla med rgyud sde kun dang 'gal// //

Replies to Ngo-gro **2**
zer ba 'di lan phye nas bshad par bya//
sdom gsum ngo bo gcig dang tha dad ces//
bod kyi yul 'dir grub mtha' la zhugs pa'i//
mkhas rmongs kun gyis dogs dpyod du ma mdzad//

Replies to Ngo-gro **3**
rje btsun chen po grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis//
rtsa ltung rgya cher 'chad byed 'khrul spong las//

11.2. Text and Translation of the 24th Question from the *Replies to Ngo-gro*

Replies to Ngo-gro **1**

<122> [Question no. 24]: Do the three vows have the same nature or not?
If [they have] the same [nature], [would it not be that] their respective own
distinctive aspects [would be] unmixed [and] for themselves,
and would it not contradict direct experience that
auditors keep the alms bowl, saffron colour [robes],
[i.e.] the marks of ordination and the outfits [of ordained persons], [while in]
the highest tantra class [*niruttaratantra*] one keeps the tiger [skin] underskirt, the fresh [wet] skin,
the skin of an enemy [of the teachings], the [crown] ornament of skulls, the skull [filled with] blood,
the bone trumpet, the sublime dagger, etc.,
[i.e.] the marks of the *sambhogakāya* and its outfit?
If [the three vows have] the same [nature], what is the reason for [their being] one tradition?
[If] they were not of the same [nature], [the auditor's system] would be completely incompatible
with the tantras of the highest class such as the six *Guhyasamājatantras*.

Replies to Ngo-gro **2**

[Answer]:[596] I shall explain the answer [to] this question through an analytical procedure.
Here in the land of Tibet all learned and ignorant men who have adopted systems of tenets
have investigated a lot of doubts [about]
[whether] the three vows are of the same nature or of different [natures].

Replies to Ngo-gro **3**

The great revered one, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, said
in his *Removing Errors*, which teaches the fundamental transgressions [of Mantra] in great detail:[597]

---

[596] This answer is written in nine-syllable verses, while the question has the form of seven-syllable verses.

[597] See ftn. 565.

dge slong gis ni byang chub sems bskyed tshe//
so thar thams cad byang sems sdom par 'gyur//
de dag dkyil 'khor du ni zhugs pa'i tshe//
sdom pa thams cad rig 'dzin sdom pa ste//
'bum pa'i rgyud las rdo yi rigs kyi ni//
bye brag bzhus pas lcags dang zangs dngul 'byung //
gser 'gyur rtsi yi dngos po dang sbyar bas//
de dag kun kyang gser du bsgyur bar byed//
de bzhin du ni sems kyi bye brag gis//
rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa'ang dkyil 'khor ni//
chen por zhugs na rdo rje 'dzin zhes bya//
gsungs phyir dpe ru bkod pa'i rdo de ni//
skye bo phal pa yin zhing lcags kyi dpes//
nyan thos bslab bya zangs ni rang rgyal bslab//
dngul ni byang chub sems dpa'i bslab bya ste//
gser 'gyur rtsi ni rdo rje theg pa yi//
bslab bya yin zhes gsungs pas rjes 'brang 'gas//
sdom gsum gnas 'gyur ngo bo gcig par 'dod//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 4**
de la bi bhū tsandras skyon brjod tshe//
'bum pa'i rgyud tshig drangs nas de don la//
kha cig sdom gsum gnas 'gyur ngo bo gcig //
sdom pa gong ma'i rtsa ltung byung ba na//
'og ma gtong zhes gzhan la sgrog par byed//
bud(!) med la dmod rtsa ltung byung ba na//
reg pa bsrung ba'i sdom pa 'chor ram ci//
de lta na ni ha cang thal 'gyur te//

"At the time when the monks produce the resolve for awakening,
all [their] prātimokṣa [vows] turn into the vows of a bodhisattva.
At the time when they enter into the maṇḍala [through Tantric initiation],
all vows [become] vows of the Tantric adept.
In the *"Hundred-Thousand Tantra[s]" [Treatise]* it is taught: 'By smelting,
iron, copper, and silver appears, through the particularities of ores.
Through applying the elixir that turns [metals] into gold,
all of these are transformed into gold.
Similarly, through the particularities of minds,
the vows of the three families also [exist].
If [holders of the two lower vows] enter into this great maṇḍala.
they are called Tantric adepts.'
Thus the ores that are mentioned in the example
[refer to] ordinary people. With the example of iron,
the training of the auditors [is referred to]. Copper is the training of the solitary Buddhas.
Silver is the training of the bodhisattvas.
The elixir that turns [metals] into gold [refers to] the training of the Vajra Vehicle."
Since this was so taught [by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan], some of his followers [among the Sa-skya-pa]
hold that the three vows are transformed [and] of the same nature.

Replies to Ngo-gro 4
When Vibhūticandra criticized this,
he quoted from the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]* and [remarked]:
[18] Regarding the meaning of this [quotation], some say that the three vows [are possessed in the way of] a transformation [and] of a same nature.
If a fundamental transgression [against] a higher vow occurs,
the lower [vows are also] lost (...)
[20[598]] How could it be that the fundamental [prātimokṣa] vow guarding against tactile contact [with women] would be lost
if a [fundamental] transgression [against the fourteenth Tantric pledge that prohibits] abusing women arises?
If that were [a loss of the vows], that would be an overextension [of the term loss"].
It would be like arguing by analogy: <p. 124>

[598] This is the same quote as in the *Replies to rGya-ston* 5.

nam mkha' la ni <p. 124> sprin chen 'khrigs pa yis//
sa yi lo thog skems par 'gyur zhes bsgre//
gzhan yang nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor 'od bar ba//
'gang ghā'i chu bor 'gyur bar thal zhes bkod//

Replies to Ngo-gro 5
rgyal dbang chos grags rgya mtsho'i zhal snga nas//
gnas gyur ba dang ngo bo gcig pa 'gal//
dper na lcags la gser 'gyur rtsi byugs pas//
lcags de gser du 'gyur ba yin mod kyang //
lcags gser ngo bo gcig pa mi srid de//
lcags kyi tshe na gser gyi ngo bor med//
gser du 'gyur tshe lcags nyid dmigs su med//
gzhan yang kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa ni//
me long ye shes nyid du gnas gyur tshe//
de gnyis ngo bo gcig pa ma yin no//
ngo bo gcig la gnas gyur mi rung ste//
lcags gser ngo bo gcig na slar yang ni//
lcags de gser du 'gyur mi dgos pa bzhin//
gal te ma gyur gong du mi gcig kyang //
gnas gyur tshe na ngo bo gcig zer na//
lcags nyid gser gyi ngo bor gyur pa'i tshe//
lcags kyi ngo bor med pas mi gcig go //
gnas gyur tshe na ngo bo gcig yin na//
ma gyur tshe yang ngo bo gcig pa ru//
'gyur ba mkhas len dgos shes gsung bar snang //

Replies to Ngo-gro 6
dpal ldan 'bri gung pa yi dgongs gcig tu//
rdo rje gsungs las bdag po 'phos pa las//
sdom pa gsum du 'ong zhes bya ba bzhugs//
zhes dang sdom pa gsum po thams cad kyis//
mi dge bcu po 'khor bcas spong ba dang //
dge bcu 'khor dang bcas pa bsgrub pas na//
sdom pa'i ngo bo tha dad cung zad med//
'o na sdom pa gsum zhes bya ba ru//
gzhag tu med dam zhe na skabs 'dir ni//

"By the gathering of the [rain] clouds in the sky the crops of the earth wither."
[22bc] Furthermore it would follow that the rays of the sun
could transforms itself into the water of the river Ganga.

Replies to Ngo-gro 5

The [Lord Karma-pa] rGyal-dbang Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho stated:
"Transformation and same nature are incompatible.
For example through applying to iron the elixir that turns [substances] into gold, that iron turns into gold,
but it is impossible for iron [and] gold to have the same nature.
At the time of [being] iron, it does not exist as the nature of gold,
[and] at the time of having been transformed into gold, iron itself cannot be apprehended.
Furthermore, when the basic consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*)
has been transformed into the mirror-like gnosis,
these two are not of the same nature.
A transformation is impossible for [things that are of] the same nature;
like if iron and gold were of the same nature,
it would not be necessary to transform the iron into gold once more.
If [you] say that [iron and gold] are of the same nature when they were transformed,
yet they were not the same before the transformation,
they [still] could not be the same because [the resulting substance] does not exist any more] as the nature of iron
when that very iron has been transformed into the nature of gold.
If [iron and gold] were of the same nature when they have been transformed,
you must accept that they would be of the same nature
also when they have not [yet] been transformed."—[This] can be seen to be taught [by the Karma-pa].

Replies to Ngo-gro 6

A vajra utterance [1.25] [that appears] in the *Same Intention* of the glorious 'Bri-gung-pa ['Jig-rten-mgon-po] says:
"The vows become three because the [vow]-possessor has changed."
And [furthermore in the commentary on the same]: "All three vows
remove the ten non-virtues together with anything of their kind,
and [they] achieve the ten virtues together with anything of their kind.
And therefore the nature of the vows is not to be even slightly differentiated."
[Objection]: In that case, is there nothing to classify [them] as 'the three vows?'

bsrung rgyu gcig kyang bdag po 'phos pa yis//
sdom pa gsum zhes bya bar 'gyur ba'i dpe//
g.yu'am gser sbram rgyan du 'os pa zhig //
phal pa'i mgul du btags na rgyan de la//
kun gyis reg tu yod cing rgyan de yang //
'bangs kyi rgyan zhes bya bar rung ba yin//
blon po'i mgul du btags na phal gyis ni//
reg tu med cing blon po'i rgyan du 'ong //
de dag rgyal po'i mgul du btags pa na//
gzhan gyis <p. 125> blta ru yod kyang reg tu med//
rgyal po'i rgyan du 'ong yang rgyan de yi//
ngo bo la ni khyad par ci yang med//
'dogs sa gsum gyi dbye bas gsum du byung //
de bzhin byed pa'i las sam bsgrub bya yang //
sems can gsum la sbyar ba dper bkod nas//
mi dge bcu yang sdom gsum nyams len pa'i//
gang zag gsum gyi spong lugs tha dad pas//
'bras bu gsum yang tha dad so sor thob//
bsrung bya mi dge bcu dang nyams len la//
khyad par bye brag rdul tsam med mod kyang //
nyams su len mkhan bdag po gsum gyi ni//
khyad par yod pas sdom pa gsum du byung //
zhes gsungs

Replies to Ngo-gro 7

skabs 'dir 'chad tshul tha dad kyang //
sdom gsum ngo bo gcig par sa 'bri mthun//

[Answer]: On this occasion the vows become three,
because of the changing [of their] possessor, even though the thing to be observed is the same. The example for that [is this]:
If a turquoise or a gold amulet(?) that are suitable as ornaments
are hung around the neck of a common subject, those ornaments
are to be touched by everyone, and those ornaments
are suitable as "ornaments of a subject."
If they are hung around the neck of a minister, they are not to be touched by common people, and they become the ornament of the minister.
If they are hung around the neck of a king,
<p. 125> even though they may be looked at by others, they are not to be touched [by them].
It becomes the ornament of the king. However,
there is not the slightest difference with regard to the nature of these ornaments.
They occur as three through the differentiation of the three places where they are hung (*'dogs sa gsum gyi dbye[!] bas*).[599]
Similarly, their [action] performed or thing to be achieved, too, [is different]:
Citing the example [in which these] are applied to the three [kinds of] beings,
[it is shown that] the three results, too, will be separated [and] individually obtained,
because of the different systems of abandoning for the three [kinds of] persons
who practice the ten virtues as well as the three vows.
[Thus] there is not the slightest difference [or] distinction
with regard to that which is guarded against, [i.e.] the ten non-virtues, and [with regard to] the practice,
but the vows come to exist as three through the difference
between the three possessors [of the vows], i.e. the practitioners. So taught ['Jig-rten-mgon-po].

Replies to Ngo-gro 7

Even though on this occasion their way of explaining is different,
the Sa-[skya-pas] and the 'Bri-[gung-pas] agree that the nature of the three vows is the same.

[599] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, p. 439: *byed pas*, "the functioning."

ngo bo gcig la rang ldog ma 'dres pa'i//
skyon gyis dgag par nus pa ma yin te//
bdag nyid gcig la ldog pa tha dad pa'i//
skyon gyis 'gog nus min pa ji bzhin no//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 8**
de lta mod kyi ngo bo gcig pa la//
rtags dang cha lugs 'gal ba'i skyon brjod pa//
khyed cag cha lugs dge bar 'dod dam ci//
sdom pa gsum ni dge ba kho na ste//
cha lugs rnams ni lung ma bstan du 'dod//
stag sham ko rlon zhing lpags thod shal dang //
thod khrag rkang gling mchog phur la sogs pa//
longs sku'i rtags dang cha lugs yin no zhes//
smra pos longs spyod rdzogs pa'i mtshan nyid du//
nges pa lnga ldan gsungs pa ma 'tshal par//
sprul dang longs sku 'dres pa'i bab col yin//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 9**
sdom gsum rnam gzhag rtsom mdzad dge ldan pas//
li gder dangs par chu gtsang blug pa'i nang //
indra nī la bzhag na chu dang snod//
sngon por 'gyur bas indra nī la yi//
yan lag nyid du 'gyur kyang chu dang snod//
nor bu gsum ka ngo bo tha dad yin//
de bzhin tha dad cho gas thob pa yis//
sdom gsum mi gcig na yang gong ma yi//
sdom pas zin tshe 'og ma'ang gong ma yi//
yan lag tu ni 'gyur zhes dam bcas nas//

One is unable to refute [them]
through the fault of unmixed distinct aspects for [things with] the same nature,
just as one is unable to refute
through the fault that [something with] a single nature has different distinctive aspects.[600]

Replies to Ngo-gro **8**

Be that as it may, with regard to your criticism [that is directed] against the same nature [of the vows],
i.e. that the marks and outfits [of the different vows] are incompatible,
do you hold the outfit to be virtuous? How [is that]?
Only the three vows are virtuous,
the outfit is held to be neutral!
Those who say that the tiger skin underskirt, the fresh [wet] skin, the skin of an enemy, the crown ornament of skulls,
a skull filled with blood, the bone trumpet, the sublime dagger etc.
are the marks and the outfit of the *sambhogakāya*
are talking heedlessly, mixing *nirmāṇakāya* and *sambhogakāya,*
not understanding[601] the possession of the five certainties that was taught [by the Buddha] as the characteristics of the *sambhogakāya.*

Replies to Ngo-gro **9**

The dGe-ldan-pas who composed doctrinal formulation [of] the three vows assert,
that if you place an *indranīla* [jewel] in a clean bronze tub (*li gder*) into which pure water has been filled,
[both] the water and the receptacle become blue [through the power of the *indranīla's* radiance].
Even though [they] become therefore a branch of the *indranīla* [jewel],
all three, i.e. the water, the tub, and the jewel are different [with regard to their] nature.
Similarly, even though the three vows are not the same
since they are obtained through different rituals,
when they are endowed with the highest vow,
the lower [vows], too, become branches of the higher one. <p. 126>

---

[600] See also *Good Vase* 6.6.

[601] Understanding *'tshal ba* as *shes pa.*

de yi shes <p. 126> byed byang chub sems dpa'i sar//
so thar byang sems sdom pa'i phyogs gcig tu//
rig par bya zhes gsungs pa'i lung yang drangs//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 10**
de la rgyal ba'i dbang po 'di skad gsung //
sdom pa 'og ma gnyis po sngags sdom gyi//
yan lag yin par 'dod na 'og ma gnyis//
ma thob pa dang btang ba'i gang zag la//
gong ma'i yan lag ma tshangs pa dang ni//
btang ba'i skyon du 'gyur bar khas len dgos//
gzhan yang 'og ma gnyis po gong ma yi//
yan lag yin phyir gong ma thob byed kyi//
cho ga las kyang thob par byed dgos sam//
de lta na ni 'og ma gnyis po yang //
sngags sdom nyid las gzhan du mi 'gyur bas//
sdom gsum ngo bo tha dad ji ltar smra//
gtong thob tha dad par yang mi rung ngo //
de yi nyes spong gong mas ma zin pa//
yan lag min yang zin pas yan lag tu//
'gyur phyir skyon de med do zhes zer na//
zin pa'i sdom pa 'og ma btang ba na//
gong ma'i yan lag btang bar 'gyur ba sogs//
skyon las nam yang thar pa ma yin no//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 11**
mdor na rgya gar mkhas pa'i gzhung lugs las//
sdom gsum gnas gyur ngo bo gcig pa dang //
'og ma gong ma'i yan lag yin no zhes//
bzhed pa'i paṇ chen 'ga' yang mi 'dug pas//

As proof for that, they quote the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which says:[602]
"The matter(?) of the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows is to be known as the same."

Replies to Ngo-gro **10**
With regard to this, the Lord of Jinas [i.e. the Karma-pa] taught:
If you hold that the two lower vows are branches of Mantra vows,
then you must [also] accept
that the higher branch becomes faulty in that it is [respectively] incomplete and lost
for a person who has not obtained, and [for one] who has lost the two lower [vows].
Furthermore, since the two lower [vows] are branches of the higher [vow],
is it necessary [that the lower vows] are also to be obtained from the ritual
that causes one to obtain the higher [vow]?
If that is the case, since the two lower [vows]
would also not be different from the Mantra vows themselves,[603]
how can you say that the three vows [are] different [with regard to their] nature?
[Furthermore] it would also not be suitable that [their rituals for] losing [and] obtaining [the vows] are [actually] different.
If, [in order to] abandon that defect, you say that this fault does not exist,
since those [lower vows] that are not endowed with the higher [vows] are not a branch [of the higher ones],
but those that are endowed [with them] become branches,
[still] you will never be free from [that] fault,
[i.e. that] when lower vows that are endowed [with the higher ones] are lost,
the higher branch is [also] lost, and so forth.

Replies to Ngo-gro **11**
In brief, since in the scriptural traditions of Indian learned scholars
there are no great scholars at all who maintained
that the three vows are transformed [and] of the same nature,
and that the lower [vows] are branches of the higher ones,

---

[602] This quotation or paraphrase could not be traced either through Ui, *Index for the Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Tokyo, 1961, or through Yokoyama and Hirosawa, *Index for the Yogācārabhūmi*, Tokyo, 1996.

[603] The lower vows are not different from the Mantra vows when they are obtained from the same ritual, i.e. initiation.

gnyis ka bod pa'i grub mtha' yin zhes gsung //

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 12**

zla 'od gzhon nur gyur pa'i bka' 'bum las//
sdom gsum ngo bo tha dad bsrung ba'i tshe//
chol par bsrung zhing 'dom thug byung ba na//
gong ma gtso che yon tan yar ldan yin//
gtong thob tha dad ces sogs gsungs pa la//
rgyal dbang chos grags rgya mtsho 'di skad gsung //
'di ni gsung rab kun gyi dgongs pa ste//
'dir bshad sdom pa gsum gyi mtshan gzhi ni//
theg pa dman pa'i so so thar pa dang //
byang chub chen po'i byang sems sdom pa dang //
so so'i dbang las thob pa'i sngags sdom yin//
de yang rang rang gzhung las bshad pa yi//
blang yul len byed 'bogs pa'i cho ga rnams//
'khrul med rnam <p. 127> par dag pas thob pa'o//
des na sdom pa gong ma ma thob pa'i//
theg dman so so thar ni theg dman gyi//
thun mong min pa'i sdom pa yin na yang //
byang sdom thob tshe theg chen sems bskyed dang //
sdom pa gong mas zin zhing byangs sems kyi//
rgyud la ldan pa'i sdom pa yin pas na//
so so thar de thun mong sdom pa dang //
byang sdom de ni thun mong min par 'gyur//

both are religious systems of Tibetans. [So] taught [the Karma-pa].

Replies to Ngo-gro **12**

In the collected works of Candraprabhākumāra [i.e. sGam-po-pa], it is taught[604]
that [1.] the nature of the three vows is different, that [2.] at the time of observing [them],
[they are] observed as entrusted, that [3.] when there appears a conflict [between them]
the higher is the preeminent one, that [4.] qualities are possessed "upwardly,"
and that [5.] [the occasions for]
losing and obtaining [the vows] are different, etc.
With regard to that, [the seventh Karma-pa] rGyal-dbang Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho taught:
This is the intention of all the scriptures;
The exemplification for the three vows taught here [i.e. in sGam-po-pa's teaching],
are the prātimokṣa of the Hīnayāna,
the bodhisattva vows of great awakening,
and the Mantra vows that are obtained from the respective initiations.
These, too, are obtained through the unerring, completely correct objects [i.e. persons] from whom they are to be taken,
[and] means of being taken, <p. 127> namely the rituals for conferring [the vows],
which are taught in their respective authoritative scriptures.
Thus the Hīnayāna prātimokṣa
for which no higher vows have been obtained
is the uncommon vow of the Hīnayāna.
But when the bodhisattva vows are obtained,
that prātimokṣa becomes the common vow,
and the bodhisattva vow is the uncommon vow,
because it possesses the production of resolve [of the bodhisattvas]
and the higher vow,
and it is a vow possessed in the mental stream of consciousness of a bodhisattva.

---

604 sGam-po-pa, *Work A, B1, B2,* and *B3*. Cf. Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, vol. 2, p. 201; Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase*, fol. 163v, and the respective chapters in this book.

sngags sdom thob tshe sngags kyi sems bskyed dang //
sdom pas zin zhing rig pa'i 'dzin pa yi//
sdom pa yin phyir 'og ma gnyis ka yang //
thun mong ba yin sngags sdom thun mong min//
des na sdom gsum ngo bo tha dad gsungs//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 13**
de la kha cig gsum ldan slob dpon gyis//
sdom gsum so so'i ngo bor gyur pa yi//
srog gcod spong ba'i sdom pa gsum po ni//
spong ba'i sem(!) par ngo bo gcig pa'i phyir//
sdom gsum ngo bo gcig par 'gyur zhe na//
srog gcod spong dang ma byin len spong sogs//
spong ba'i sem(!) pa tsam du gcig na yang //
de gnyis ngo bo tha dad yin pa ltar//
sdom pa gsum gyi spong sems gsum po yang //
spong ba'i sem(!) pa tsam du gcig na yang //
cho ga dang ni thob tshul thob dus dang //
gtong ba'i tshul kyang tha dad yin pas na//
ngo bo gcig tu thal bar mi 'gyur gsung //

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 14**
mdor na sdom gsum tha dad yin pa'i don//
gang las 'byung ba'i theg pa tha dad cing //
gang nas bshad pa'i sde snod kyang tha dad//
gang las len pa'i yul yang tha dad de//
len byed cho ga yang ni tha dad yin//
len pa'i dus dang len pa'i bsam pa dang //
len pa'i sems bskyed kyang ni tha dad la//
gtong rgyu gtong dus rten gyi gang zag kyang //
tha dad nyid du so so'i gzhung las 'byung //

When the Mantra vow is taken, both lower [vows]
are common [while] the Mantra vow is uncommon,
because it possesses the production of the resolve of Mantra
and the [higher] vow,
and because it is the vow of the Tantric adepts.
Therefore the three vows are of different natures. Thus taught [Lord sGam-po-pa].

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 13**
Some ask: Is it not the case that the three vows
have the same nature, since the three vows of not taking life
—which became the nature of each of the three vows
through [initiation from?] the master who possesses the three vows—
have the same nature in their resolution to abandon?
[Answer]: Even though the resolution to abandon killing and avoiding stealing, etc.,
is the same in their capacity merely as the resolution to abandon, still
the nature [of] both of these is different. Similarly,
the three resolutions to abandon of the three vows, too,
are—even though they are the same in their capacity merely as resolutions to abandon—
different with regard to [their] rituals, [their] ways of obtaining [them], [the] duration [for which they are] obtained,
and [their] ways of being lost, too. Thus
it does not follow that [they are of] the same nature. [So] teaches [the Karma-pa].

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 14**
In short, the meaning of [the statement] "the three vows are different" is [this]:
The vehicles from which [the vows] come forth are different,
the sections [of the canon] in which they are taught, too, are different,
the objects [i.e. persons] from which they are taken are different, too,
and also the rituals that cause their obtaining are different.
The durations for which they are taken, the volitional intentions with which they are taken,
and the productions of the resolve, too, with which they are taken are different.
And that the causes for their loss, the times of their loss, and the persons who are the support are also different is stated in the individual basic scriptures.

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 15**

rten gyi gang zag tha dad yin pa'i don//
so thar kho na'i sdom pa dang ldan tshe//
theg pa dman pa'i gang zag nyid yin la//
byang sdom thob tshe pha rol phyin pa yi//
byang chub sems dpar 'gyur zhing dbang bskur ba//
legs par nod tshe rig 'dzin sngags pa <p. 128> yin//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 16**

'di la dgongs nas 'bum pa'i rgyud las kyang //
rdo yi rigs kyi zhes sogs lung de gsungs//
de yang rdo yi bye brag mi 'dra ba//
lcags rdo zangs rdo dngul rdo bzhus pa las//
lcags dang zangs dngul tha dad byung ba bzhin//
sdom pa gsum kyang tha dad yin pas na//
so thar rkyang pa ldan la theg dman dang //
byang sdom thob tshe byang chub sems dpa' dang //
sngags sdom rang gi cho gas thob pa'i tshe//
rig 'dzin zhes bya de gsum tha dad yin//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 17**

gser 'gyur rtsi dang mtshungs pa'i dpe don kyang //
sngar gyi theg pa dman dang byang sems tsam//
de dag dkyil 'khor chen por zhugs pa'i tshe//
snga ma'i ming dag dor nas rig 'dzin du//
'gyur phyir lcags la sogs pa gser 'gyur rtsis//
thams cad gser du bsgyur dang mtshungs pas na//
rten gyi gang zag 'gyur ba'i don yin gyi//
sdom gsum gnas gyur gcig pa'i don min no//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 18**

kha cig thar pa rin po che rgyan las//
theg dman so so thar sdom dang ldan la//
theg chen sems bskyed kyis ni zin pa na//
byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa'i tshul khrims su//
'gyur ba gsungs phyir sdom pa 'og ma ni//
gong mar gnas gyur gsungs pa yin no lo//

Replies to Ngo-gro **15**
The meaning of "the persons who are the support are different" is [this]:
At the time of possessing the vows of prātimokṣa alone
one is just a person of the Hīnayāna.
When one has obtained the bodhisattva vows, one turns
into a bodhisattva of the Perfections [Vehicle] (*pāramitā*), and
when one has properly obtained [Tantric] initiation,
one is a Tantric adept. <p. 128>

Replies to Ngo-gro **16**
With that in mind, the quotation from the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*:
"[Because of the existence of specific] kinds of ore ...," was taught.
Moreover, [from] the different specific kinds of ore
the different [metals such as] iron, copper, and silver appear
through [the process of] smelting iron ore, copper ore, and silver ore.
Similarly the three vows, too, are different. Therefore,
the three, [i.e.] one who possesses prātimokṣa alone and is a Hīnayāna adherent,
a bodhisattva when he has obtained the bodhisattva vows,
and a Tantric adept when he has obtained the Mantra vows through the respective rituals, are different.

Replies to Ngo-gro **17**
And also the meaning of the example that compares [the Mantra vows] with the elixir that turns [metals] into gold [is this]:
Since those who have earlier been just Hīnayāna and bodhisattva adherents
lose their former names and turn into Tantric adepts
when they enter into the great maṇḍala,
this means that the persons who are the support change,
because they are like iron, etc.,
which turns into gold through the elixir that turns [metals] into gold
but not that the three vows transform [and are] the same.

Replies to Ngo-gro **18**
Some say: "It is taught [by sGam-po-pa] that the lower vows
are transformed into the higher ones,
because [he] taught in the *Thar pa rin po che rgyan*
that when one possesses the Hīnayāna prātimokṣa vow
but is endowed with the Mahāyāna production of the resolve,
[the prātimokṣa vows] turn into the morality of the bodhisattva vows.

de ni theg pa dman pa'i sdom ldan de//
byang chub sems dang byang sems sdom pa yis//
zin pas byang chub sems dpar 'gyur ba'i phyir//
de yi rgyud kyi so thar sdom pa de//
byang chub sems dpa'i rgyud kyi sdom pa ru//
'gyur phyir byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa yi//
tshul khrims nyid du 'gyur zhes gsungs pa yin//
de phyir gang zag 'gyur ba gsungs pa dang //
sdom pa 'gyur ba gsungs pa ma 'khrul zhig //

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 19**
bsrung na 'chol par bsrung zhes gsungs pa'i don//
so so thar pa'i bslab bya 'dul ba las//
ji skad bshad bzhin dran dang shes bzhin gyis//
de yi mi mthun phyogs rnams 'bad de bsrung //
byang sems sdom pa'i mi mthun phyogs de yang //
nam mkha'i snying po'i mdo sde la sogs pa// <p. 129>
theg pa chen po'i gzhung lugs las 'byung ba'i//
bslab bya mtha' dag dran shes ldan pas skyong //
rig 'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa'i bslab bya yang //
sngags gzhung ji bzhin gces spras byed dgos shing //
sdom pa'i mi mthun phyogs rnams 'chol pa ru//
'byung phyir gnyen po'ang 'chol par bskyed dgos pas//
bsrung na 'chol par bsrung zhes gsungs pa yin//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 20**
'dom thug byung na gong ma gtso zhes pa//
theg chen gzhan gyi don la gzhol pas na//
snying rje'i dbang gis gzhan srog gcod pa dang //
'jungs pa'i nor rnams ma byin par blangs nas//
dbul la ster dang 'khor los bsgyur ba yi//
tshul gyis btsun mo stong la sbyor ba dang //

[Answer: He teaches that] he who possesses the vows of the Hīnayāna-[type of person]
turns into a bodhisattva because he is endowed
with resolve [of bodhisattvas] and the bodhisattva vow.
Therefore the prātimokṣa vows of that person's mental stream of consciousness
turn into the morality of the bodhisattva vows,
since [they] have turned into the vows of the mental stream of consciousness of a bodhisattva. Thus taught [sGam-po-pa].
Therefore, do not confuse [sGam-po-pa's] teaching of the changing person
with [the Sa-skya-pa's] teaching of the changing vows.

Replies to Ngo-gro **19**
The meaning of the teaching "if observed, they are observed as entrusted" [is this]:
The training of prātimokṣa is observed making effort [against] its opposing factors
through recollection and awareness (*dran pa dang shes bzhin*)
as it has been explained in the Vinaya.
The opposing factors of the bodhisattva vow, too,
are guarded against through possessing the recollection and awareness [of] all the trainings
that appeared from the system of the authoritative scriptures of the Mahāyāna,
such as the *Ākāśagarbhanāmamahāyānasūtra*.[605] <p. 129>
[Furthermore] it is necessary that one carefully attends also
to the training of the vows of the Tantric adepts according to the authoritative scriptures of Mantra;
and since the factors opposing the vows arise as entrusted,
the antidotes, too, must be produced as entrusted.
Therefore it has been taught that "if observed, one observes [the vows] as entrusted."

Replies to Ngo-gro **20**
[The meaning of the statement] "if a conflict appears, the higher [vow] is the preeminent one" [is this]:
A Mahāyānist engages in the benefit of others. Therefore
such actions as killing another [person, i.e. a sinner] out of compassion,
stealing the wealth of misers and giving it to the poor,
uniting with a thousand ladies in the manner of a cakravartin,

---

[605] *Nam mkha'i snying po mdo*, *P* vol. 36, no. 926.

gzhan gyi don du brdzun tshig smra ba sogs//
dgos shing de dag spyad na so thar gyi//
sdom pa 'chor bar gsungs kyang gong ma yi//
bslab pa gtso bor byas nas bsrung dgos te//
gsum ldan rdo rje 'dzin pas de spyad tshe//
gzhan gyis pham pa spyad ces kha zer ba//
yong na 'og ma'i sdom pa 'bul bar gsungs//
'phya ba med na bslab pa ma phul yang //
'og ma nyams pa'i pham pa 'byung ba sogs//
skyon kun gong ma'i zil gyis gnon pas na//
gzhan gyi don du srog gcod la sogs pa//
spyad kyang pham ltung phog par mi 'gyur bas//
de dag gong ma gtso ba'i don yin no//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 21**
yon tan yar ldan zhes bya'i go don yang //
'og ma'i pham pa gong mas zil mnan te//
srog gcod sogs kyang rdzogs sangs rgyas kyi rgyur//
'gyur phyir yon tan yar ldan zhes pa'am//
so thar rkyang pa yon tan che mod kyi//
byang sems sdom pa de bas yon tan lhag//
sngags kyi sdom pa de bas ches lhag pas//
sdom gsum yon tan yar ldan zhes gsungs so//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 22**
gtong thob tha dad yin pa'i rgyas bshad kyang //
ngo bo tha dad nyid du 'chad pa yi//
skabs su bshad las shes phyir 'dir ma bkod//

***Replies to Ngo-gro* 23**
de 'dra'i bshad pa 'di ni legs <p. 130> bshad kyi//
rab dang phul dang gtso bor gyur pas na//

and telling lies for the sake of others are necessary.
And if he [actually] performs such [activities],
he must observe [his vows], having made the higher training the preeminent one,
even though it has been taught [in the scriptures] that the prātimokṣa vows will be lost.
When a Tantric adept who possesses the three [vows] performs those [activities],
it is taught that he should return the lower vows
if others will denigrate him saying: "[You] have committed an infraction entailing expulsion."
If there is no [such] denigration, he does not return the discipline—instead
all defects such as the occurrence of an infraction entailing expulsion through damaged lower [vows]
are outshone [through] the higher [vow]. Therefore
one will not be afflicted [with] infractions entailing expulsion,
even though one has, for the sake of others, committed such acts as killing.
Therefore these [explanations] are the meaning of "higher vows being the preeminent ones."

Replies to Ngo-gro 21
The meaning of possessing qualities "upwardly" is also [that]
infractions entailing expulsion of lower [vows] are outshone by higher [vows].
Thus, since even such acts as killing become the cause for complete Buddhahood,
[this is] called possessing qualities "upwardly," or [in other words],
the qualities of prātimokṣa alone may be great, but
the qualities of the bodhisattva vows are greater than that,
[and the qualities of the] Mantra vows are much greater than that. Therefore
[sGam-po-pa has] taught that the three vows possess qualities "upwardly."

Replies to Ngo-gro 22
Since the detailed explanation that the [occasions for] losing and obtaining [the vows] are also different,
will be known from the explanation in the passage where the natures are explained as different,
here I shall not write [about it any further].

Replies to Ngo-gro 23
Because an explanation like that is the best, the most perfect,
and the preeminent one of all excellent explanations,

bdag ni rgyal dbang chos grags rgya mtsho yi//
zhabs la spyi bo sa la 'dud pa phyag //
lan gcig min par rtag tu 'bul yod do//
de la khyed kyis gsang 'dus rgyud drug sogs//
bla med rgyud sde kun dang 'gal zer ba//
bla med rgyud sde mtha' dag gzigs pa yi//
gzigs rgya can des gang dang 'gal 'gyur ba'i//
lung dang rigs pa mtha' dag slar smros shig //
bla med rgyud la mkhyen pa'i spyan yangs pa//
rje btsun chen po grags pa rgyal mtshan gyis//
rgyud sde dngos las de lung ma drangs par//
de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa ru//
'bum pa'i rgyud kyi lung de drangs so zhes//
bstan bcos las 'byung lung tsam 'dren par mdzad//
lung de'i don la rgyal ba'i dbang po yis//
bshad pa mdzad de lung dang 'byor mi 'byor//
gzur gnas rnam dpyod can rnams la dris shig //

I offer prostrations with my head to the ground at the feet
of rGyal-dbang Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho,
not only once, but constantly.
With regard to these [teachings], you say that they contradict
all tantras of the highest class [*niruttara*] such as the six *Guhyasamājatantras*.
Let that person of vast learning, who has read all tantras of the highest class
state again all the quotations and logical arguments about [what] is incompatible with what.
The one [with] wide eyes of knowledge with regard to the tantras of the highest class,
namely rJe-btsun-chen-po Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan,
has cited the quotation of the *"Hundred-Thousand Tantra" Treatise*
[as it appears] in the *Establishing the Gnosis [of] Suchness*
without quoting the citation directly from the Tantra section [of the canon].
He has quoted merely a citation appearing in a treatise (*śāstra*)!
With regard to the meaning of that citation
the Lord of Victors [the seventh Karma-pa], has given an explanation.
Ask the impartial ones endowed with discerning [minds]
whether it is applicable to the basic text or not!

The Three-Vow Theories of Two Prominent Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa Masters of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The present chapter will investigate the latest stages of the doctrinal development among the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa, as reflected in the writings of two outstanding masters from that tradition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who both were based at the Karma bKa'-brgyud monastery of dPal-spungs in Derge. The first, Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin (fl. eighteenth cent.), lived more than two hundred years after Karma-'phrin-las-pa. As a religious scholar close to the circle of the Karma-pas, he contributed further to the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa's interpretation of sGam-po-pa's three-vow doctrines. Even though his theme and topics are very similar to Karma-phrin-las-pa's teaching in his two replies, Karma-nges-legs nevertheless adds a number of interesting aspects, from among which, historically, the most important is certainly his enumeration of the six positions that were held in India and his naming the third Karma-pa Rang-'byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339) as the originator of this particular interpretation of sGam-po-pa's doctrine. Another hundred years or so after him, a second great master, Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899), summarized in one passage of his encyclopedic work *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* all the three-vow doctrines mentioned in my thesis. His formulation of sGam-po-pa's doctrine of the three vows represents a kind of final synthesis, and it shows strong influences from the Sa-skya-pa, 'Bri-gung-pa, and rNying-ma-pa teachings before him.

12.1. Biographical Notes on Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin (fl. 1700s)

Not much is known about the life of Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin. Except for two small notes, I was unable to locate any detailed biographical source on him.[606] From early on his teachers were the thirteenth Karma-pa bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1733-1797), Si-tu Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774), and Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698-1755). He especially mastered medicine and astrology and is known as a great scholar of Sūtra and both Ancient and New Mantra Traditions.

[606] The sources for the small notes on Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin are: Byams-pa-phrin-las, *Gangs rdzongs gso rig bstan pa'i nyin byed rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, pp. 372-375; and also Karma-rgyal-mtshan, *Kaṃ tshang yab sras dang dpal phungs dgon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa'i padma rgyas byed*, pp. 233-235.

Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin's exact dates are not known, but his famous astrological work the *rTsis gzhung nyer mkho bum bzang* has been previously dated to the year 1732.[607] This date, however, contradicts the remark above that the thirteenth Karma-pa had been his teacher "from early on," so 1792 is another possible date of composition for that work. Since he furthermore cites in his three-vow treatise his teacher Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774), we may safely assume that he flourished in the mid 1700s.

Another famous (though in modern times still unpublished) work of Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin is the medical treatise *dPal ldan rgyud bzhi sogs gso ba rig pa'i bka' bstan man ngag kun gyi gnad bsdus phan bde'i bsil zer 'phro ba'i zla ba gsar pa*, also known as the *sMan bsdus e waṃ*. This work is said to contain an abbreviated autobiography. His third known work is the three-vow treatise, the *sDom gsum nyer mkho'i bum bzang*.

The *Kaṃ tshang lo rgyus* mentions that he died in his thirty-fourth year and that his main (doctrinal?) disciples are mentioned there as being rDo-rje-grags-pa and rTa-mgrin-mgon-po, and with regard to medicine, 'Tsho-byed Tshul-khrims-'od-gsal.[608]

12.2. Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin's *Good Vase*

The full title of Karma-nges-legs' work is *The Good Vase That is Essential [For] the Detailed Teaching of the Three Vows: A Treatise that Blissfully Embraces the Minds [of Beings] Such as My Own.*[609] I obtained my manuscript of this rare work from H.H. Chetsang Rinpoche of the Drikung Kagyu Institute, Dehra Dun, India. It is a photocopy of an *dbu med* manuscript, ca. 8.2 x 31 cm. in size,[610] 166 folios long, fols. 1v-2r written five lines per page, otherwise six lines per page. In the colophon, the author gives his name as dPal-spungs dBon-rgan Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin. The text was composed at dPal-spungs Thub-bstan-chos-'khor-gling, near Derge in

[607] For a detailed description of the work, see Dieter Schuh, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke sowie Tonbandaufnahmen tibetischer Erzählungen*, no. 306 and 307, pp. 290-294. Schuh dates this work through indirect evidence. Curiously the colophon of that work—being an astrological treatise—mentions no date of composition. The work was published by T.G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, New Delhi, 1977. This work is based on the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po* and helped to strengthen the independence of the *mTshur pu* school of astrology (*mtshur lugs*).

[608] Karma-rgyal-mtshan, *Kaṃ tshang lo rgyus*, p. 235.

[609] *sDom gsum rnam par bstan pa nyer mkho'i bum bzang zhes bya ba rang 'dra'i rgyud la 'tshams par 'khril ba'i bstan bcos*. According to the title of the 1976 edition by Tsondu Senghe, New Delhi: *'khril ba'i = 'brel pa'i*.

[610] The physical measurements are those of my photocopy.

Khams. No date is given. The colophon (fol. 165v) states that this composition was of importance for some fellow monks, that the author had been requested emphatically (*nan gyis bskul*) to compose this text by Karma-mtha'-yas, a new disciple from Nang-chen (*nang chen pa blo gsar karma mtha' yas*), and that it was important for the practice of the prince of rGyal-rong, Nang-po Chos-mdzad Kun-dga'-chos-'phel (*rgyal rong rgyal sras nang po chos mdzad kun dga' chos 'phel gyi nyams bzhes su'ang mkho ba*).

Karma-nges-legs' begins his work with a general introduction that concludes with an offering of praise and a promise to write on fol. 4r. In six main sections he then discusses at length the different vows individually, and finally presents the theories of the relations of the three vows:

1. vows of a male or female householder: 4r-9r,
2. vows of a male or female novice: 9r-11r,
3. vows of a fully ordained monk or nun: 11r-107v,
4. bodhisattva vows: 107v-128r,
5. vows of Tantric adepts: 128r-162v,
6. theories of the three vows: 162v-165.

12.2.1. The Introduction in the *Good Vase* (fol. 2r-4r)

Before discussing the main topics of the last section on the vow theories, I would like to begin by presenting some interesting details from the introduction and from the section on householder vows. Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin characterizes the prātimokṣa as the purport of the Hīnayāna-Vinaya if one is concerned solely with oneself (*rang rkang nyid du na*). In particular it is the support (*rten*) of both higher vows. If this support is a good one, then the two higher vows are in principle never unsupported (*brten pa med pa ... ma yin*). If prātimokṣa is endowed with the production of the bodhisattva's resolve, a transformation (*gnas 'gyur ba*) into Mahāyāna prātimokṣa is accepted.[611] The Hīnayāna has the small burden of one's own purpose alone (*rang don kho na'i khur chung ngu*), while the Mahāyāna has the great burden of both one's own benefit and that of all others (*rang gzhan gnyis ka'i don gyi khur chen po*).

Karma-nges-legs observes that if one understands the term *sdom pa* in connection with the bodhisattva vows only as "avoiding false conduct" (*nyes spyod*

---

[611] This point, too, even though it is made rather in passing, shows a greater agreement with the Sa-skya-pa doctrine as presented, for example, by Go-rams-pa, than with Karma-'phrin-las-pa's and the 'Bri-gung-pa's doctrine that the vow possessor changes, but not the vow. Cf. chapter 5, section 2.1. for Go-rams-pa's explanation of transformation; see also Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 15-18, and for the 'Bri-gung-pa's doctrine, chapter 14, sections 5 and 6.

spong ba), one misses, regarding the special characteristics of the bodhisattva vows (*byang sdom gyi khyad chos*), the point that solely establishing the benefit of others is of greatest importance (*gzhan phan sgrub pa kho na gtso che ba*). According to the words of his teacher (Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas), of the threefold morality—namely "abandoning [morally] wrong behaviour" (*nyes spyod spong ba'i tshul khrims*), "collecting virtuous factors" (*dge ba chos bsdud kyi tshul khrims*), and "causing the benefit of sentient beings" (*sems can don byed kyi tshul khrims*)—the first one is (merely) establishing the definition of the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa(?).[612] The Mantra vows are a morality that is, in addition to that (i.e. the two lower vows), endowed with the profound means and insight (*thabs shes zab mos zin pa'i tshul khrims*).

12.2.2. *Good Vase* Section 1 on the Vows of a Householder (f. 4r-9r)

Earlier, at the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni himself, there existed a ritual for simultaneously conferring ordination (*rab byung*) and full ordination (*bsnyen par rdzogs*). Thereafter, this ritual became known as a "ancient ritual" (*sngon chog*) that cannot be practiced any more. Nowadays there exist four separate rituals for the approximation vow (*upavāsa*), and for (male and female) householders, novices, and fully ordained monks and nuns. The first two are known as "vows that are to be maintained by householders" (*khyim pas bsrung bya'i sdom pa*), and the last two are known as "[vows] of ordained people" (*rab byung gi yin no*). Of these four kinds of vows, the ones of the householder, novice, and fully ordained monk or nun have to be obtained in succession, and thus one speaks of "the three links that are obtained successively" (*tshigs gsum rim nod*).

With regard to the eight approximation vows, the first four (i.e. to abandon killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, and telling lies) are called the "limbs of the morality" (*tshul khrims kyi yan lag*). The next one (i.e. abandoning alcohol) is known as "limb of attentiveness" (*bag yod kyi yan lag*). The last three (i.e. abandoning the afternoon meal, dance, [prohibited] outfits, etc., and broad and high beds) are called "limb of asceticism" (*brtul zhugs kyi yan lag*). In addition, Atiśa taught the "three white foods" (*zas dkar gsum*), i.e. of yoghurt, milk, and butter, and also of drinking water as additional "limbs of attentiveness." These approximation vows must be obtained from a fully ordained monk or, if one is not available, from a novice early in the morning before one has taken any food—however, it is

---

[612] Fol. 3v: *dang pos ni theg chen so thar zhes pa'i mtshan nyid 'jog byed du 'gyur bar sems so.* Could *chen* be mistaken for *dman*? In that case the definition of Hīnayāna prātimokṣa would be the abandoning of morally wrong behaviour while the bodhisattva's practice would require an active role such as the "solely establishing the benefit of others" mentioned above.

permissable[613] to obtain them from an ordained person on the first occasion and afterwards from oneself. But there are others who maintain that this practice (of obtaining it from oneself) is merely an intermediate virtuous act (*bar ma dge ba tsam*), and thus it is not considered to be a proper vow (*sdom par mi rtsi ba*). The Vaibhāṣikas maintain that one can never obtain these vows by oneself.[614] When these vows are maintained by a householder, they become a ritual of confession (*poṣadha*) for a householder. If one has not received the vows of a householder, it is merely an approximation vow ritual. From novice upwards this practice should not be followed.

Brahmacaryā and *go mi upāsaka* vows are not the vows of householders, but of the people who belong to the category "the ordained" (*rab byung*). Vow categories such as the "holder of the three refuges" (*skyabs gsum 'dzin pa*) are merely vows of a householder and may be obtained from another householder. The vows of a "fully perfected householder" (*yongs rdzogs dge bsnyen*) that are the support for ordination[615] must be obtained from a full monk, thus it is taught in the *Kar ṭīka*.[616]

12.3. The Three-Vow Theory in Karma-nges-legs' *Good Vase* Section 6

The following discussions are found in section 6 of the *'Bum bzang* where the author gives his theory of the relations of the vows.

Good Vase **6.1.** After the rules of all three vows have been explained, the questions arise: How do the three vows remain in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person, and how should one observe them? With the exception of no. 4, all these points are taught as in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 12:

---

[613] Read *chog* instead of *mchog*.

[614] In an additional note someone (a later reader?) remarked that the Sautrāntikas maintain that one can obtain the vows by and from oneself if one is a householder.

[615] Here the author distinguishes between such vows of a householder that remain just that for one's entire life and other vows of a householder that are going to be utilized as the support for taking novice or full monk vows later.

[616] This is the Karma bKa'-brgyud commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa* by Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, Karma-pa VIII, *Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa rgyas par spros pa grub bde'i dpyid 'jo*. Mi-bksyod-rdo-rje also composed a "*'Dul ṭīka.*" See his *'Dul ba nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor* (*'Dul ba mdo rtsa'i rgya cher 'grel spyi'i don mtha' dpyad dang bsdus don sa bcad dang 'bru yi don mthar chags su gnyer ba bcas 'dzam bu'i gling gsal bar byed pa'i rgyan nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor*). A detailed commentary on the Vinayasūtra and Buddhist monastic discipline, 4 vols. New Delhi, Eighth Khams-sprul Don-brgyud-nyi-ma (1931-). Vols. 3-4 published by Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, New Delhi, not dated.

1. The natures of the vows are different (*ngo bo tha dad*).
2. They are observed as individually entrusted (*so sor chol par bsrung*).
3. In cases of conflict, the higher training is practiced ('preeminence,' *'dom thug 'gal bar byung na gong ma'i bslab pa dang du len*).
4. The moral faults of the lower are outshone through the higher (*skyon kun 'og la zil gyis gnon*).
5. The qualities are possessed "upwardly" (*yon tan yar ldan*).
6. The [demarcations for] losing and obtaining the vows are different (*gtong dang thob pa tha dad*).

***Good Vase* 6. 2.** With regard to a threefold possession of the vows, six positions are said to have been held in India:[617]

1. Each higher vow has the support of the respective lower (*rten can*).
2. Through obtaining a higher vow, the lower increases (*'phel ba*) and becomes more pure (*dag pa*).
3. A single vow (*sdom pa gcig nyid*) has the outer, inner, and secret aspect of prātimokṣa, bodhisattva, and Mantra vows (*phyi so thar nang byang sdom gsang ba sngags [sdom]*).
4. The respective lower is complete within the higher (*gong ma la tshang ba*), and thus [they are] possessed "upwardly" (*yar ldan*).
5. Through obtaining a higher vow, the lower is transformed (*gnas 'gyur ba*), thus they are successive (*rim pa can*).
6. The vows are perfectly complete (*yongs rdzogs*) in an unmixed way (*ma 'dres pa*).

These position are said to be contained in a text called *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde mig*), which I have been unable to identify and which is also not known to scholars of the living tradition.

***Good Vase* 6.3.** The scholars of Tibet maintain six views that seem to be subsumed to a certain degree within the six positions from the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde mig*).[618]

(1) According to the master Abhayākaragupta,[619] the vows are distinct (*tha dad pa*), although they have the same resolution to abandon (*spong sems*). This is compared to an ornament that is worn on the head,

---

[617] An identical list is also contained in Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.1.

[618] I find this remark rather unclear, since I have difficulties linking most of the following opinions to those described above.

[619] For bibliographical and chronological remarks on Abhayākaragupta, see Bühnemann (1992 : 120-7). According to Dan Martin Abhayākaragupta is in Bla-ma Zhang's biography of rGwa Lo-tsā-ba an early to mid twelfth century contemporary of sGam-po-pa.

around the hand, and around the neck.[620]

(2) According to Vibhūticandra the earlier vows are outshone (*zil gyis mnan*) by the later ones, like the moon and the stars by the sun, and their natures are different (*ngo bo tha dad*).

(3) According to the intention of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* and Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, the vows are transformed and of the same nature (*gnas 'gyur ngo bo gcig*), and they possess different distinctive aspects (*ldog pa tha dad*).[621]

(4) According to the dGe-ldan-pas the vows are different (*tha dad*), the lower ones are branches of the higher (*'og ma gong ma'i yan lag*), and the higher have the lower for a support (*rten can*). This is explained in mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-ba's *sDom gsum rnam bzhag* as like a brass bowl, the pouring of water in that bowl, and the placing of an *indranīla* jewel in that.[622]

(5) The description of the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa system, i.e. the followers of sGam-po-pa's teachings, is almost identical with what is stated above in *Good Vase* 1. It is strange that Karma-nges-legs uses here simply *'dod pa* ("the opinion") instead of its honorific form *bzhed pa*. Below, in *Good Vase* 4, where the teaching of the third Karma-pa is referred to, the text has *bzhed pa*, as one would expect it. On the other hand, in the beginning of this present section Karma-nges-legs uses the honorific form *bzhes pa* for Abhayākaragupta's system. Perhaps this list has been copied from somewhere else, possibly a 'Bri-gung-pa source, since they follow a view that is very close to Abhayākaragupta's view.

(6) According to the rNying-ma-pas, the distinctive aspects are unmixed (*rang ldog ma 'dres*), the three vows are complete with respect to the

[620] The view and example attributed to Abhayākaragupta seems to have been refined later by the 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po; see below, chapter 14, section 4.

[621] This description is more exact than usual, in that it describes this position as their (implicit) intention (*dgongs pa*). Quite often we find the theory of the Sa-skya-pas, i.e. "same nature" and "transformation," etc., directly attributed to the *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* and the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*. In the *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, however, these key points are never explicitly mentioned, and in the *Removing Errors* only very briefly and not in these words (on fols. 47v f.). See Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 3 and chapter 13, pp. 305 ff.

[622] See dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po, *sDom gsum gyi rnam par bzhag pa mdor bsdus te gtan la dbab pa'i rab tu byed pa thub bstan rin po che'i byi dor*.

things to be prevented and the purpose (*dgag dgos yongs rdzogs*) etc., as stated in Klong-chen-pa's teachings.[623]

***Good Vase* 6.4.** This sub-section teaches the three vows according to the third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339). I was unable to locate the Karma-pa's teaching on this subject in the few works of his that are extant. It is interesting, however, that Karma-'phrin-las-pa (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 12) has attributed them earlier, with the exception of the outshining (but including the different demarcations), to sGam-po-pa himself, saying that they are taught "in the Collected Works of Candraprabhākumāra (= sGam-po-pa)," and Kong-sprul, too, attributed them to him in his *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.[a], including both outshining and different demarcations.

What is attributed to the third Karma-pa by Karma-nges-legs differs in two ways from Karma-'phrin-las-pa's list in *Replies to Ngo-gro* 12. The first difference is relatively minor, i.e. that the different demarcations are not mentioned here, probably since they are perhaps implicitly included within the topics "different natures" and "observed as entrusted." Secondly, Karma-nges-legs has a separate topic for the outshining of the moral faults of the lower vows, while Karma-'phrin-las-pa had subsumed this point within the teachings on preeminence of the higher vow (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 20) and possessing qualities "upwardly" (21).[624] Otherwise their main topics are the same.

***Good Vase* 6.5.** In this section, Karma-nges-legs points to a problem that arises when the vows are taught as having the same nature. He says that if the vows were of the same nature, it would be difficult "to mentally solve" the contradiction between the fundamental prātimokṣa vow that prohibits sexual acts and the Mantra vow of "transforming that very same bliss into the path," or the contradiction between "the substantial vows that are made out of the four elements" (i.e. the prātimokṣa vows), and "the vow that resides in the state of the inseparability of bliss and emptiness" (i.e. the Mantra vows). Any attempt to explain the "same nature" as something that directly contradicts in that way but does not do so in an indirect way would be an overextension (*ha cang thal*) of the term "same nature."

Karma-nges-legs' *Good Vase* 6.6. When one investigates the term "distinctive

---

[623] See Klong-chen-pa, *rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso*, fols. 111-127. These are the six topics that were gathered from Klong-chen-pa's teaching by mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 19v, and that were later commented upon by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, on which see chapter 15.

The text also includes a short note added by a later(?) hand: *gong ma thob nas 'og ma gtong bar 'dod pa'ang yid snang ngo* - "It occurs [to me?] that there is also the opinion that the lower [vows] are abandoned after the higher [vows] were obtained."

[624] See p. 295 for *Replies to Ngo-gro* 20.

aspects being unmixed" (*rang ldog ma 'dres*) of the rNying-ma-pas, it is like the term "different isolates" (*ldog pa tha dad*).[625] But since one is unable to differentiate a nature through these, the same problem as raised in the previous section would apply, namely the difficulty of the same nature. This appears to be the same argument that was applied in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 7.

Summary of Karma-nges-legs' Account

Except for a revaluation of the prātimokṣa vows, the system presented here is, in essence, the same as that of Karma-'phrin-las-pa. But instead of attributing this teaching directly to sGam-po-pa, Karma-nges-legs ascribes it to the third Karma-pa.

The statement that the prātimokṣa is the support (*rten*) of the higher vows reveals a remarkable redefinition of the role of prātimokṣa in the context of sGam-po-pa's teachings. For sGam-po-pa, the lower vows may be abandoned when they come into conflict with the higher vows (see, for example, *Work A* 7). For Karma-'phrin-las-pa, too, the lower vows are maintained merely on a conventional level (see *Replies to rGya-ston* 4). The preeminence of the higher vows is mentioned by him in *Replies to Ngo-gro* 20. On the other hand, Karma-nges-legs, too, teaches the preeminence of the higher vows in cases of conflict. But his emphasis is a bit different than Karma-'phrin-las-pa's: While Karma-'phrin-las-pa has no separate topic for the "outshining" of the moral faults of the lower vows, but subsumes this topic under "preeminence of the higher" and "possession of qualities 'upwardly,'" Karma-nges-legs devotes a separate topic to it. This higher valuation of "outshining" was necessary because the prātimokṣa vows are, according to him, now explicitly stated to be the support of the higher vows and are therefore necessary for the continuation of them. This aspect is certainly an innovation with regard to the doctrines of both sGam-po-pa and Karma-'phrin-las-pa.

12.4. Biographical Notes on Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899)

The long life of the second recent dPal-spungs master Kong-sprul has been well documented through an autobiographical work in 210 folios that Dieter Schuh has analyzed in detail in the foreword to his catalogue of Kong-sprul's works.[626] Kong-sprul, who was born and first raised in a Bon-po family and received his first

[625] Cf. for the use of the term "isolate" (*ldog pa*) in dGe-lugs-pa scolasticism Anne C. Klein (1991: 66 ff.).

[626] The title of Kong-sprul's autobiography is: *Phyogs med ris med kyi bstan pa la 'dun shing dge sbyong gi gzugs brnyan 'chang ba blo gros mtha' yas kyi sde'i byung ba brjod pa nor bu sna tshogs mdog can*. See Dieter Schuh, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*. See also E. Smith's important foreword to Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*.

Buddhist training from rNying-ma-pa masters before he became affiliated with the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa school and its dPal-spungs monastery, is now probably best known as co-founder of the universalist or ecumenical (*ris med*) movement. In that movement, his main collaborators were 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820-1892) and gTer-ston mChog-gyur-gling-pa (1833-?). His literary production and his work as a compiler was immense. In this area he is best known for his "five treasures" (*mdzod lnga*)—an œuvre adding up to more than ninety volumes—that comprise the three great compilations *Rin chen gter mdzod*, a collection of treasure teachings (*gter*); *gDams ngag mdzod*, a collection of basic teachings of eight important Tibetan traditions; and the *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod*, a collection of the teachings of the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school; as well as his own *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* (on which see the section below) and his *bKa' mdzod* or *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod*.[627] Apart from his extensive Mantra studies, he also excelled in such areas as Sanskrit and Tibetan grammar, astrology, medicine, and poetics. Without his (and mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po's) great efforts, many Buddhist traditions that were widely scattered and rarely practiced in his time would have been lost forever.

12.5. Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*

The *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* is one of the five great treasuries (*mdzod chen lnga*) of 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul. He composed it at the request of 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po and Karma-nges-don-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas (1808-1864 or 7)[628] between periods of meditation in his secluded mountain retreat Kun-bzang-bde-chen-'od-gsal-gling in the first two months of 1862. When the book—which was requested as a teaching of the three vows but eventually contained a full presentation of virtually all aspects of the Buddhist path from the perspective of the three disciplines (*bslab pa gsum*)—was presented to mKhyen-brtse Rinpoche,

---

[627] Together with the collected works of mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po (13 vols.), the *rGyud sde kun btus* (32 vols.), which was a collection of tantras of the New Schools (*gsar ma*) begun by mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po and completed by Blo-gter-dbang-po, and the *sGrub thabs kun btus* (14 vols.), a collection by mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po of mainly *gsar ma pa sādhanas* and minor instructions, the five great treasures of Kong-sprul represent the literary core of the ecumenical (*ris med*) movement.

[628] The first Zla-bzang sPrul-sku and founder of the Til-yag monastery in Nang-chen. He was the author of a famous collection of biographies of the Karma-pas: *Chos rje karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus dpag bsam khri shing*: Brief Biographies of the Successive Embodiments of the Black Hat Karmapa Lamas. Reproduced from a ms. made from a print of the mTshur-phu blocks by Topden Tsering. Delhi, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, New Thobgyal (H.P.) 1973.

the latter urged Kong-sprul to compose an autocommentary for it, which he accordingly began in the autumn of 1863 and finished in the spring of the following year with the assistance of Karma bKra-shis-'od-zer (1836-1910), abbot of dPal-spungs, who also acted as the scribe. Kong-sprul thus produced the largest encyclopedic work of Tibetan literature that explicates historically Tibetan Buddhism with all of its schools as well as the indigenous sciences, and that taught systematically all the main teachings of Buddhism.[629]

12.6. The Three-Vow Theory in Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*

The *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* is divided into ten chapters. Of these, the first four deal with (1) the structure of the world and (2-4) how the Buddha and his teachings appeared in the world. The middle chapters (5-8) are devoted to: (5) the highest training of the morality (*lhag pa tshul khrims kyi bslab pa*), (6) the stages of learning (*thos pa'i rim pa*), (7) the highest training of insight (*lhag pa'i shes rab kyi bslab pa*), and (8) the highest training of meditative concentration (*lhag pa'i ting nge 'dzin gyi bslab pa*). The topics of the two final chapters are (9) the levels (*sa*, Skt. *bhūmi*) and paths (*lam,* Skt. *marga*) and (10) the ultimate result (*'bras bu*). Within the fifth chapter on the highest training of the morality, Kong-sprul teaches four topics, i.e. (5.1.) the qualities of the teacher and student, (5.2.) the vows of prātimokṣa (*so thar gyi sdom pa*), (5.3.) the training of the bodhisattvas (*byang sems kyi bslab pa*), and (5.4.) the vows of the Tantric adepts (*rig 'dzin gyi sdom pa*). Within the last topic, the vows of the Tantric adepts, he teaches again two topics, namely (5.4.1.) the pledges of Mantra (*sngags sdom pa bshad pa*) and (5.4.2.) the general meaning of the three vows (*sdom gsum spyi don bshad pa*). Of the latter topic, the contents of the first two of the three main sections has been translated in this study. The three main sections are:

5.4.2.1. Numbers such as "possessing one [vow]," etc.
5.4.2.2. Systems [of] possession [of the three vows] for a single person.
5.4.2.3. Conclusion through teaching the benefits of observing [the vows].

---

[629] I have used the three-volume 1982 edition of the *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*. Besides that there exists Lokesh Chandra's edition, *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, and a four-volume edition (*e vaṃ māyā*) without colophon. Note also the *Table of Contents*, Thub-bstan-nyi-ma, *Shes bya kun khyab kyi sa bcad*, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990, though I have always used the typed subject outline of my colleague Mr. Burkhard Quessel.

There exist two translations of sections: *Myriad Worlds, Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kālacakra, and Dzog-chen*, and *Buddhist Ethics*, both the products of the same translation project. The latter is briefly discussed in the "Previous Research" section of my introduction.

Of these the second section is again divided into the two sub-sections "Teaching Briefly and Explaining in Detail" (5.4.2.2.1-2.), of which the latter has the two parts (5.4.2.2.2.1.) "The Systems of How to Maintain [the Vows] of India," and (5.4.2.2.2.2.) "The Systems of How to Maintain [them] of the Tibetan Masters."

To avoid repeating too many points, here, in the following summary, I shall only refer to some particular remarks made by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas. The full text with translation of the passage (5.4.2.1-2.), however, is presented below, in section 8 of this chapter.

In his section 5.4.2.2.2.1., Kong-sprul repeats verbatim the quotation from the *Key to Initiation (dBang gi lde'u mig)* with the positions held by Indian masters, which had been presented before by Karma-nges-legs in his section 6.2. "From among these," Kong-sprul says, "here in present-day Tibet the most famous appear to be the two, i.e. the great master Abhayākaragupta (...) and the great scholar Vibhūticandra (...)."

In section 5.4.2.2.2.2.(a) Kong-sprul teaches the system that "has been taught by the matchless Dwags-po [lHa-rje sGam-po-pa] himself, by his followers, [i.e.] the masters [of] the four major and eight minor [bKa'-brgyud-pa schools],[630] and particularly by the seventh [Karma-pa] Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho." Although he refers here in particular to the seventh Karma-pa, he specifically attributes the teachings of "different natures," "observing as entrusted," "preeminence of the higher," "outshining," and "possession of qualities 'upwardly'" to sGam-po-pa himself (*rje sgam po pa'i gsungs las*).

Here a few things are of particular interest. In his basic verses Kong-sprul teaches that the moral faults of the lower vows are "outshone in the manner of possessing qualities 'upwardly.'" This is explained in his auto-commentary in the following way. When one practices the higher training as the preeminent one in case of a conflict between the rules of the vows, the moral faults of the lower vows do not arise, because they are outshone by the higher vow, since that vow is endowed with the special volitional impuls and means. And because there are not only no moral faults and transgressions, but the benefits of the higher vows arise in great measure, the qualities are also possessed "upwardly." Thus what outshines the faults are the higher volitional impulses and the greater means.

In this same section, Kong-sprul makes also another interesting remark. After establishing the vows as different, he says:

> Since their aspects are of the same kind with regard to merely the resolution to abandon—as exemplified by the controlling of non-virtue, and their antidote, i.e. the arising of the correct view—the three vows are the same

[630] Thus allegedly including 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, founder of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pas, who, however, at least in the *Same Intention*, taught a quite different system.

with regard to the vital point of their antidote.

Thus, even though he maintains a different nature for the vows, Kong-sprul's teaching nevertheless reveals some degree of influence from the teachings of the 'Bri-gung-pa (for which see chapter 14, section 4).

Good Vase 6.1.

<162v> de nas de ltar du bshad pa'i sdom pa gsum po de gang zag gcig gi rgyud la ji ltar gnas pa dang bsrung ba'i tshul ni ji ltar zhe na bshad pa/

de ltar so thar sdom pa dang //
byang chub sems dang rig pa 'dzin//
rnam gsum gang zag gcig rgyud la//
gnas tshe ngo bo tha dad ste//
srung na'ang so sor chol par bsrung //
'dom thug 'gal bar byung na ni//
gong ma'i bslab pa dang du len//
skyon kun 'og la zil gyis gnon//
de bzhin yon tan yar ldan te//
gtong dang thob pa tha dad to//

zhe bya ste/

Good Vase 6.2.

de'ang sdom gsum gang zag gcig gi rgyud la gnas tshul la mi mtshungs pa'i bshad pa 'ga' yod de/ 'phags yul du'ang dbang gi lde mig las gsungs pa ltar na/

[1] sngags sdom gyi rten byang sdom dang de'i rten so thar du bshad pa rten can/

[2] gong ma thob pa na (rjes ma) 'og ma (sngon ma) 'phel <163r> zhing dag par 'dod pa dang /

[3] sdom pa gcig nyid phyi so thar nang byang sdom gsang ba sngags su 'dod pa dang /

[4] gong ma gong ma la 'og ma 'og ma tshang bar 'dod pa ste yar ldan dang /

[5] gong ma thob pas 'og ma'ang gnas 'gyur ba ste rim pa can du 'dod pa dang /

[6] gcig dang gcig ma 'dres pa ste ma 'dres yongs rdzogs su 'dod pa dang drug go//

12.7. Text and Translation of Karma-nges-legs' *Good Vase*, Section 6

Good Vase 6.1.

<fol. 162v> Then, [a question:] "How do these three vows that have been taught like that remain in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person and what is the way of observing them?" Answer:

Thus the three vows of prātimokṣa,
of the bodhisattvas, and of the Tantric adepts are
(1) of a different nature when they remain in the mental stream of consciosness of the same person.
(2) When they are observed, however, they are observed as they were individually entrusted.
(3) When they appear to conflict [and] contradict, the training of the higher [vow] is practiced [i.e. is 'preeminent'], [and]
(4) all [moral] faults are outshone [by the higher] with reference to the lower.
(5) Likewise, [lower] qualities are possessed "upwardly."
(6) [The demarcations for] losing and obtaining [the vows] are different.

Good Vase 6.2.

Now, there are several dissimilar explanations with regard to how the three vows remain in the mental stream of consciousness of the same person. In India, according to what is taught in the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde mig*),

(1) the bodhisattva vows were taught as the support for the Mantra vows, and the prātimokṣa as the support of the latter, [i.e.] "having a support;"
(2) The opinion that when higher (later) vows are obtained, the lower (earlier) [vows] increase and become more pure; <163r>
(3) The opinion that one and the same vow is [in its] outer [aspect] the prātimokṣa [vows], in its inner [aspect] the bodhisattva [vows], and in its secret [aspect] the Mantra [vows];
(4) The opinion that the respective lower [vows] are completely [included] within the respective higher ones, [i.e. that the vows were] possessed "upwardly;"
(5) The opinion that by obtaining a higher [vow] the lower ones, in turn, were transformed, [i.e.] that they are successive;
(6) The opinion that one [vow] is not mixed with another, [i.e.] that they are perfectly complete [in an] unmixed [way].

Good Vase **6.3.**

deng sang bod 'dir grangs che ba ni

[1] slob dpon a bhyā ka ras gser gyi rgyan gser yin par rigs gcig kyang mgo rgyan dang rkang rgyan dang lag gdub du tha dad pa bzhin du/ sdom pa gsum spong sems su gcig kyang gsum du tha dad par bzhed pa dang /

[2] paṇ chen bi bhu ti tsaṇdra ni skar ma zla ba nyi ma gsum bzhin phyi mas snga ma zil gyis mnan nas bag la zha bar 'gyur ba dang / ngo bo tha dad par 'dod pa dang /

[3] dpal ldan sa skya pa ni rtsa ltung 'khrul spong dang sdom gsum rab dbye'i dgongs pa 'grel nas sdom gsum gnas 'gyur ngo bo gcig ldog pa tha dad par 'dod pa dang /

[4] ri bo dge ldan pa ni mkhas grub dge legs dpal ba'i sdom gsum rnam bzhag du li lder dang / der chu blug pa dang / der indra nī la bzhag pa bzhin du tha dad dang 'og ma gong ma'i yan lag dang rten can du 'dod pa dang /

[5] dwags po bka' brgyud pa rnams ni rje sgam po pa'i gsung las/

> *ngo ba tha dad dang / srung na chol par srung / 'dom <163v> thug na gong ma gtso/ 'og ma'i skyon zil gyis gnon/ yon tan yar ldan yin*

zhes 'byung ba ltar 'dod pa dang /

[6] gsang sngags rnying ma pa rnams rje klong chen pa'i gsung las/ rang ldog ma 'dres/ dgag dgos yongs rdzogs sogs 'dod pa rnams te (gong ma thob nas 'og ma gtong bar 'dod pa'ang yid snang ngo)

de'i 'dod pa phyi ma drug po yang snga ma drug tu ci rigs tshang yod pa 'dra'o//

Good Vase 6.3.

Nowadays a majority [of scholars] here in Tibet [follow one of these six opinions]:

(1) The opinion[631] of the master Abhayākaragupta, that the three vows are distinct as three, although they are the same with regard to their resolution to abandon, just as head ornaments, anklets, and bracelets are distinct as three, even though they are the same in their being golden ornaments;

(2) The opinion of the great scholar Vibhūticandra that the earlier ones are outshone by the later and become dormant, like the [light of] stars, the moon, and the sun, and that [the vows] are of a different nature;

(3) The opinion of the glorious Sa-skya-pa [tradition] that explains the intention of the *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* and *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* [as teaching] that the three vows are transformed, of the same nature, and possess different distinctive aspects;

(4) The opinion [of] the Ri-bo dGe-ldan-pa [tradition] that [the three vows] are different, that the lower ones are branches of the higher ones, and that the [higher ones] have [the lower ones] for a support, as explained in mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-ba's *sDom gsum rnam bzhag* as like a brass bowl, the pouring of water in that [bowl], and the placing of an *indranīla* jewel in that [water-filled bowl];

(5) The opinion [of] the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pas who follow what is stated in rJe sGam-po-pa's teachings:

> (1) Different nature; (2) when observed, observed as entrusted; (3) when conflicting, the higher is the preeminent one; (4) the outshining of the [moral] faults of the lower; (5) possessing qualities "upwardly;"

(6) And the opinion [of] the Ancient Tantra Followers that the distinctive aspects are unmixed, that [the vows] are complete [with respect to] the things to be prevented and the purpose etc., [as stated] in Klong-chen-pa's teachings.

These latter six views, too, seem to be subsumed to a certain degree within the former six.

---

[631] The text has *bzhed pa*, but this is not what Karma-nges-legs accepts as his own tradition (*rang lugs*).

Good Vase **6.4.**

de dag las mi 'thad pa'i rnam pa gzhan lugs su bzhag pa dang / yid yul du bab pa rang lugs su bzhag pa ni gang zhe na gzhan du sna tshogs yod mod/ 'dir karma pa rang byung mtsho skyes rdo rje'i zhal snga nas gsungs pa ltar rnam par bzhag pa la/

(1) sdom pa gsum gyi so sor thar pa theg dman gyi sdom pa nyid dang byang sdom nyid dang sngags sdom gsum gyi len yul dus bsam pa rten sogs mi gcig pas tha dad pa dang /

(2) so so nas bshad pa bzhin tshang bar bsrung bas so sor chol par bsrung ces pa dang/

(3) 'dom thug ces byang sdom bsrung ba'i phyir snying rjes ma byin len dgos pa dang blangs na so thar nyams par 'gyur ba gnyis thug na gong ma byang sdom gtso che ba sogs mang po shes pa dang /

(4) de'i phyir na de dag 'og ma'i skyon zil gyis non pa yin pa dang

(5) yon tan yar ldan yang yin no//

Good Vase **6.5.**

<164r> 'di rnams la cung zad dpyad na/ sdom gsum ngo bo gcig ces pa ni cung zad bshad mi bde ste dper na dmigs gcig la bkar na/ nad med kyi nor bus bud med kyi rma'i kha shun las 'das par rol zhing de'i bde ba myangs pa tsam gyis sdom pa gtan nas nyams par gyur pa'i sdom pa de dang / de'i bde ba de nyid lam du byed pa'i sdom pa de gnyis ngo bo gcig pa dang / 'byung ba chen po bzhi dag rgyu byas pa'i gzugs can gyi sdom pa zhig dang /

bde stong gnyis su med pa'i ngor bzhugs pa'i sdom pa gnyis gcig tu 'gyur ba sogs blos gzhig mi bde ba mang ngo//

dngos su de ltar na'ang brgyud pa'i tshul gyis don 'gal med pas gcig zer na ni ha cang thal lo//

Good Vase **6.4.**

[Query:] "From among these, which is the incorrect part that you establish as the "tradition of others" and what is it that seems correct to you and that you establish as your 'own tradition'?" [Answer:] There exist various [differing opinions] elsewhere. But here, to establish [the matter] as taught by the third Karma-pa Rang-byung-mtsho-skyes-rdo-rje (1284-1339),

(1) since the "object" [i.e. person from whom the vows are] taken, the volitional impulse, the "support" [i.e. the person receiving the vows] etc. of the prātimokṣa vows of the Hīnayāna itself, of the bodhisattva vows themselves, and of the Mantra vows of the three vows are not the same, [the three vows] are different.

(2) Since [they are] observed wholly as they were taught in each [vow system], they are observed as individually entrusted.

(3) By "conflicting" there are many [points] understood such as "preeminence of the higher bodhisattva vows" if two things occur together: the need to steal [something] through compassion in order to observe the bodhisattva vows and the damaging of the prātimokṣa, if one takes [that thing].

(4) And because of that they [i.e. the higher vows] outshine the [moral] faults of the lower [vows],

(5) and also the qualities are possessed "upwardly." <164r>

Good Vase **6.5.**

If we investigate these [systems of others] a bit, it is a bit uncomfortable to explain what [the Sa-skya-pas and rNying-ma-pas] call "three vows [having] the same nature." For example, if we apply this to one case, there are many points that are difficult to be mentally solved, such as the same nature of [on the one hand] the vow that is completely destroyed by the mere enjoyment of the pleasure of the healthy functioning penis that has pushed its way beyond the lips of the vulva of a woman and experiences its bliss, and [on the other hand] the vow of transforming that very same bliss into the path; or [furthermore] the oneness of on the one hand the substantial vows that are made out of the four elements, and on the other hand the vow that resides in the state of the inseparability of bliss and emptiness.

[Objection:] "Even though [they are] directly like that [i.e. contradicting], they are the same [nature] because they indirectly do not conflict." [Reply:] That would be an overextension [of that term].

Good Vase **6.6.**
rnying ma pa'i rang ldog ma 'dres zhes pa ni ldog pa tha dad zer rgyu yin 'dra bas ldog pa tha dad pa tsam gyis ni ngo bo dbye mi nus pas gong bshad nyid do// rang ldog ma 'dres zhes pa'i ma 'dres zer ba la brtags na ngo bo tha dad du'ang bzhed 'dra'o//

Good Vase **6.7.**
rten can du'ang bshad dka' ste khyab che chung dus rten sogs dpe dang dpe can mi mtshungs pa sogs du ma zhig bshad du dran kyang mi spro'o//

Good Vase **6.6.**

With regard to the so-called "distinctive aspects being unmixed" of the rNying-ma-pas, this seems to be like what is called "different isolates," and hence, since one is not able to differentiate [separate] natures through the mere difference of isolates, it is just as I have already explained above.[632] If one investigates the term "unmixed" of the expression "distinctive aspects being unmixed," it is like maintaining [the vows] as having different natures, too, [and thus it would be incompatible with "same nature"].

Good Vase **6.7.**

Also [to teach the three vows] as possessing a support [as the dGe-ldan-pas do] is difficult to expound. Even though it occurred to me to explain[633] a number of problems [with this interpretation] such as over and underpervasion and, with regard to such things as time and support, that the example and the thing exemplified do not coincide, [here] I shall not go into the matter in detail.

---

[632] The same point is made in *Replies to Ngo-gro* 7.

[633] The text has *su*, but I read *du*. If one reads *su*, it would mean "who does remember?"

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.**
<199> gnyis pa sdom gsum gyi spyi don bshad pa la gsum/
gcig ldan la sogs pa'i grangs/
gang zag gcig la ldan lugs/
bsrungs pa'i phan yon smos pas mjug sdu ba'o/

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.1.**
dang po ni/

sdom pa gsum po gcig gnyis gsum ldan sogs/ dbyer yod/

ces pa ste/ de la gcig ldan ni theg dman so thar rgyud ldan gyi gang zag ste 'di la so thar tsam ldan gyi gong ma gnyis mi ldan pa'i phyir/ nyis ldan ni/ byang sdom dang ldan pa ste theg chen so thar dang byang sdom gnyis rdzas gcig par ldan pa'i phyir/ sum ldan gyi dbang du byas pa ni sngags sdom can te sngags sdom yin na so byang sdom ldan yin pa zhig dgos pa'i phyir/

de 'ang dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa'i rgyud kyi sdom pa gsum po ngo bo gcig la ldog pa'i sgo nas phye ba ste/ de'i rgyud kyi nges par 'byung ba'i tshul khrims de/ gzhan gnod gzhir bcas spong ba'i cha nas so thar sdom/ gzhan phan bsam pas zin pa'i cha nas byang sdom/ 'bras bu lam byed kyi thabs kyis zin pa'i cha nas sngags sdom du bzhag pa'i phyir/ sogs khongs nas sdom pa gsum rim par zhugs pa dang gong ma gnyis gang rung thog mar zhus nas slar so thar gyi sdom pa zhu ba sogs kyi ldan tshul dbye ba mang du 'gyur ro/ /

12.8. Text and Translation of Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*

***Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.**
The second. The explanation of the general meaning of the three vows has three [sections].

5.4.2.1. Numbers such as "possessing one," etc.
5.4.2.2. Systems [of] possession [of the three vows] for a single person.
5.4.2.3. Conclusion through teaching the benefits of observing [the vows].[634]

***Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.1.**
The first:

The three vows have the differentiations such as [into] single, twofold, and threefold possession.[635]

Of these, single possession is [by] a person who possesses the mental stream of consciousness of [a] Hīnayāna-prātimokṣa [type], because he possesses merely the prātimokṣa, but not the two higher [vows]. Twofold possession is [by] a possession of the bodhisattva vow, because he possesses both the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows as a single entity. Threefold possession is a possession of Mantra vows, because one must be someone who possesses the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva [vows, too], if [his highest vows] are the Mantra vows.

Furthermore, the three vows of the mental stream of consciousness of a Tantric adept monk are of the same nature, but they are differentiated through [their] aspects, because the morality of renunciation of his mental stream of consciousness is maintained as the prātimokṣa vows through the abandoning of harm to others together with its [mental] base, it is maintained as the bodhisattva vows through being endowed with the resolution to benefit others, and it is maintained as the Mantra vows through being endowed with the means of taking the fruit as the path. There will be many differentiations among the ways of possessing [the three vows], such as successively entering the three vows, and having received any suitable one of the two higher [vows] first, receiving the prātimokṣa vows again, etc., mentioned within [the passage] above.

---

[634] This third point is not included in my translation.

[635] Lines in bold are quotes from the basic verses of the *Shes bya mdzod*, i, 54 f. They also appear in bold letters in my presentation of the Tibetan text.

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.**
gnyis pa la gnyis/ mdor bstan/ rgyas bshad do/ dang po ni/

gang zag gcig la sum ldan tshe/ gnas tshul 'phags bod gnyis su bzhed srol mang /

gang zag gcig gis so byang sngags kyi sdom pa rim can du zhus nas rgyud la gsum ka ldan pa'i tshe/ gnas tshul ji ltar ldan zhe na/

'di la 'phags bod gnyis su bzhed srol mi mthun pa mang du byung ngo / zhes so/ /

gnyis pa la gnyis/ 'phags yul ba'i bzhed srol/ bod kyi slob dpon rnams kyi bzhed srol lo/

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.2.1.**
dang po ni/

'jigs med zhabs kyis spong sems rigs mthun kyang / rnam pa tha dad paṇ chen bi bhu tis/ gong mas 'og ma zil gnon tha dad bzhed/

spyir 'phags yul du'ang dbang gi lde'u mig las gsungs pa ltar na/

[1] sngags sdom gyi rten byang sdom dang de'i rten so thar du bshad pa rten can dang /

[2] gong ma thob pa na 'og ma 'phel zhing dag par 'dod pa dang /

[3] sdom pa gcig nyid phyi so thar/ nang byang sdom/ gsang ba sngags su 'dod pa dang /

[4] gong ma gong ma la 'og ma 'og ma tshang bar 'dod pa ste/ yar ldan dang /

[5] gong ma thob pas 'og ma'ang gnas 'gyur ba ste/ rim pa can du 'dod pa dang /

[6] gcig dang gcig ma 'dres pa ste ma 'dres yongs rdzogs su 'dod pa dang drug yod par bshad do/

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.**

The second topic has two [sub-sections]: (5.4.2.2.1.) "Brief Summary" and (5.4.2.2.2.) "Detailed Explanation." The first.

When a single person possesses three [vows], in both India and Tibet there have been many opinions about how [the vows] exist.

[Question:] When a single person possesses all three [vows] in his mental stream of consciousness after having successively received the prātimokṣa, bodhisattva, and Mantra vows, how does he possess [their modes] of existence?

[Answer:] With regard to this, there came to be many dissimilar opinions in both India and Tibet.

The second topic (5.4.2.2.2.) has two [sub-sections]: (5.4.2.2.2.1.) "The Opinions of Indians," and (5.4.2.2.2.2.) "The Opinions of Tibetan Masters."

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.2.1.**

The first sub-section.

Abhayākaragupta maintained that even though the resolution to abandon [of the three vows] is of the same kind, [the vows] have different aspects (*rnam pa*). Paṇ-chen Vibhūticandra maintained that the higher outshine the lower [and that they are] different.

Generally, according to what is taught in the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde'u mig*), it is explained that there were six [traditions] also in India:[636]

(1) the bodhisattva vows were taught as the support for the Mantra vows, and the prātimokṣa as the support of the latter, [i.e.] "having a support;"

(2) The opinion that when higher vows are obtained, the lower [vows] increase and become more pure;

(3) The opinion that one and the same vow is [in its] outer [aspect] the prātimokṣa [vows], the inner [aspect] the bodhisattva [vows], and the secret [aspect] the Mantra [vows];

(4) The opinion that the respective lower [vows] are completely [included] within the respective higher ones, [i.e. that they were] possessed "upwardly;"

(5) The opinion that by obtaining a higher [vow] the lower ones, in turn, were transformed, [i.e.] that they are successive;

(6) The opinion that one [vow] is not mixed with another, [i.e.] that they are perfectly complete [in an] unmixed [way].

---

[636] This quote is exactly identical with Karma-nges-legs' citation. See Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 6.2.

de las deng sang bod 'dir grags che ba ni slob dpon chen po 'jigs med zhabs kyis/ gser gyi rgyan gser yin par rigs gcig kyang mgo rgyan dang rkang rgyan lag gdub tu tha dad pa bzhin du/ sdom gsum spong ba'i sems par rigs su mthun kyang gsum po rnam pa tha dad par bzhed pa dang / paṇ chen bi bhu ti tsandras sdom gsum <201> 'od phreng du sdom pa gsum skar ma zla ba nyi ma'i dpes gong mas 'og ma ste phyi rim gyis snga ma zil gyis mnan nas bag la zha bar 'gyur yang ngo bo tha dad du bzhed pa gnyis snang ngo / /

***Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(a)**

gnyis pa ni/

[1] ngo bo tha dad [2] bsrung na 'chol par gsungs/ [3] 'dom thug gong ma gtso zhing [4] 'og ma yi/ skyon kun zil gnon [5] yon tan yar ldan tshul/ [6] gtong dang thob pa'i sa mtshams tha dad ces/ mnyam med dwags po rjes 'brangs bcas pas bzhed/

rje sgam po pa'i gsungs las/

> *[1] ngo bo tha dad/ [2] bsrung na 'chol par bsrung / [3] 'dom thug na gong ma gtso/ [4] 'og ma'i skyon zil gyis gnon/ [5] yon tan yar ldan yin ces gsungs te/*

[1] dang po ni/ sdom gsum gang las byung ba'i sde snod/ len pa'i yul dang dus tshod/ bsam pa cho ga bsrung bya gtong rgyu phan yon nyams pa gsor yod med sogs tha dad pas ngo bo tha dad/ rnam pa mi dge ba sdom zhing gnyen po yang dag lta ba skye pas mtshon spong sems tsam du rigs gcig pas sdom gsum gnyen po'i gnad la gcig

[2] spang gnyen gyi yul gang dang phrad pa de dang der rang rang gi lugs bzhin bsrung dgos pas bsrung na 'chol bar bsrung/

From among these here in present-day Tibet the most famous appear to be the two: (1) the great master Abhayākaragupta's opinion that even though the three vows are, with regard to their resolution to abandon, of a similar kind, they have different aspects (*rnam pa*), as a gold ornament is different as an ornament of the head, of the feet, and of the hands, even though it is of the same kind in being gold; and (2) the great scholar Vibhūticandra's opinion expressed in the *Garland of Rays* that the earlier [vows], being outshone by the respective later ones, are dormant, and also that [they] are of different natures, using [for] the three vows the examples of the stars, moon, and sun.

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.2.2.(a)**
The second topic.

The matchless Dwags-po [lHa-rje sGam-po-pa] and his followers maintain that

> **(1) [the vows] are of a different nature,**
> **(2) if observed, they are observed as entrusted,**[637]
> **(3) in cases of conflict, the higher is the most important ['preeminence'],**
> **(4) all [moral] faults of the lower [vows] are outshone in the manner of**
> **(5) possessing qualities "upwardly," and**
> **(6) [the demarcations of] losing and obtaining [the vows] are different.**

In the teachings of rJe sGam-po-pa it is said:

> (1) the natures [are] different, (2) if observed, [they should be] observed as entrusted, (3) in cases of conflict, the higher is the most important, (4) [moral] faults of the lower [vows] are outshone, (5) [and] the qualities are possessed "upwardly."

(1) [Different Natures]. Because the sections of the canon from which the three vows arise, the object [i.e. person] from which they are taken, their duration, their volitional impulse, ritual, things to observe, causes for loss, benefits, whether or not damage can be repaired, etc., are different, the nature [of the vows] is different. Since their aspects are of the same kind with regard to merely the resolution to abandon—as exemplified by the controlling of non-virtue, and their antidote, i.e. the arising of the correct view—the three vows are the same with regard to the vital point of their antidote.

(2) [Observed as Entrusted]. Because it is necessary to observe the respective objects [to be] abandoned and antidotes [to be practiced] according to the respective systems, if they are observed, they are observed as entrusted.

---

[637] Read *bsrung* according to the basic verse.

[3] tshogs kyi dam rdzas lta bu ma brten na sngags dang 'gal la brten na so thar dang 'gal ba lta bu 'dom thug na gong ma gtsor spyad/

[4] de ltar na'ang bsam pa dang thabs khyad par can gyis zin pas so thar gyi bcas 'das nyes pa mi 'byung bas 'og ma'i skyon zil gyis gnon/

[5] nyes ltung med pa tsam du ma zad gong ma'i phan yon rgya chen po 'byung bas yon tan yar ldan yin

ces mnyam med dwags po nyid dang rjes 'brang zung bzhi ya brgyad kyi mkhas grub rnams dang / khyad par rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa bdun pa chos grags rgya mtsho'i zhal snga nas gsungs so/

***Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(b)**

rje btsun grags pa kun mkhyen klong chen sogs/ [1] rang ldog ma <202> 'dres [2] dgag dgos yongs su rdzogs/ [3] ngo bo gnas 'gyur [4] yon tan yar ldan pas/ [5] gnad kyis mi 'gal [6] dus skabs gtsor spyad gsungs/

sa skya'i rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan khu dbon/ kun mkhyen klong chen rab 'byams/ sogs khongs nas lo chen rin bzang / rong zom chos bzang rjes 'brang dang bcas pa rnams ni

[1] sdom pa gsum blangs pa'i yul sogs tha dad pas rang rang gi ldog cha ma 'dres/ dgag bya nyon mongs pa rang mtshan pa spong ba dang /

[2] dgos pa nyon mongs pas mi 'ching ba gnad gcig pas dgag dgos yongs rdzogs/

[3] zangs rdo las zangs dang de'ang gser 'gyur gyi rtsis gser du bsgyur ba'i dpes so thar sdom pa de theg chen sems bskyed kyis zin na de'i sdom pa dang / de'ang thabs shes khyad par can gyis zin pa na sngags sdom du gnas 'gyur bas ngo bo gnas 'gyur/

(3) [The Higher is the Preeminent.] If there arises a conflict such as incompatibility with the Mantra if one does not rely on such things as the substances of the pledges (*samaya*) of the Tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*), and incompatibility with the prātimokṣa if one does, one mainly practices the higher.

(4) [Outshining Faults]. Since in that way, however, the [moral] faults of going beyond the rules of prātimokṣa do not arise because one is endowed with the special volitionla impulse and means, the [moral] faults of the lower [vows] are outshone.

(5) [Possessing Qualities "Upwardly"]. Because there are not only no [moral] faults and transgressions, but the benefits of the higher [vows] arise in great measure, the qualities are possessed "upwardly."

Thus it has been taught by the matchless Dwags-po [lHa-rje sGam-po-pa] himself, by his followers, [i.e.] the masters [of] the four major and eight minor [schools], and particularly by the seventh [Karma-pa] Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho.

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.2.2.(b)**

rJe-btsun Grags-pa-[rgyal-mtshan], Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen-[rab-'byams-pa], and others, taught that [the three vows] are (1) unmixed [with respect to their] distinctive aspects, (2) [their practice] is perfectly complete [through that which is to be] prevented [and through] the purpose, (3) the nature is transformed [and] (4) the qualities are possessed "upwardly." Therefore (5) [they] are not incompatible through the vital points, [and] (6) what is preeminent is practiced according to the occasion.

Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po, Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po together with their followers, [including the master] rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, uncle and nephew [i.e. Sa-paṇ] of Sa-skya, Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen-rab-'byams-pa, and others, taught:

(1) The three vows are unmixed [with respect to their] respective distinctive aspects, because the objects [i.e. persons] from which the three vows are taken, etc., are different.

(2) [Their practice] is perfectly complete [through that which is to be] prevented [and through] the purpose, because that which is to be prevented, i.e. the concrete defilement is abandoned, and the purpose, i.e. not to be bound by the defilements, is the same vital point.

(3) Their nature transforms, because as shown through the example of copper coming from the copper ore and again its transformation into gold through the elixir that turns [metals] into gold, if the prātimokṣa vow is endowed with the production of [the bodhisattva's] resolve, it transforms into that [bodhisattva] vow, and when that, again, is endowed with special means and insight, it is transformed into the Mantra vows.

[4-6] gong ma'i sdom pa nyams su blangs pas 'og ma'i dgag 'os dgag dgos yar ldan du rdzogs pa'i phyir yon tan yar ldan yin pas bsrung sdom kha cig 'gal ba ltar snang yang lta ba dang thabs kyi spyod pa'i gnad kyis mi 'gal la/ dus skabs kyis gtso bor gang 'gyur spyad par gsungs pa dang / pan chen padma dbang rgyal gyis/

sdig to mi dge'i phyogs dang tshogs pa'i gseb/
'og ma gtsor sbyong 'dod pas dben pa dang /
spyod pa'i dus dang dben par gsang sngags spyad/
nang ma 'dom na ma 'dres yongs rdzogs bzung /
'dom na dgag dgos brtsi zhes mkhas rnams bzhed/

ces gsungs so/

***Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(c)**

dge ldan pa rnams tha dad rten can te/ /so sor lung dang rigs pa'i sgrub byed mang /

ri bo dge ldan pa ni thob tshul gtong rgyu so sor nges pas sdom gsum tshul tha dad/ 'og ma gong ma'i yan lag tu 'gyur ba'i dper/ snod shin tu dwags par chu gtsang blug pa'i nang du rin po che indra nih la lta bu bcug na chu mdog kyang rin po che'i kha dog tu <203> 'gyur bas mtshon pas gong ma 'og ma'i rten can du'ang don gyis bzhed pa ste/ lugs de dag so so nas lung dang rigs pa'i sgrub byed mang du mdzad par snang ngo //

(5) Although some vows appear to conflict, there is no contradiction through the vital point of the practice of [correct] view and means, and

(6) what is preeminent is practiced according to the occasion, because

(4) the qualities are possessed "upwardly," since through the practice of the higher vow that which is suitable and necessary to be prevented in the lower [vow] is perfected "upwardly." And [mNga'-ris] Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal taught:[638]

One follows as preeminent the lower [vows with regard to] sins, i.e. non-virtue,
and amidst an assembly. [If] one is free from desire, and
at the time of [Tantric] practice, and in solitude, one practices Mantra.
Wise men hold that when [the vows] do not internally conflict, one observes them unmixed and perfectly complete [according to each system], and
if they conflict, to consider [that which is to be] prevented [and] purpose.

Pervading All Objects of Knowledge **5.4.2.2.2.2.(c)**

The dGe-ldan-pas [maintain the three vows to be] different and with support. The respective quotations and logical proofs are many.

The Ri-bo dGe-ldan-pas maintain that the ways of the three vows are different, since the ways of obtaining and the causes for losing them are ascertained as different. Through their example for the lower [vows] becoming a branch of the higher, namely that the colour of the water, too, turns into the colour of jewel if one places an *indranīla* jewel in a very clean container in which pure water has been filled, they maintain through that example in fact (*don gyis*) also that the higher has the support of the lower. One can see that many quotations and logical proofs have been given [for] all those respective traditions.

[638] See also the rNying-ma-pa section of this book, chapter 15.

The Development of the Key Three-Vow Concepts in the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa Tradition

From the historical perspective we have gained through the foregoing investigations, certain preliminary conclusions can be drawn. For instance, it appears that sGam-po-pa's *Work A* was an authentic teaching of sGam-po-pa, though with some minor later accretions. Furthermore the subsequent teachings by the three great masters of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition, namely Karma-'phrin-las-pa, Karma-nges-legs, and Kong-sprul, represent a progressive systematization of the teachings and delimitation of their own doctrine from those of other traditions. In the following pages I will try to describe this process more precisely by chronologically tracing the different concepts such as "same and different nature," "preeminence of the higher vows," and "possession [of qualities] 'upwardly.'"

In the beginning of chapter 9,[639] summing up my previous remarks on the state of sGam-po-pa's collected works, I said that we cannot be certain who actually authored and compiled the texts in the *Tshogs chos bkra shis phun tshogs* such as our *Work A* of sGam-po-pa's collected works. Indeed we have found some evidence[640] that the teachings to the assembly (*tshogs chos*) and replies (*zhus lan*) sections of the collected works contain a number of later insertions, as was also noticed long ago by lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (see p. 180). After reading through the material that is contained in sGam-po-pa's collected works, and having analyzed *Work A*, however, one should add that there is also a lot of agreement in tone, vocabulary, contents, and style, as one would indeed expect from a corpus of teachings of a conservative tradition. But even where the tone, vocabulary, etc., is not uniform, it does not necessarily mean that there was another author at work, since, of course, sGam-po-pa himself has adopted different styles in his teachings in accordance with his topics, the aptitude of his disciples, and his own maturity as a teacher. The only way to be able to determine with some degree of certainty whether any given text was authored by sGam-po-pa himself would be to become first an expert in the writings of that and the following period. But we are far from such a possibility, not least because we lack proper editions of the collected works of the majority of key authors of that time (even though 12th century bKa'-bum material like the writings of Phag-mo-gru-pa and Bla-ma Zhang is becoming more and more available now, for example through the efforts of the NGMPP). At present we have to confine ourselves to our immediate topic: the three-vow theories. And here, the only line of guidance that I can follow is this: The more simple the presentation is, the more likely it is, that it belonged to the early phase of doctrinal formulations on the three

[639] Section 3.1, pp. 184 ff.

[640] Described in chapter 9, section 2, pp. 178 ff.

vows in Tibet, i.e. perhaps the eleventh century; with a higher degree of subtleness or fine-tuning in presenting its theory it becomes more and more likely that the given work has been formulated after the twelfth or even thirteenth centuries. After that, we can generally determine at least a relative date on the basis of the other theories mentioned in the text.

The first thing that one notices when one analyzes sGam-po-pa's *Work A* is its plainness and simplicity. Hardly more than two or three main thoughts are presented there, and if one does not allow oneself to be deceived by some (probably later) attempts to structure and justify, they are also expressed in a self-confident and straightforward manner, as with sGam-po-pa's style in so many instructions recorded elsewhere in his collected works. Apart from the problematic quote from the *Vajra-Peak Tantra* (or at least its last two lines), and apart from confusingly different uses of the term "nature" (*ngo bo*) in the text, and also apart from some (or perhaps all?) subject headings, the text appears to me to be quite homogeneous. The main ideas expressed here are (1) that the vows are, when analyzed on the basis of their "duration", "support," etc., of different natures, but when possessed together, they nevertheless exist as an admixture, (2) that the higher vows are so much more powerful than the lower ones that the latter may even be abandoned in cases of conflict, (3) and that their strength lies in the higher practitioner's superior intention, means, and insight (*prajñā*). Especially the reference to insight (implicit in section *A* 9 and explicit in *A* 10) as an important factor for the vows appears to be a typical and unique feature of sGam-po-pa's teachings.

It is quite astonishing that the later masters have paid no regard to the "weighing up" of conflicts between the vows through insight as taught by sGam-po-pa. Other aspects of sGam-po-pa's teachings on the three vows, however, appear to have been taken in and, in some cases, have even been developed further to some extent. These developments, however, deserve a more systematic chronological presentation. Let us therefore turn to the description of the different concepts that were presented by sGam-po-pa and his followers, and investigate in which ways these concepts were developed or newly introduced in the course of time.

The Nature of the Vows

In sGam-po-pa's *Work A* the nature of the vows is, in general, determined through the individual properties of the sections (of the scriptures) through which they are established (*grub pa'i sde*), i.e. the Vinaya section, the Mahāyānasūtra section, and the Tantra section, and through their having different causes for arising, times of being obtained, duration, causes for being lost, etc. Since the nature of a vow is therefore determined by its source, means of being obtained, regulation, and person who is the support, etc., the nature of the vow is defined as that which causes each vow to have its distinctive identity, i.e. as different.

But apart from that clear-cut statement, sGam-po-pa also states that the nature of the vows is not always like that, since the vows—despite their "incompatibility"—also exist together in an admixture where they are not different. And this is again qualified by the statement that from this undifferentiated admixture some vows may be lost, while others are continued, and that one can repair such lost vows according to what is taught in their respective tenets (and thus, presumably, integrate them once again into the state where they exist in an admixture with other vows). Thus, it appears to me, this state of the vows—"incompatible" and/or "undifferentiated"—is not sGam-po-pa's final truth on the vows. Instead, three remarks in the last two sections of *Work A* point in my opinion to what sGam-po-pa really has in mind. The first is that if the yogi realizes his perception of what is to be confessed, the confessor, and the confession as being empty of own-nature, "there is no difficulty with regard to confession" (*A* 9). The second is that conflicts between the vows are non-contravening when the yogi acts after having "weighed up [the conflict] through insight," and the third is that in his practice the two most important things are "insight and skill in means" (*A* 10). According to that, it is most important that the yogi develops his skills in accomplishing the benefit for others and always analyzes the situation through his insight, namely with regard to his true motives when performing his deeds and with regard to emptiness.

If this is the vital point of sGam-po-pa's teachings on the three vows, we may actually regard his remarks on the "incompatibility of the vows" and their "very different natures" and also on the undifferentiated "admixture" as conventional or surface-level teachings only. Let us now turn to how the later tradition deals with the nature of the vows.

The passage of Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* that I translated was prompted by a direct question about the nature of the vows. Accordingly, Karma-'phrin-las-pa dedicates a lot of space to discussing this topic. His reply begins (section 2):

> Here in the land of Tibet all learned and ignorant men who have adopted systems of tenets
> have investigated a lot of doubts [about]
> [whether] the three vows are of the same nature or of different [natures].

Although Karma-'phrin-las-pa apparently mentions "same nature" and "different nature" as being opposing alternative positions, he nevertheless carefully avoids refuting the same-nature position of the Sa-skya-pas and the 'Bri-gung-pas, but rather establishes the different-nature position of his own tradition *without* contradicting the former.

In the following pages I shall explain how Karma-'phrin-las-pa was able to leave the Sa-skya-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa positions of a same nature of the vows unrefuted without contradicting the position of a different nature of the vows of his own

tradition. Generally, the reason they are not incompatible is that these positions agree in contents, while they disagree merely in their terminology and emphasis. This will be shown in six steps:

1. The Sa-skya-pa position as understood by Karma-'phrin-las-pa.
2. The 'Bri-gung-pa position as understood by Karma-'phrin-las-pa.
3. How both positions agree.
4. sGam-po-pa's position as understood by Karma-'phrin-las-pa.
5. Terminological differences between sGam-po-pa's position and that of the Sa-skya-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa tradition.
6. Agreement in contents between the three traditions.

1. The Sa-skya-pa Position as Understood by Karma-'phrin-las-pa

Karma-'phrin-las-pa quotes Sa-skya-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan,[641] showing that he advocated the transformation of the prātimokṣa vows into bodhisattva vows through the production of the resolve for awakening, and the transformation of those into the vows of the Tantric adepts through entering the maṇḍala of Tantric initiation, whereby the vows would become of the same nature, just as different metals all become of the same nature through being touched by the elixir that turns all substances into gold. Thereafter he quotes Vibhūticandra's criticism of this,[642] which is directed against the theory of a same nature of the vows as can be seen in the verse that directly precedes that discussion in the Vibhūticandra's *Garland of Rays*.[643] Karma-'phrin-las-pa himself, however, carefully avoids giving either direct support or criticism to Vibhūticandra's argumentation. But he does present a different approach towards the position held by the Sa-skya-pas by quoting his own guru, the seventh Karma-pa, who refuted the compatibility of transformation and same nature (see my remarks on Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 5). This particular argumentation is *not* directed—as Vibhūticandra's is—against the theory of a same nature of the vows, but merely against a theory that maintains both a transformation *and* a same nature of the vows.

We shall see in a later section of this chapter how Karma-'phrin-las argues

[641] See ftn. 565 for Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*. The passage is quoted by Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 235, fol. 71v, and by Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 3. For a discussion of the quote on which this passage is based, see my remarks on *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23.

[642] See p. 108 for text and translation of Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 20. The passage is also quoted by Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 4. See p. 228, and p. 251.

[643] I.e. Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 19: "The intended meaning of 'possessing the three [vows]' is not that [the three vows] are lost [all at once because they] have the same [nature]. This is also completely disproven by [the following] reasoning (...)." See p. 108.

against the doctrine of a transformation of vows and favours the transformation of the person. Suffice it to say here, that he does not criticize Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's statement that the vows have the same nature.

2. The 'Bri-gung-pa Position as Understood by Karma-'phrin-las-pa

Karma-'phrin-las-pa also quotes the 'Bri-gung-pas,[644] who maintain that "the nature of the vows is not to be even slightly differentiated," because "all three vows remove the ten non-virtues, together with anything of their kind, and [they] achieve the ten virtues, together with anything of their kind." Thus, in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's understanding, the 'Bri-gung-pas' *same vital point* of abandoning non-virtue and achieving virtue of the vows is to be understood as the "same nature" of the vows.

3. How Both Positions Agree

Karma-'phrin-las-pa concludes (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 7):

> Even though at this occasion their way of explaining is different,
> the Sa-[skya-pas] and the 'Bri-[gung-pas] agree that the nature of the three vows is the same.

One can readily see that "their way of explaining is different:" Sa-skya Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan explains the sameness of the nature of the vows as coming to exist through transformation of the vows, and the 'Bri-gung-pas explain that the nature of the vows is not to be differentiated because of their *same vital point*. This vital point of the 'Bri-gung-pas exists with the vow as such, which only becomes three "because the [vow]-possessor has changed."[645] Thus the point where both doctrines agree is that when someone is initiated into Mantra and is a Tantric adept, the vows have the same nature or same vital point.

4. sGam-po-pa's Position as Understood by Karma-'phrin-las-pa

According to Karma-'phrin-las-pa, sGam-po-pa taught that the natures of the vows are different (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 14):

> In short, the meaning of [the statement] "the three vows are different" is [this]:
> The vehicles from which [the vows] come forth are different,
> the sections [of the canon] in which they are taught, too, are different,
> the objects [i.e. person] from which they are taken are different, too,
> and also the rituals that cause their obtaining are different.
> The durations for which they are taken, the volitional impulses with which

[644] See rDo-rje-shes-rab, p. 438, translated in chapter 14, section 4, p. 365. See also my remarks on Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 6, p. 229.

[645] rDo-rje-shes-rab, *Same Intention*, vol. 2, p. 438; *Replies to Ngo-gro* 6.

they are taken,
and the productions of the resolve, too, with which they are taken are different.
And that the causes for their loss, the times of their loss, and the persons who are the support are also different is stated in the individual basic scriptures.

One can easily recognize the teaching of sGam-po-pa's *Work A* 5, according to which the nature of the vows is different because of the same differences as listed by Karma-'phrin-las-pa.

5. Terminological Differences Between sGam-po-pa's Position and That of the Sa-skya-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa Traditions

While, in general, sGam-po-pa teaches as the nature of the vows that which causes the vows to have different distinctive identities, the Sa-skya-pas and the 'Bri-gung-pas teach as their nature or vital point something that all vows have in common. Thus we have two different concepts of nature, i.e. one consisting of what I will call a "distinctive factor" and the other of what I will call a "unifying factor." When sGam-po-pa, for example, teaches that the vows are of different natures because of such things as their different rituals and durations, he defines the nature of each vow as something unique: the prātimokṣa has the unique nature of being obtained from the prātimokṣa-vow ritual and existing as long as one lives, while the bodhisattva vow has the unique nature of being obtained from the bodhisattva-vow ritual and existing until the seat of awakening is obtained, etc. When the 'Bri-gung-pas, on the other hand, teach that the nature of the vows is not to be even slightly differentiated, they define the nature or the "same vital point" of the vows as that which all of them have in common, namely the removing of non-virtue and the achieving of virtue.

Before going on to Karma-'phrin-las-pa's sixth point, namely the "agreement in contents between the three traditions" (i.e. Dwags-po or Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa, 'Bri-gung-pa, and Sa-skya-pa), let me dwell briefly on the Sa-skya-pa doctrine of the same nature of the three vows. This is necessary because no explanation of what exactly constitutes the same nature of the vows is given in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's exposition of the Sa-skya-pa doctrine in his *Replies to Ngo-gro*. Karma-'phrin-las-pa cites only Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, according to which the vows apparently have the same nature through being transformed into the Mantra vows. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan said:[646]

At the time the monks produce the resolve for awakening,

---

[646] Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 258, fols. 48v f., and also Go-rams-pa, *Detailed Exposition*, p. 235, fol. 71v. Quoted by Karma-'phrin-las-pa in *Replies to Ngo-gro* 3.

all [their] prātimokṣa [vows] turn into the vows of a bodhisattva (*byang sems sdom par 'gyur*).
At the time they enter into the maṇḍala [through Tantric initiation],
all vows [become] vows of the Tantric adept (*rig 'dzin sdom pa*).

Karma-'phrin-las-pa also cites Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's quote from the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*, which teaches that the vows of the three families (*rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa*) exist because of the existence of particularities of mind (*sems kyi bye brag*). When they enter into the great maṇḍala of Tantric initiation, they are called Tantric adepts. This is likened to the different metals that exist thanks to the particularities of ore. But "through applying the elixir that turns [metals] into gold, all of these are transformed into gold." Through this example, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan teaches that the elixir resembles the training of the Vajra Vehicle.

Thus two transformations are taught by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, namely the transformation of the auditor prātimokṣa into the bodhisattva prātimokṣa, and the transformation of all vows into the vows of the Tantric adept. Since all vows turn into the Tantric adept's vows in the end, this also appears to be an example for the teaching of the same nature of the vows after the transformation.

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's explanation has been refined by the later Sa-skya-pa tradition. The famous commentator Go-rams-pa, for example, presents a more detailed explanation for transformation and same nature in his *General Topics*, fol. 72v:

> For after one has completely abandoned the inferior intention to pursue peace and happiness merely [for] oneself, that very resolution to abandon that discards opposing factors becomes the nature of the bodhisattva vows (...) [Transformation refers] to the giving up of the inferior volitional impulse and to not discarding the resolution to abandon.

Thus the former nature, the (inferior) intention to pursue peace and happiness merely for oneself, has been replaced by the resolution to abandon of the bodhisattvas, i.e. to discard opposing factors, while abandoning as such continues uninterrupted. In other words, Go-rams-pa teaches that both the prātimokṣa and bodhisattva vows have the same nature, namely "the resolution to abandon" (*spong ba'i sems*), which exists before the transformation as the resolution to abandon of prātimokṣa, and after the transformation as the resolution to abandon of the bodhisattvas, and which itself is transformed in that its former scope, namely "own benefit," becomes the much wider scope of the bodhisattvas (i.e. the benefit for others).[647] It is apparent that this "resolution to abandon," which in this regard can only refer to the abandoning of

[647] Cf. chapter 5.

non-virtue (and in general also refers to suffering), and which appears to be what constitutes the same nature of the vows in the Sa-skya-pa doctrine according to Go-rams-pa's explanation, is very similar to the 'Bri-gung-pa's "same vital point," namely the abandoning of non-virtue (and, according to them, also the achieving of virtue).

It is, however, difficult to say whether Karma-'phrin-las-pa was aware of this refined explanation of the Sa-skya-pa doctrine of the same nature of the vows by Go-rams-pa. Chronologically it would have been possible for him to know of it, since Go-rams-pa's *General Topics* was written in 1461 when Karma-'phrin-las-pa was a young boy (Karma-'phrin-las-pa wrote the *Replies to Ngo-gro* forty-five years later and revised it once more in 1516). But since he does not quote Go-rams-pa's explanation—even though it would have fitted nicely—we cannot easily prove that he had been aware of it. Suffice it to say, therefore, that Karma-'phrin-las-pa understood the Sa-skya-pa's and the 'Bri-gung-pa's doctrines with regard to the "same nature" or "same vital point" of the three vows as being in agreement, and that this appears to have indeed actually been the case, especially in the light of Go-rams-pa's explanation.

6. Agreement in Contents Between the Three Traditions

Let us now see if these positions of the Sa-skya-pas, 'Bri-gung-pas, and sGam-po-pa, as accurately sketched by Karma-'phrin-las-pa, are apart from merely terminological differences compatible in their substance. One section in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* (i.e. section 13) is obviously an answer to an objection by a Sa-skya-pa or a 'Bri-gung-pa. The objection, which is stated directly after Karma-'phrin-las-pa's exposition of sGam-po-pa's doctrine of the three vows, is that since, for example, "abandoning killing" is the nature of each vow for all three vows, are the vows not of the same nature? The answer to this objection is that abandoning killing, stealing, etc., is indeed "the same in their capacity merely as resolutions to abandon." Similarly, with regard to the three vows, they are also the same in their capacity merely as resolutions to abandon. Thus the continuation and sameness of abandoning within the three vows is in principle acknowledged by Karma-'phrin-las-pa. But the differences between abandoning killing and abandoning stealing, and between abandoning killing on the level of each vow are also pointed out and, in fact, emphasized. Of these, the first is trivial in that it refers to the obvious differences between the acts of killing and stealing, etc., and the second is explained, as one would expect in an exposition of sGam-po-pa's three-vow doctrine, through the different rituals of the vows, their ways of obtaining the three vows, and their durations. But these differences of rituals, duration for which the vow is obtained, etc., are of course also acknowledged by the Sa-skya-pas, for example, when Sa-paṇ

states in his *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* (ch. I, v. 40]):[648]

Even in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa,
that part that consists of the vows such as the monk [vows]
will be lost at death,
whereas that part that consists of the resolve for awakening and its fruit
will arise even after death.

Here the reason for the prātimokṣa vows being lost at death, for example, is a particular point of the ritual, i.e., the specification of duration, which is in the case of the prātimokṣa is stated to be "as long as one lives." Go-rams-pa, too, explained that certain aspects, such as the duration of the vows, are only obtained through the specific rituals of the vows.[649] Thus there is no essential contradiction between the Sa-skya-pas' teaching of the duration and other particularities of the respective vows, and sGam-po-pa's "nature of the vows," which exists through just these particularities. The difference between these doctrines is rather one of emphasis: The Sa-skya-pas stress the sameness of the abandoning in all three vows and call this the nature of the vows, i.e. their "unifying factor," while sGam-po-pa emphasizes the differences, i.e. their "distinctive factors," and identifies these as their respective natures. The same applies to the 'Bri-gung-pas, too. The "vital point" of abandoning the ten non-virtues is, as we have observed, very similar to the Sa-skya-pas' abandoning as explained by Go-rams-pa, and on the other hand the 'Bri-gung-pas, too, acknowledge the differences of the vows, as can be seen in the illustration of their three-vow doctrine, according to which, for example, an ornament has different functions when worn by different people (Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 6).

The differences in emphasis, however, should not be neglected. They are, in my view, the key differences between the theories. The Sa-skya-pas and the 'Bri-gung-pas on the one hand have identified the "unifying factor" of the three vows as their nature, and as a consequence they favour a system of vows that very carefully maintains the lower vows, too. sGam-po-pa (and Vibhūticandra, too), on the other hand, identify the "distinctive factor" as the nature, and as a consequence they favour a system that emphasizes the highest vow to the disadvantage of the lower ones.

As for the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa authors after Karma-'phrin-las-pa, Karma-nges-legs, for example, refers in his *Good Vase* (6.4.) to this topic at first by simply stating that the vows are different since their object, volitional impulse, support,

---

[648] The Tibetan text is: *theg chen so sor thar yin yang // dge slong la sogs sdom pa yi// ldog pa shi ba'i tshe na gtong // byang chub sems kyi ldog pa dang // de yi 'bras bu shi yang 'byung.*

[649] See Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 78v.

etc., are not the same. He also criticizes the view that maintains the vows as having the same nature and as having unmixed distinctive aspects (*rang ldog ma 'dres*), which is ascribed by him to the rNying-ma-pas (*Good Vase* 6.5. and 6.6.). In essence, he does not accept any differentiation of something that has the same nature and thus maintains a rather simplistic view of the term "nature" that appears to be very similar to Vibhūticandra's (see p. 69), and that appears to overlook the careful discussion of this topic by Karma-'phrin-las-pa.

Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, on the other hand, seems to have taken notice of Karma-'phrin-las-pa's discussion, particularly of this topic. After teaching the nature as different because of the different canonical sections from which the vows arise, Kong-sprul states:[650]

> Since their aspects are of the same kind with regard to merely the resolution to abandon—as exemplified by the controlling of non-virtue, and its antidote, i.e. the arising of the correct view—the three vows are the same with regard to the vital point of its antidote.

Thus the sameness of the resolution to abandon of the three vows is not only acknowledged in principle, but has been fully incorporated into the system of "the matchless Dwags-po [lHa-rje sGam-po-pa] and his followers," and "particularly the seventh [Karma-pa] Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho" by Kong-sprul, although here the sameness of the resolution to abandon is not regarded to be the nature (*ngo bo*) of the vows, but to be one of their aspects (*rnam pa*).

In sum, we may observe from the somewhat ambiguous teaching of the vows as generally having different natures but nevertheless existing in an undifferentiated admixture in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* onwards a progressive development in the tradition. The teaching of the different natures of the vows is continued with almost the same arguments, but at the same time the position "same nature" of other traditions is acknowledged (first by Karma-'phrin-las-pa), thus continuing the ambiguity, and even in part assimilated (by Kong-sprul).

Transformation of the Vow or of the Person?

Another interesting subject in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's writing on sGam-po-pa's doctrine of the three vows is the topic "different persons" (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 15 ff.[651]). This refers to the last point mentioned when teaching the different natures of the vows, i.e."the persons who are the support [of the vows] are also different" (*Replies to Ngo-gro* 14). The basic theme here is the concept of transformation.

---

[650] See p. 299.

[651] The topic "different persons" includes the discussion of the quotation from the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]* (section 16), the interpretation of the example of the elixir (17), and a comment on a passage from the *Thar rgyan* (18).

While the Sa-skya-pas, beginning at least with Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, have maintained that the vows change into one another—clarifying later that the nature is transformed so that former and later vows have the same nature while the particularities, such as duration of the former vows, remain just as they are—Karma-'phrin-las-pa claims that already with sGam-po-pa the theory was maintained that not the vows, but their possessors change.

The changing of vows was addressed in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions* only at one point, in four lines of folio 48v (out of a total of 62 folios):[652]

> [Question]: "In this case, in which manner does someone who has earlier taken the prātimokṣa vows up to the monk [vows] possess the vows when he later, after producing the resolve for awakening, comes furthermore to take [Tantric] initiation?"
>
> [Answer]: At the time when the monk produces the resolve [for awakening], all the prātimokṣa [vows he possesses at that point] turn into the vows of a bodhisattva, and when he enters the maṇḍala, all the vows are [known as] vows of the Tantric adept.

This is then connected with the well-known quotation from the *Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]: The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness*:[653]

> *rdo yi rigs kyi bye brag gis//*
> *bzhus pas lcags dang zangs dngul 'byung //*
> *gser 'gyur rtsi yi dngos po yis//*
> *kun kyang gser du bsgyur bar byed//*
> *de bzhin sems kyi bye brag gis//*
> *rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa yang //*
> *dkyil 'khor chen po 'dir zhugs na//*
> *rdo rje 'dzin pa zhes bya'o//*
> Through [the process of] smelting, iron, copper and silver appear,
> by means of specific particularities of ores.

---

[652] This was quoted *verbatim* by Go-rams-pa. See p. 134 for the Tibetan text.

[653] See Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Removing Errors Regarding the Fundamental Transgressions*, p. 258, fol. 48v; cf. Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, p. 235, fol. 71v; Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 17; and Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 3. This particular quote from the *Teaching of the "Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]: The Establishment of the Gnosis of Suchness* is, as far as I can see, the only citation to which the Sa-skya-pas refer for their particular theory of the transformation of the vows. See, for a different interpretation, Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 17, and on the possible sources of the quote my remarks on *Replies to Ngo-gro* 23.

Through the elixir by which [metals] turn into gold,
all are turned into gold.
Similarly, by means of the particularities of mind (...)

According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, "ores" refer in this example to the common people.[654] And it is furthermore obvious, he says, that the different metals (i.e. iron, copper, and silver, which exist through the particularities of the ores) are the respective trainings (i.e. of auditors, solitary Buddhas, and bodhisattvas, which exist, in turn, through the particularities of minds), while the magic elixir is the training of the Tantric adepts. Now, in order to understand a transformation of the vows from this, one would have to understand the second part of the above quotation like this:

de bzhin sems kyi bye brag gis//
rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa yang //
dkyil 'khor chen po 'dir zhugs na//
rdo rje 'dzin pa zhes bya'o//
Similarly, by means of the particularities of mind,
the vows of the three families also [come to be].
If one enters into this great maṇḍala,
they are called "*[vows of]* the Tantric adepts."[655]

This appears to be, if understood in this way, an explanation for a transformation of *all* lower vows into the Mantra vows, but not, however, an example for the transformation of the auditor prātimokṣa into the vows of a bodhisattva, since iron is not transformed into silver (before it is transformed into gold).

Karma-'phrin-las-pa, in turn, seems to understand the second part of the verse differently:

Similarly, by means of the particularities of mind,
the *[possessors of the]* vows of the three families also [come to be].
If they enter into this great maṇḍala,
they are called "Tantric adepts."

After having made clear his interpretation of the same quote, saying, "those who have earlier been just Hīnayāna and bodhisattva adherents lose their former names and turn into Tantric adepts when they enter into the great maṇḍala," Karma-'phrin-las-pa also refers to sGam-po-pa's *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*, maintaining that it also teaches that:

---

[654] I.e. *phal pa*. Probably he refers in a general way to the being that is to be the support for the vow.

[655] That this is the way Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan understands the verse is already clear from his own introduction of the verse through the question and answer on fol. 48v, quoted above.

> The prātimokṣa vows of that person's mental stream of consciousness turn into the morality of the vows of a bodhisattva,
> since [they] have turned into the vows of the mental stream of consciousness of a bodhisattva.

Thus the transformation takes place in the person: He turns into a person with higher abilities, and henceforth he will practice those vows as a bodhisattva.[656] He concludes:

> Therefore, do not confuse [sGam-po-pa's] teaching of the changing person with [the Sa-skya-pa's] teaching of the changing vows.

The following should be the passage in question from sGam-po-pa's *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*:[657]

> The prātimokṣa vows of the bodhisattvas, too, do not need a separate ritual for obtaining them. If the very training of the auditors [of] that has been obtained before is later endowed with the specific volitional impulse [of the bodhisattvas], it turns into the vows of a bodhisattva having been transformed, because even though the lower volitional impulse has been abandoned, the resolution to abandon has not been discarded.

In this passage, the only possible interpretation grammatically is that it is the vow of prātimokṣa that is the subject that undergoes transformation. If this is the passage that Karma-'phrin-las-pa had in mind, then he has subjected it to further doctrinal interpretation and restatement. His interpretation is that "after the vow holder's being transformed (*gnas gyur nas*)" into a bodhisattva by producing the special volitional impulse, the *person* who has formerly been an auditor (with prātimokṣa vows), has been transformed. Now that he has become a bodhisattva, i.e. "having been transformed," his former vows that are now endowed with the specific volitional impulse of the bodhisattvas turn into the prātimokṣa of a bodhisattva. They have not been abandoned, because he still maintains that resolution to abandon that is required for the prātimokṣa, and merely the former lower volitional impulse of an auditor has been abandoned when the resolve for awakening was produced. Thus the former

---

[656] These vows are not to be confused with the bodhisattva vows proper that are separately obtained. They are still the prātimokṣa vows, now known as "Mahāyāna" or "bodhisattva prātimokṣa." See, for example, ftn. 249 for such a distinction in Go-rams-pa's system.

[657] sGam-po-pa, *Dwags po thar rgyan*, fol. 61r: *byang chub sems dpa'i so so thar pa'i sdom pa de yang / len pa'i cho ga ni logs su mi dgos te/ sngar nyan thos kyi bslab pa blangs pa nyid phyis bsam pa khyad par can gyis zin na/ gnas gyur nas byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par 'gyur ba yin te/ dman pa'i sems btang yang spong ba'i sems pa ma dor ba'i phyir ro.* Cf. Guenther (1959: 107 f.).

vows transform only in so far as they become vows of a superior person.[658] But I have not located any other more relevant passage, and since Karma-'phrin-las-pa did not specify more exactly the passage from the *Thar rgyan* that he was referring to, we can only assume that this is the passage in question and that the above interpretation is Karma-'phrin-las-pa's understanding of it.

That this topic of the transformation of the vows or of the person has not been addressed in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* might be another indication that we are dealing here with a very early text that dates before Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Only after him does that topic seem to have played a significant role in the discussion, and Vibhūticandra may have been the first one to address it in a critical way. After Karma-'phrin-las-pa, Karma-nges-legs did not even mention the topic. Kong-sprul did mention the transformation of the vows together with the example of the elixir in his section on the Sa-skya and rNying-ma doctrine (Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.[b]), but he seems to have slightly changed its interpretation.

In sum, after there has been a need to deal with the concept of transformation, Karma-'phrin-las-pa tried to explain the transformation differently from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (and indeed, so it seems, even differently from sGam-po-pa's *Thar rgyan*). This was necessary because a transformation was undesirable, since sGam-po-pa had taught the preeminence of higher vows in a way that left no place for a transformation of the lower vows into the Mantra vows, for according to sGam-po-pa it was a preeminence of the sort that neglected or even abandoned the lesser in favour of the greater (see especially *Work A* 7 and 8).

Preeminence of the Higher Vows

Two sections in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* are related to the discussion of the relation between the lower and the higher vows. Although both sections bear their own headings, at least one of these headings appears to be problematic (section 7: "observed as entrusted," Tib. *'chol par bsrung*), and the other may either be a later accretion, or it is to be understood in a specific way (section 8: "possessing 'upwardly,'" Tib. *yar ldan*). I have already explained (in my remarks on sGam-po-pa's *Work A* 7) that nothing in section 7 refers to an observing of the vows. Instead, the section explains the circumstances under which the lower vows may be neglected or even abandoned. Therefore I tend to believe that the first two sentences of sGam-

---

[658] Except for the conclusion, namely that the person transforms and not the vows, this explanation is very close to Go-rams-pa's teaching in the *General Topics*, fol. 72v. See chapter 7.

po-pa's *Work A* 7, i.e. the question and the answer,[659] are later accretions, and that they are attempts of a later editor of the work to systematize the teaching according to other later doctrines. The section actually teaches that any lower vow that endangers life or obstructs a higher vow is not to be observed. If one would furthermore omit the heading and the quote that teaches the "one vehicle" (i.e. Mantra?) at the beginning of section 8, the text would be a proper continuation of the last sentence of section 7 in that it simply draws the conclusion that the greater (i.e. the higher vow) is not abandoned in favour of the lesser (i.e. the lower vow). This section teaches, moreover, that even the disappearance of the lower entails no moral fault, because of "the [more] powerful rituals [and the more] excellent means [of the higher], and the hierarchy of the vehicles." Thus if the conclusion at the end of section 8, "therefore, if [the vows] are possessed, [they are possessed] 'upwardly,'" is not another inept accretion to begin with, at least its meaning is different from the one that was allegedly taught in the Indian tradition,[660] and also from the one that is taught in the rNying-ma-pa tradition.[661] I shall return to this point later, when discussing the meaning of "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) in the later Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition. In sum, both of these sections in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* may also be understood as a single section. Its contents may then be summarized as "in cases of danger (to life) the lower is abandoned, and in cases of internal conflict (between the vows), the lower is abandoned for the sake of the higher." Thus all this together could have been an early version of what is otherwise simply called the "preeminence of the higher."

But there appears to be also another possibility with regard to conflict between the vows, for, in general, two "strategies" are taught by sGam-po-pa for the lower vows (when higher vows are possessed). One is, as mentioned before, that the lower vows are left unobserved or are even abandoned as taught in sections 7 and 8. But the next section teaches, along with the means of repairing the vows, that "for one who realizes these three [vows] and all phenomena as being like an illusion, there is no difficulty with regard to confessing (...)." And furthermore, after the fifth point in section 10, that "at the time when there arises a conflict also [between] the three vows (...) it is 'weighed up' through insight." In other words, the two "strategies" found in *Work A* are, in general, preference of the higher, even to the disadvantage

---

[659] Tib.: *bsrungs na ji ltar bsrungs zhes na/ bsrung na 'chol par bsrung ste/* - [Question:] If they are to be observed, how are they to be observed? [Answer:] If they are to be observed, [they are to be observed] as entrusted.

[660] According to the *Key to Initiation* quoted in Karma-nges-legs' *Good Vase* 6.2. and Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.1.

[661] For "possessing qualities 'upwardly'," see Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension"*, part 4.

of the lower vows, and for the yogi in particular, to realize phenomena as being like an illusion and to "weigh up" the conflicts through insight (*prajñā*).

Now, could it be that the beginning of section 8, namely the heading "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) (and perhaps also the quote that follows, according to which "the deliverances of the three vehicles exist as the fruit of the one vehicle") is to be understood as indicating just that "yogic perspective" that can also be witnessed in other passages of *Work A*? In that case, the intention of the quotation would be to show—since the fruits of the lower vehicles are included within the "one vehicle" (namely Mantra?)—that there is no fault in abandoning the lower vows. "Possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) would then mean that the practitioner should aim within his practice for the higher vows, because they also include the fruits of the lower ones.

Even though this appears to be a sensible explanation, both the heading and the quote may still be a later accretion by an editor who was not quite satisfied with sGam-po-pa's blunt statements in sections 7 and 8, according to which the lower is to be abandoned in cases of conflict. Such problems may be solved, let us hope, on the grounds of an improved textual basis in the future.

According to Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to rGya-ston* 5 (and also sGam-po-pa's *Work* 10), the internal contradiction between higher and lower vows is, in any case, only an apparent one. Since the vows as such are held to be consciousness, the systems of the vows are in reality "differentiated through means and volitional impulse." For the concrete practice this means that the partaking of the Tantric feast in the evening (*gaṇacakra*) by a Tantric adept is only apparently in conflict with the prātimokṣa rule of avoiding meals after noon. This is not explained in detail here, but since reference has been made to the means, one may assume it to mean that through the "excellent means of Mantra" the yogi does not perceive himself as an ordinary person and the substances of the pledges as ordinary food, etc. In other words, according to Karma-'phrin-las-pa, in reality there is no transgression against the rules of the prātimokṣa, even when practicing the Tantric rituals such as the Tantric feast in the evening.

In any case, both sGam-po-pa and Karma-'phrin-las-pa teach that (in cases of conflicts between the vows) the moral faults of the lower vows are overcome by the higher view and the greater means of the yogi on higher levels. In Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 20, and later also in Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(a), however, this "overcoming" of the moral faults of the lower vows is termed the "outshining of the morals faults of the lower vows through the higher," and it appears that in the course of time there has been a shifting from "view," i.e. insight (*prajñā*) as in sGam-po-pa's *Work A*, to "means" as in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* and Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*, as can be witnessed for example in two quotes from sGam-po-pa's *Work*

A 10 and Kong-sprul's *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(a). sGam-po-pa says:[662]

> At the time when there arises a conflict also [between] the three vows in that way, it is [non-contravening because one acts only after having] weighed up [the conflict] through insight.

And Kong-sprul says:[663]

> Since in that way, however, the [moral] faults of going beyond the rules of prātimokṣa do not arise because one is endowed with the special volitional impulse and means, the [moral] faults of the lower [vows] are outshone.

Possession [of Qualities] "Upwardly" and Outshining of the Moral Faults of Lower Vows

The possession [of qualities] "upwardly" is mentioned in all our Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa sources, and it additionally appears in the teachings of the rNying-ma-pa tradition of Klong-chen-pa, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī. Karma-nges-legs and Kong-sprul both quote an identical, though otherwise unidentified source, namely the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde'u mig*), which teaches, among a number of positions that were allegedly maintained in India, the following:

> *gong ma gong ma la 'og ma 'og ma tshang bar 'dod pa ste yar ldan (...)*
> The respective lower [vows] are completely included within the respective higher ones, [i.e. they were] possessed "upwardly" (...).

Thus here the meaning of possession "upwardly" is the inclusion of the lower vows within the higher ones.

We also find the term "possessing 'upwardly'" in sGam-po-pa's *Work A* 8 as discussed above, and additionally in the three fragments of sGam-po-pa's *Work B1*, *B2*, and *B3*. Here it is simply stated that "possessing 'upwardly'" is the preeminence of the higher in cases of conflict. *B1*-6 has additionally the gloss "because the lower exists within the higher" (*'og ma gong ma'i khongs na yod pas*), and thus a similar concept as it is expressed in the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde'u mig*), but both *B2* and *B3* omit that line and such an inclusion is also not supported in any of the other sections of sGam-po-pa's three vow treatises. Let us therefore investigate how the later tradition deals with that term.

Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to rGya-ston* 4 states that "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) indicates "that the simple prātimokṣa became improved through the possessing of bodhisattva vows, and that these became even better through the possessing of Mantra vows." Since he teaches in the immediately following section of that same reply that "on the merely conventional [level], [the solution] is that after

[662] For the Tibetan text, see p. 210.
[663] For the Tibetan text, see p. 300.

blessing [i.e. controlling] the conflicting prātimokṣa [vow] by means of being mindful of time, etc., so that there is no fault, one should in the first place observe the conflicting [vow of the] Vajra Vehicle," the "improving" of "simple prātimokṣa" seems to be understood as mainly the practice of Mantra. That is to say that by guarding against that which is incompatible with Mantra, the prātimokṣa is maintained more effectively. This topic is explained by Karma-'phrin-las-pa in his later *Replies to Ngo-gro* (section 21):

> The meaning of possessing qualities "upwardly" (*yon tan yar ldan*) is also [that]
> infractions entailing expulsion of lower [vows] are outshone by higher [vows].
> Thus, since even such acts as killing become the cause for complete Buddhahood,
> [this is] called possessing qualities "upwardly," or [in other words],
> the qualities of prātimokṣa alone may be great, but
> the qualities of the bodhisattva vows are greater than that,
> [and the qualities of the] Mantra vows are much greater than that. Therefore [sGam-po-pa has] taught that the three vows possess qualities "upwardly."

If we understand this section together with the teaching that the person changes, but not the vows (Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to Ngo-gro* 15-18), we may conclude that the vows are improved and the qualities become greater because the person who is the support of the vows has turned into a bodhisattva and finally into a Tantric adept, both of whom are endowed with respective higher volitional impulses and greater means. Thus here the meaning of possessing "upwardly" is closely connected with the concept of "outshining" and with the more general concept of a "preeminence of the higher vows." "Possessing 'upwardly'" may furthermore be understood in the context of the teaching of the changing possessor of the vows as the vows being possessed by a yogi of a higher level with developed abilities.

Later on in the tradition, both Karma-nges-legs and Kong-sprul, too, connect the outshining and the possessing "upwardly" to the preeminence of the higher vow. Thus Karma-nges-legs, *Good Vase* 6.4., says:

> (3) By "conflicting" there are many [points] understood such as "preeminence of the higher bodhisattva vows" if two things occur together: the need to steal [something] through compassion in order to observe the bodhisattva vows and the damaging of the prātimokṣa, if one takes [that thing].
> (4) And because of that, they [i.e. the higher vows] outshine the [moral] faults of the lower [vows],
> (5) and also the qualities are possessed "upwardly."

Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.2.(a), also states:

> If there arises a conflict such as incompatibility with the Mantra if one does not rely on such things as the substances of the pledges of the Tantric feast, and incompatibility with the prātimokṣa if one does, one mainly practices the higher.
>
> Since in that way, however, the [moral] faults of going beyond the rules of prātimokṣa do not arise because one is endowed with the special volitional impulse and means, the [moral] faults of the lower [vows] are outshone.
>
> Because there are not only no [moral] faults and transgressions, but the benefits of the higher [vows] arise in great measure, the qualities are possessed "upwardly."

Thus it appears that according to this later tradition, we have two functions coming together in the teaching of the preeminence of the higher. One is the outshining of moral faults through greater means and volitional impulses through which there is no transgression of the lower vows, and the second is the possession of the vows themselves or of their qualities on the level of the realized yogi, through which the vows improve and greater benefits arise. Both concepts are not explicitly mentioned in sGam-po-pa's *Work A*, but all these elements seem already to have been presented there, even if only in a loosely connected way. sGam-po-pa certainly teaches, for example, the preeminence of the higher vows when he states that the higher vow should be observed and that the non-observance of the lower does not entail a moral fault (sections 7 and 8), and he describes something similar to the "outshining" when he teaches higher levels such as the realization of all phenomena (including confession) as an illusion (section 9), and the weighing up of conflicts between the vows through insight (*prajñā*) (in section 10). Furthermore, his mentioning of the higher volitional impulse of the benefit for others and the greater means of being able to revive beings who have been killed, etc. (in section 10), may be regarded as something similar to the "possessing qualities 'upwardly.'" Thus we may conclude here that the later tradition has not so much introduced innovations into the teachings, as it might appear at first sight, but that it has systematized the teachings from sGam-po-pa's *Work A* in such a way that it resembles—not in its substance, but in its key-words and topic headings—the teachings of other traditions. Let us therefore investigate shortly how these key-words were used in other traditions.

The term "outshining" (*zil gyis gnon pa*), for example, was previously also used outside of the later Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition by Vibhūticandra (*Garland of Rays* 27 ff.). There, however, the outshining is the function of a superior entity through which the entities of the lower vows are outshone in such a way that they become entirely unmanifested in a dormant way (*bag la nyal ba'i tshul du*). When the later Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa masters used that term, they omitted such a "substantialistic" connotation and limited its functioning to the outshining of the moral faults, thus leaving the lower vows intact and functioning. In that way the

tradition also appears to delimit itself from the teachings of Vibhūticandra, whose outshining of the lower vows as such was perhaps recognized as being dangerously close to the teaching of the so-called "Red Master" (*ācārya dmar-po*).

The "Red Master's" system has been described by another eminent master of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas and the rNying-ma-pas, namely Karma-chags-med (1613-1678), in this way:[664]

> [According to] his religious system, [all the vows were] taken [successively],
> beginning with the vows of refuge, up to those of a monk.
> Each [set of vows] were maintained for some years [or] months according to the authoritative scriptures.
> Thereafter, by receiving the [ritual of] the production of the resolve for awakening,
> the prātimokṣa vows turned into the bodhisattva vows.
> After that, none of the Vinaya rules had to be maintained.
> The training of the resolve for awakening, the meditative exchange of oneself and others, was cultivated for some years.
> Thereafter, by receiving the four initiations of the Mantra,
> these bodhisattva vows, too, turned into the vows of Mantra.
> After that, the training of the bodhisattva vows did not have to be maintained.
> Because one was a practitioner of Mantra, one was even allowed to take a wife,
> [and] even though one took one, the defect of having lost the [monastic] vows did not occur.
> Because his followers increased greatly,

---

[664] Karma-chags-med, *Ri chos*, pp. 72 f.: *khong gi chos lugs dang po skyabs sdom nas// dge slong bar du rim par zhus byas te// re re gzhung bzhin lo shas zla shas bsrung // de nas byang chub sems bskyed zhus pa yis// so thar sdom pa byang sems sdom par 'gyur// de nas 'dul khrims gcig kyang srung mi dgos// byang sems bslab bya gtong len lo shas bsgom// de nas gsang sngags dbang bzhi zhus pa yis// byang sdom de'ang sngags kyi sdom par 'gyur// de nas byang sdom bslab pa bsrung mi dgos// sngags 'chang yin phyir chung ma len yang chog // blang yang sdom pa shor ba'i nyes pa med// khong gi rjes 'brang mang po dar ba'i phyir// mnga' ris dbus gtsang kun du ser khyim dar// 'di la a' tsar dmar po'i chos log zhes// mkhas grub kun gyis gshe zhing bkag pa mdzad//*

I found Karma-chags-med's presentation of these systems not to be very accurate in those cases where I have seen the original texts and formulations. His teaching, however, was dictated to a scribe through a hole in the wall of his retreat hut, and it provides an excellent insight into how such an eminent master of his time thought about those three-vow theories.

householder monks (lit. "yellow householders")[665] spread everywhere in
mNga'-ris, dBus and gTsang.
All learned ones censure and refute [this doctrine], calling it
the "perverted doctrine of the Red Master."

And in the same treatise, Karma-chags-med goes on to describe Vibhūticandra's system as follows:[666]

[According to] the content of the Indian treatise *The Garland of Rays of the Three Vows*
which was composed by the lesser scholar Vibhūticandra,
a disciple of the great scholar Śākyaśrī,
the prātimokṣa vows resemble the stars, the bodhisattva vows resemble the moon,
and the Mantra vows resemble the sun.
[The vows] exist separately in the mental stream of consciousness of a person.
Even though one [vow] is lost, one does not lose the other [two vows].
Although the moral faults of losing [one's vows] exist separately,
breaking a lower [vow] cannot make one fall into the lower realms.
For example, even though the moon and the stars have set,
if the sun is present, darkness cannot cause any harm.
Therefore, if one is able, one should maintain all [vows];
but [if] one is not able [to do so], one [should] adhere to the higher Mantra vows as preeminent ones.
Since the bKa'-brgyud-pas practice this system,
they are a little lax with the Vinaya rules.

These quotations also provide ample reason why it was necessary to systematize sGam-po-pa's teachings and to delimit them at the same time from such teachings as Vibhūticandra's as they were later somewhat unfavourably characterized by

---

[665] Tib. *ser khyim pa*, "householder monk," a person who wears the yellow robes of the monks in the monastery, but at the same time has a wife at home. See ftn. 32 of the introduction.

[666] The Tibetan text is (*Ri chos*, p. 74): *paṇ chen shāk shrī slob ma paṇ chung ni// bi bhuti tsantra zhes bya ba yi// mdzad pa'i sdom gsum 'od 'phro rgya gzhung don// so thar skar ma byang sdom zla ba dang // sngags sdom nyi ma dag dang mtshungs pa ste// gang zag gcig gi rgyud la so sor yod// gcig de shor yang gzhan kun mi shor ste// shor ba'i nyes ltung so sor yod na yang // 'og ma shor bas ngan 'gror ltung mi nus// dper na zla ba skar ma nub na yang // nyi ma yod na mun pas gnod mi nus// de phyir thub na thams cad srung dgos kyi// ma lcogs sngags sdom gong ma gtso bor 'dzin// bka' brgyud pa rnams 'di yi lugs mdzad pas// bka' brgyud pa rnams 'dul khrims cung zhig lhod.*

Karma-chags-med, himself an adherent of a bKa'-brgyud-pa school. Although Karma-chags-med lived later than Karma-'phrin-la-pa and Karma-nges-legs, I have no doubt that his view about the being lax with the Vinaya rules of the bKa'-brgyud-pas existed also before him (as can be witnessed in a number of stories related to another much earlier bKa'-brgyud-pa master, i.e. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po of the 'Bri-gung-pas, who is said to have been opposed and even expelled by the monks of Phag-mo-gru when he served as abbot there, because he did not allow the monks to drink alcohol, etc.[667]).

Secondly, we find such terms as "possessing qualities 'upwardly'" (*yon tan yar ldan*), and "outshining" (*zil gyis gnon pa*) also in the rNying-ma-pa tradition as represented by Klong-chen-pa, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī. Here, however, these terms are used in a way that is slightly different in emphasis from the teachings of the later masters of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas. mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, for instance, said (fol. 64v):

> [Between] worldly [people] and meditators, [and between] meditators,
> the respectively higher refute the lower through their superior understanding, and thus
> the qualities of the lower [ones] are possessed "upwardly," [and the defects of] the lower ones are outshone.

Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, after quoting the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. IX, 4ab),[668] which is also cited in Karma-'phrin-las-pa's *Replies to rGya-ston* 5, explains:

> Accordingly, because of the fact that the qualities of the lower [vows] are included and completely pure within the higher ones by virtue of [their] increase within the mind [of] the person who is the basis [of the vows], it is not necessary [for such a person] to observe separately that which is to be observed of the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva [vows], because he is able [to observe them] incidentally if he is capable of keeping the Mantra pledges intact.

Thus Lo-chen Dharma-shrī teaches precisely that sense of inclusion that is, according to Karma-nges-don and Karma-'phrin-las-pa, contained in the explanation of "possessing 'upwardly'" (*yar ldan*) in the *Key to Initiation* (*dBang gi lde'u mig*). This sense of inclusion of the lower within the higher is furthermore coupled with the teaching of a transformation of the vows, as can be seen in Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's teaching on the three vows (part 3), where he states that the vows are "successively transformed from one into the other." While "possessing qualities 'upwardly'" in the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition, as we have seen, basically

---

[667] See ftn. 748.

[668] The famous verse, according to which "the yogis, too, are disproven by the respective higher ones by means of superior understanding."

means that the lower vows may be neglected because the higher ones are more powerful, the rNying-ma-pas teach that it means that the lower vows are maintained incidentally because they are included within the higher.

The presentation of "outshining" is also slightly different in both traditions, since that which is outshone is, according to Lo-chen Dharma-shrī (part 4), the defilements:

> Someone who has turned away from concrete desire by outshining the defilements [which are] that which is to be abandoned, will not only avoid the accumulation of the propensities of defilements, which is the purpose, but will also bring the accumulations of merit and gnosis to perfection, and because [such a person] will possess in perfect completeness all moral disciplines and all vows of prātimokṣa and of the bodhisattvas, the qualities will be possessed "upwardly."

Here, however, the difference is even smaller, because in both traditions the outshining is done through the greater means of the Tantric adept (*yogī*): Practicing with skill in means, the Tantric adept avoids being stained through defilements and thus an infraction of the lower vows, too. Therefore, the teaching of the outshining by the later Karma-bka'-brgyud-pa tradition seems to be closer to the teaching of the rNying-ma-pas than to that of Vibhūticandra. The term "outshining" is, as far as I can tell, first attested in the rNying-ma-pa tradition in Klong-chen-pa's *bSam gtan ngal gso*.[669] In the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition, it is first attested with the connotation of outshining the moral faults in the replies of Karma-'phrin-las-pa, who attributes these teachings to his teacher the seventh Karma-pa. Karma-nges-legs, however, ascribes these teachings to the third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339),[670] but I was unable to find this doctrine expressed in the few texts of his known to be extant.

It would be a very interesting task for the future to try to trace these terms still further back. My main sources, however, only allow these few preliminary conclusions for the present.

---

[669] Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, p. 58.

[670] The third Karma-pa passed away when Klong-chen-pa was thirty.

The Three-Vow Doctrine of the 'Bri-gung-pa

With this and the following chapter, I intend to present the teachings on the three vows of two more masters from two further traditions, namely, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pa and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī of the rNying-ma-pa. In the previous chapters I have already pointed out the development of the main terms in Go-rams-pa's teachings, which are a refinement of the Sa-skya-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's doctrine, and in certain later Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas' teachings, which are a refinement or further development of sGam-po-pa's doctrine. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po shows, by contrast, a quite different approach to the three vows, when compared with the works of sGam-po-pa discussed in chapter 9. Nevertheless, as I have already shown on several occasions, his teachings appear to have influenced the understanding of the later Karma bKa'-brgyud-pas, especially of Karma-'phrin-las-pa and Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas.

14.1. Biographical Notes on 'Jig-rten-mgon-po

'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217) was the founder of one of the most influential traditions of Tibetan Buddhism in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, namely the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pa. He was one of the chief disciples of sGam-po-pa's eminent student Phag-mo-gru-pa. Doctrinally, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po is best known for his propagating a unique cycle of teachings, the *Same Intention* (*Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa*), which was recorded by his nephew and chief disciple Shes-rab-'byung-gnas.[671] Besides that, he gave numerous instructions of which the public instructions were gathered into his "collected works"[672] and the personal instructions

---

671 For Shes-rab-'bung-gnas, see section 2 of the present chapter, p. 335 f.

672 His public instructions are contained in the *Collected Writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal*. These shall soon be complemented through a new and careful edition that is presently being carried out under the guidance of H.H. Drikung Chetsang Rinpoche of the Drikung Kagyu Institute, Dehra Dun. The new edition is based on two more handwritten editions of the *bKa' 'bum*. The first is the *sKyob pa'i bka' 'bum*, vols. *ka-ca* and *A*, 800 folios. We were able to microfilm it for the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in the spring of 1997 in Dehra Dun (reel nos. DD 17/2-18/1, vol. *ka, ga-cha, A*, and DD 8/2, vol. *kha*). It was discovered in the library of the 'Bras spungs-monastery in Lhasa and brought to Dehra Dun as a photocopy. The catalogue (*dkar chag*) was

(continued...)

into the two cycles referred to as the *Profound Dharmas* (*zab chos*)[673] and the *Special Dharmas* (*khyad chos*).[674]

'Jig-rten-mgon-po was born in Khams in the year 1143 in the 'Brug-rgyal sKyu-ra family.[675] His father seems to have been a yogi of the rNying-ma tradition. At first he was named rDo-rje-dpal.[676] In his childhood he received from Rwa-sgreng sGom-chen the "Stages of the Doctrine" (*bstan rim*), the "Stages of the Path" (*lam rim*), and other instructions of the bKa'-gdams-pas.[677] His most important teacher was Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po (1110-1170), a direct disciple of sGam-po-pa. He met him in 1167 at the age of twenty-four, when Phag-mo-gru-pa himself was

---

672(...continued)
filmed separately (reel nos. DD 35/14-18). At that time we were also able to microfilm a newly composed catalogue of the xylographic edition of Khangsar Tulku (reel no. DD 35/19-36/1). This catalogue is valuable since the table of contents which is contained in the xylographic edition is very limited and contains errors. The second manuscript which is being used for the new edition, containing 440 folios, was discovered for the NGMPP by Dr. Klaus Mathes in 1994 during an expedition to Dolpo (reel no. L 546/1-2; Dr. Mathes found out only after the expedition what that manuscript really was; his team had filmed the manuscript with wrong title pages). A partial catalogue of that was filmed in Dehra Dun (reel no. 36/2-3).

673 Parts of the *Profound Dharmas* material were filmed in Dehra Dun (NGMPP, reel no. DD 18/2-19/1): *'Jig rten mgon po'i bri gung pa chen po mnyam med skyob pa rin po che'i zab chos byin rlabs 'od stong 'bar ba'i gsang chen nor bu'i gter mdzod*, 244 and 268 folios. A manuscript with *Profound Dharmas* writings that is, because of its numerous corruptions, very unsatisfactory had already been published in 1975, i.e. the *'Bri gung thel chos bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*.

674 To my knowledge this material is unpublished and has also not been filmed. I do not, however, know the distinction between *Profound* and *Special Dharmas* teachings. The material that has been found by H.H. Chetsang Rinpoche is presently being typed into computer in Dehra Dun.

675 According to a short introduction to the sKyu-ra family in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, pp. 821 f., this family goes back to the time of the king Glang-dar-ma, when a woman—nowadays referred to as the female protector A-phyi Chos-kyi-sgrol-ma—gave birth to a son called Nam-mkha'-dbang-phyug. His fourth son, rNal-'byor-pa rDo-rje, was 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's father. His mother's name was Ye-shes-kyi-mkha'-'gro-ma Rag-shi-sa bTsun-ma. If, however, A-phyi Chos-kyi-sgrol-ma lived in the ninth century, it is hardly possible that her grandson, who must have lived in the tenth century, was 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's father.

676 His childhood name appears to have been dBal-'bar-thar, for which there are many spellings such as "dPal-ba-dar."

677 Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, pp. 205 ff.

fifty-seven.[678] At that time 'Jig-rten-mgon-po maintained the vows of a householder and one of the first things he received was the bodhisattva vow ritual, through which he received the name Rin-chen-dpal (*ratnaśrī*). At that time Phag-mo-gru-pa announced that his retinue was now complete and that 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's arrival would enhance the realization of Mahāmudrā in many of his disciples.[679]

The thirty-two months 'Jig-rten-mgon-po spent with Phag-mo-gru-pa are described in some detail by a traditional history quoted in Khetsun Sangpo.[680] From him he received Mahāmudrā teachings according to the system of Saraha, and many other teachings such as on the Cakrasaṃvaratantra.[681] Besides Phag-mo-gru-pa and probably other teachers, he also studied the *Path with Its Fruit* (*lam 'bras*) instructions with the master rTsi-lung-pa,[682] and the four yogas of Mahāmudrā with Jo-sras bTsan-ting, the master rLung-mo-ba and sGam-po-pa's nephew Dwags-po

---

[678] dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 832.

[679] 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 662.

[680] On Khetsun Sangpo's biographical account, see p. 335. On the time 'Jig-rten-mgon-po spent with Phag-mo-gru-pa, see also dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, pp. 823 f.

[681] Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, pp. 208 and 210.

[682] rTsi-lung-pa, another close disciple of Phag-mo-gru-pa, was the founder of 'On and Dol-gyi-rtsi-lung. See 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 666; dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 820. The remark in bsTan-'dzin-pad-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser phreng*, fols. 56 f., that these teachings appeared to be artificial (*bcos pa*) and not useful (*ma phan*) to 'Jig-rten-mgon-po is certainly a later sectarian interpretation since 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's own main teacher, Phag-mo-gru-pa, had received the *Lam 'bras* teachings and revered them very much. In fact, one of the volumes of Phag-mo-gru-pa's collected works is completely dedicated to these teachings. This is, according to a catalogue of the golden manuscript of Phag-mo-gru-pa's collected works that was prepared by Tibetan scholars in the Drikung Kagyu Institute in Dehra Dun, and which I was able to copy during our expedition (see ftn. 329), volume *nga* with fifteen titles and around 320 folios. For that catalogue, see reel no. DD 5/1. The golden manuscript was filmed by the 1998 Dehra Dun expedition of the NGMPP, reel no. E 3169/1-3171/1. The catalogue of the same collection that was prepared in Beijing (*Shes bya'i gter mdzod*, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997, pp. 16-28) contains the same titles on the *Lam 'bras* (catalogue no. 003856).

That 'Jig-rten-mgon-po must have also revered rTsi-lung-pa is evident through the circumstances of his full ordination approximately seven years later, in which rTsi-lung-pa was requested to act as the master. See 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 666, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 820.

sGom-tshul.[683]

'Jig-rten-mgon-po practiced the following seven years in the E-chung cave,[684] interrupted once after three years by a pilgrimage to Phag-mo-gru.[685] After returning to the cave, he fell ill with leprosy and was about to practice the transference of the consciousness (*'pho ba*), when he prostrated to a statue of Avalokiteśvara. Suddenly he was overcome by a great compassion towards all living beings who were not in possession of the precious teachings that he had received. The leprosy left his body in the form of serpent demons (*nāgas*), and he realized insight into dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and had a vision of his meditation deity.[686]

Shortly after this, in 1177, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po took up full ordination in order to avoid the approach of a woman.[687] From dMyal-pa 'Dul-'dzin he received teachings on the Vinaya.[688] After he went to Zangs-ri and taught the Dharma, he served as abbot in Phag-mo-gru, but the monks were not satisfied with him because

---

[683] Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 214; bsTan-'dzin-pad-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser phreng,* fol. 56v. The first two teachers are unidentified. sGom-tshul was the eldest son of sGam-po-pa's elder brother rGya-ba-gser-re. He is usually known by his ordination name Tshul-khrims-snying-po. He was the first abbot in sGam-po and founded the monastery 'Tshur lHa-lung. See 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, pp. 551 ff, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, pp. 800 ff.; cf. also chapter 9, p. 194.

[684] dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 824: g.Ye-chung; Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 214 and bsTan-'dzin-pad-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser phreng*, fol. 56v: dBye-chung; Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung*, p. 555: E-chung.

[685] Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 215; bsTan-'dzin-pad-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser phreng*, fol. 57r.

[686] According to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 824, Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 214, and bsTan-'dzin-pad-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser phreng*, fol. 56v, he was served there at first by *bla ma* Yal. He realized inner and outer dependent origination and his "winds" (*prāṇa*) entered the central channel (*avadhūti*). Furthermore he had a vision of Tārā. Then he practiced again for two years, fell ill, and then recovered through his realization, whereby his mind attained equality with the mind of all Buddhas (*sangs rgyas thams cad dang dgongs pa mnyam pa nyid du 'gyur*). According to Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung*, p. 556, he realized the "one-taste of meditation" (*sgom ro gcig gi rtogs pa*).

[687] The version of 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 703, is supported by Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 216, and Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung*, p. 556, but dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 824, has a completely different motivation for his ordination.

[688] Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung*, p. 556, has: "With gNyal-pa 'Dul-'dzin he thoroughly studied the basic Vinaya (*['dul ba] mdo rtsa*)."

he followed the rules of Vinaya very strictly and insisted that others do the same.[689] Therefore he left Phag-mo-gru in 1179 and proceeded to 'Bri-gung, where he established his main monastery.[690] Soon the monastery flourished and a vast number of disciples gathered. In the later part of his life, more than fifty-thousand disciples are said to have gathered on one occasion to receive instructions from him. In the late twelfth century he travelled to Dwags-po in order to "help in a famine."[691] He also transferred the religious texts of Phag-mo-gru to Dwags-la-sgam-po[692] and worked on the renovating of bSam-yas.[693]

When the first Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa visited 'Bri-gung, he is said to have recognized 'Jig-rten-mgon-po as the master Nāgārjuna.[694] A similar story is connected with the younger brother of Kha-che Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrībhadra, who was ordered by a Ceylonese arhat to convey a flower to "Nāgārjuna in Tibet," who was then discovered by Kha-che Paṇ-chen himself in a vision to be 'Jig-rten-mgon-po of 'Bri-gung. Furthermore, Kha-che Paṇ-chen revealed to his disciple Vibhūticandra that 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was a Buddha.[695] 'Jig-rten-mgon-po is listed as one of those disciples of Phag-mo-gru-pa who realized the "one-taste (of meditation)" (*ro gcig*), i.e. the sameness of all entities or *dharmas*. Together with sTag-lung-thang-pa he built a temple in Phag-mo-gru (1198). In 1208 he sent sPyan-snga Grags-pa-'byung-gnas to Phag-mo-gru and installed him as abbot there. Grags-pa-'byung-gnas

---

689 See ftn. 748.

690 But according to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 825, this was only in his thirty-eighth year (*lcags pho byi ba*), which is 1180.

691 dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 826. According to Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 217, he remained in Dwags-po as abbot on the request of Dwags-po 'Dul-'dzin and all the monks: *dwags po 'dul 'dzin gyis sgam po'i gdan sa phul zhing grwa pa thams cad kyis gsol ba btab pas gdan sar bzhugs*. But this appears to be a later elaboration. He is neither listed as abbot in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 805, nor in 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, pp. 551-557, nor in Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung*, pp. 523 f. Shes-rab-'byung-gnas is also reported to have served as abbot in Dwags-la-sgam-po (see the present chapter, section 2). According to Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung*, p. 560, another of his main disciples, namely sPyan-snga Grags-pa-'byung-gnas (1175-1255), accompanied 'Jig-rten-mgon-po to Dwags-po in his seventeenth year (1191). This date is not mentioned in the other sources.

692 Which caused heavy disagreement with sTag-lung-thang-pa. See dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 826, and 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 673.

693 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 673; Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 217.

694 See 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 705.

695 See Jackson (1990: 20-21), and (1994: 69 f.); as well as van der Kuijp's (1994) significant review of the first. See also chapter 2, section 1 of this book, and Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 218.

remained there for twenty-six years, i.e. until about 1234. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po passed away, meanwhile, in 1217.

The earliest biography of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po appears to be the work *Chos rje 'jig rten mgon po'i rnam thar rdo rje rin po che 'bar ba* (47 fols.), which was compiled by sPyan-snga 'Grags-pa-'byung-gnas[696] shortly after 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's passing and includes eyewitness accounts from several of his disciples. Furthermore, there exist several (mostly versified) biographies in the liturgical compilation *'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos spyod rab gsal:*[697]

1. 'Bri-gung Gling-pa (=Shes-rab-'byung-gnas), *rNam thar phyogs bcu dus gsum gyi don mdor bsdus*, pp. 153-159. Material related to this versified biography is also found in the *Collected Writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal*, vol. 1, pp. 123-180. The verses with a detailed commentary were also published in 1995 by the 'Bri gung bka' brgyud rdo rje dbyings gtsug lag slob gnyer khang: *sKyob pa'i rnam thar phyogs bcu dus gsum ma* (52 pp.).

2. Shākya'i dGe-slong Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, *rNam par thar pa zad mi shes pa'i za ma tog gi bkod pa*, pp. 159-173.

3. Shākya'i dGe-slong Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, *rNam par thar pa mthong ba don yod*, pp. 187-211.

4. ? (but probably the same author), *rNam par thar pa rma bya seng ge ma*, pp. 174-187.

Further biographical material is contained in the following later Tibetan histories:

1. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481), *Deb ther sngon po*, pp. 701-707. The corresponding passage in Roerich's translation is on pp. 596-601.

2. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504-1566), *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, pp. 821-827. The passage of pp. 1341-1346 is identical with pp. 821 ff., except that the part on pp. 826-827 is not repeated. The repeated version is part of the ninth chapter in the third section of the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (*Bod kyi skabs - 'Bri gung bka' rgyud kyi rnam thar*). gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba, the author of this work, is said to have spent one year of his life in 'Bri-gung-thil.

3. 'Bri-gung Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475-1527), *bKa' brgyud bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar rin chen gser phreng*, fols. 33v-41r. This text is a part of the *Miscellaneous Writings (bka' 'bum thor bu) of 'Bri gung Chos rje Kun dga' rin chen*, Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod [number not mentioned], Leh, 1972.

---

[696] It can be found at the beginning of the first volume of the *dGongs gcig yig cha*, pp. 1-95, published by Tsondu Senghe, see the bibliography for rDo-rje-shes-rab.

[697] Published by D. Tsondu Senghe, Bir, date unknown.

4. Padma-dkar-po (1527-1592), *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*, pp. 555-559.

5. The fourth Che-tshang sPrul-sku bsTan-'dzin-padma'i-rgyal-mtshan (1770-1820?), *'Bri gung pa chen po'i gdan rabs chos kyi 'byung tshul gser gyi phreng ba*, fols. 51v-73r. This is a collection of biographies of important 'Bri-gung gurus (who mostly served as abbots) up to the eighteenth century. It is a hand-written manuscript in a special *dbu-med*-style script of Khams. The Tibetan text was also published in 1989 in book form by the Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang gis bskrun. An abridged account of the life of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po taken from this work was published by Khenpo Könchog Gyaltshen in his *Prayer Flags* (Snow Lion, 1988).

6. Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 9, pp. 204-220. Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, pp. 208-213. Khetsun Sangpo's account is based on the *La dwags 'bri gung dgon sgang sngon bkra shis chos rdzong dgon gyi phyag dpe 'bri gung gser phreng gser chos bris ma*, starting on fol. 47r. This text and its author is unknown to me, but I am informed by Drikung Ontul Rinpoche of Tso Pema (Rewalsar, H.P.) that dGon-sgang-sngon bKra-shis-chos-rdzong is the 'Bri-gung monastery of Phyiang, Ladakh. He told me that he has actually seen this text and that it is written in golden letters.

14.2. Biographical Notes on Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (1187-1241)

Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, also known as 'Bri-gung Gling-pa, was probably the most intimate disciple of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po.[698] After Shes-rab-'byung-gnas had studied intensively for four years with 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, the great master remained from then on behind drawn curtains while his disciple gave all instructions, except only the introduction to the mind alone, which the great master conveyed himself. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po also ordered Shes-rab-'byung-gnas with great insistence to become his successor on the abbatial chair, but Shes-rab-'byung-gnas requested to be allowed to renounce everything and concentrate solely on his practice, a request that was later on granted. It was also Shes-rab-'byung-gnas who collected and compiled the teachings of his guru and who eventually compiled and taught the most important of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's instructions, namely the *Same Intention*.[699]

---

[698] The main source for these notes has been Rin-chen-phun-tshogs (1509-1557), *sPyan snga 'bri gung gling pa'i rnam thar snyan pa'i 'brug sgra*, which has been the subject of my MA-Thesis (unpublished). Other works, such as dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, and 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, are identified in the footnotes.

[699] For the *Same Intention*, see below, section 3 of this chapter.

Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, like his teacher, was born in the sKyu-ra clan[700] in 1187.[701] From his eighth year onward he learned reading and writing and was particularly known after his thirteenth year for his beautiful voice "which resembled Brahma's speech" (fol. 2r). In his seventeenth year (1203) he met with dPal-ldan Ngad-phu-ba,[702] whom he attended for four years. During that time he received full ordination and instructions on Mahāmudrā, and he "developed an extraordinary realization free from discursive development." In his twenty-first year (1207), he went to 'Bri-gung and met with 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (fol. 2v).[703] The first three years he stayed in Gling-gseb[704] and did not miss a single word of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's teachings. Without pursuing any other activities, he spent all of his time, except when receiving teachings, in meditation. Probably already during this time 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon ordered him to engage in the composition of religious texts (fol. 2v).[705] Around 1209 he became the personal attendant of his teacher and thus the person closest to him. During that time he had the opportunity also to prove his profound learning to his teacher. On one occasion, for example, while he remained behind a curtain while 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was teaching, the teacher could not remember the exact words of a quotation from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. Immediately Shes-rab-'byung-gnas spoke the required words behind the curtain, and the teacher became very happy. He bestowed all general and personal instructions upon him (fol. 3r).

---

[700] Within the sKyu-ra clan he belonged to the 'O-phrom sept. This had again two branches, i.e. lHa-sgra and lHa-rgod. The former had again two branches, namely rGod and dPal-chen, of which he belonged to the latter. See the *rNam thar*, fol. 1v, 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 710, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 828.

[701] The *dbu chen* edition of his *rNam thar* states the years corresponding to 1188, but this is inconsistent with other dates in the text. The *dbu med* edition, fol. 2v, has a note that corrects the mistake. Cf. also dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 828, notes that difference and decides, like 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 711, for 1187.

[702] He is mentioned in bsTan-'dzin Padma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser phreng*, p. 145, as a disciple of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po. According to bsTan-'dzin-chos-kyi-blo-gros, *Gangs ri chen po ti se lo rgyus*, fol. 26r, he was sent by 'Jig-rten-mgon-po as the leader of the first 'Bri-gung-pa expedition to mount Kailash. Since 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 711, mentions the year of his passing as being 1206 (and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga ston*, indirectly, too, on p. 829), and since Shes-rab-'byung-gnas stayed with him between 1203 and 1206, this first expedition dates probably before 1203. Shes-rab-'byung-gnas' biography does not mention the death of his teacher.

[703] The *dbu chen* edition of the *rNam thar* has "thirty-first," but all other sources, including the *dbu med* edition, fol. 3r, have "twenty-first." "Thirty-first" is impossible, since that would have been 1217, i.e. the year of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's passing.

[704] Unidentified, but probably a temple close to the main monastery.

[705] See also dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 829.

Furthermore, when 'Jig-rten-mgon-po taught the Dharma to the assembly, by a mere glance from the side of his eyes he could have Shes-rab-'byung-gnas continue the teaching of any Dharma he wished (fol. 4r). From 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's seventieth year onwards (1213), the master stayed within a drawn curtain, and all instructions were given by Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, except for the introduction to the nature of mind, the sole teaching that 'Jig-rten-mgon-po continued to give (fol. 4r). 'Jig-rten-mgon-po taught him many special doctrines such as the *Same Intention* (*dGongs pa gcig pa*), without it being noticed by others. He also ordered him with great insistence to serve as his successor, but Shes-rab-'byung-gnas requested to be allowed solely to practice,[706] which later he was permitted to do (fol. 5v). When Shes-rab-'byung-gnas was in his thirty-first year (1217), 'Jig-rten-mgon-po passed away and the disciple performed the consecration ritual for his reliquary stūpa (fol. 6r-v).

In the following year (1218), Shes-rab-'byung-gnas travelled to gNam-mtsho'i-do and then for seven years (1219-25) to Ti-se, where he spent his time composing religious texts and meditating (fols. 6v ff.). In his thirty-ninth year (1225), he returned to 'Bri-gung (fol. 9v).[707] During that time he erected many statues and transmitted the special and profound Dharmas (*khyad dang zab chos du ma'i gsung rgyun*). In the same year, he proceeded to lHo-brag and upper bSam-yas with a group of fourteen students. There he also met Sa-skya Paṇḍita and stayed with him for two days (fols. 9v-10r).[708] In 1226 he proceeded from dGon-dkar to mKhar-chu, where he had spent most of the winter. While he remained there he wrote down the special Dharma (i.e. the *Same Intention*) of one-hundred ninety vajra utterances.[709]

---

[706] Cf. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 712, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 830.

[707] See also 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 712, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 830.

[708] See also 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 712, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, p. 830.

[709] The meaning of the term "vajra utterance" (*rdo rje'i gsung*) has been explained by mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan in his introduction to Rig-'dzin Chos-kyi-grags-pa's commentary to the *Same Intention*, the *dGongs gcig 'grel ba nyi ma snang ba*, in the following way (p. 12 f.): "The meaning of the term "vajra utterance" is this: Since [such a statement] can not be separated from the absolute nature [of] the dependent origination [of] all phenomena, it is called a "vajra;" since it cannot turn from that natural state to something else, it is called a "vajra;" since it is difficult to make it the object of the intellectual sphere of dialecticians, it is called a "vajra;" and since it totally uproots not realizing, erroneous notions, and doubt—the huge mountain of ignorant error, it is called a "vajra." (*rdo rje'i gsung zhes pa'i go don ni/ chos kun rten 'brel rang babs la mi phyed pas na rdo rje/ gshis*

(continued...)

Thereafter he condensed and arranged them as one-hundred fifty vajra utterances (fol. 10v).[710] In the following years until his death in 1241, he travelled to many different places in southern dBus province and taught the *Same Intention* as well as other teachings and composed numerous religious texts.[711]

Works of Shes-rab-'byung-gnas Listed in his Biography

1219-25	*rJe gsum ldan ma'i gsol 'debs* (fol. 7v)
	rNam thar phyogs bcu dus gsum ma'i lha (fol. 7v)
	rNam thar rma bya seng ge ma (fol. 7v)
	Ma dros mtsho 'gram ma'i bstod pa (fol. 9r)
1225	*Ri bo mchog ma'i bstod pa* (fol. 9r)
1226	*bSlab khog gi rtsom pa* (fol. 10r)
	Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa (fol. 10v)
1227-34	*gNang bas gangs pa'i chos bcu* (fol. 11r)
	Theg pa chen po'i snying po (fol. 11r)
	Ber ka gcig rten ma (fol. 11v)
1234	*Ri bo mchog rab ma* (fol. 12r)
	sGam po gsol 'debs ma (fol. 12r)
	'Og min ltar bstod pa (fol. 12r)
	bDe ba can ltar bstod pa (fol. 12r)
1235-41	*Theg pa chen po'i tshul* (fol. 12v)
	Rab gnas sa bcu pa (fol. 12v)
	Chos zhag nyer bdun (fol. 12v)
	two "*Zhus lan*" (fol. 13r)
	Ye shes kyi sgron ma (fol. 13r)

Except for the *Same Intention*, the *rNam thar phyogs bcu dus gsum ma* and the *rNam thar ma bya seng ge ma*, none of these works have been located so far, but there does exist a *bKa' 'bum*.[712] In addition to those works listed in his *rNam thar*, I have

---

[709](...continued)
de las gzhan du 'gyur du med pas na rdo rje/ rtog ge mkhan gyi blo spyod yul du gyur dka' bas na rdo rje/ de nyid rtogs na ma rtogs log rtog the tshom ste ma rig 'khrul pa'i ri bo chen po rtsad as 'byin pas na rdo rje zhes so//).

[710] See also 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 713, and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, pp. 830 f.

[711] 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po*, p. 713, says: "He remained eight winters in mKhar-chu. The first of eight summers he remained in Gro-bo-lung. The six [summers] after that he remained in Ya-rgyal. In the last [of the eight summers] he came to Yar-'brog."

[712] *rJe spyan snga rin po che'i bka' 'bum*, 285+2 folios in *dbu med* script, NGMPP reel
(continued...)

found four other works composed by Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (see "Works Located" below):

rNam thar mthong ba don yod pa, 25 pp.
rNam par thar pa zad mi shes pa'i za ma tog gi bkod pa, 15 pp.
Chos rje 'jig rten gsum gyi dgon la nges pa don gyi bstod, 8 pp.
Sems bskyed kyi cho ga bsil byed tsan dan gyi phreng ba dge slong sher 'byung gis mdzad pa, 257 pp.

Works Located

dGongs gcig yig cha [= Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa]. See bibliography for rDo-rje-shes-rab.

rNam thar phyogs bcu dus gsum ma'i lha. In: *Collected Writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal*, vol.1, pp. 123-180.

rNam thar rma bya seng ge ma. In: *Collected writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal*, vol. 1, pp. 10-26. It can also be found in the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos spyod rab gsal*, pp. 174-187.

rNam thar mthong ba don yod pa. In: *'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos spyod rab gsal*, pp. 187-211.

rNam par thar pa zad mi shes pa'i za ma tog gi bkod pa. In: *'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos spyod rab gsal*, pp. 159-173.

Sems bskyed kyi cho ga bsil byed tsan dan gyi phreng ba dge slong sher 'byung gis mdzad pa. In: *'Bri gung thun mtshams chos spyod*, pp. 367-523.

The *Nges don gyi bstod pa*, 4 fols., private photocopy of a blockprint.

In addition, a collection of works of Shes-rab-'byung-gnas has been filmed by the NGMPP during the Dehra Dun expedition,[713] though until now I have not yet had the opportunity to investigate that collection.

14.3. The *Same Intention* (*dGongs pa gcig pa*)

The *Same Intention* contains, according to Shes-rab-'byung-gnas's biography, special teachings that were, on several special occasions, given to him alone. It consists of 150 vajra utterances with forty supplements (*lhan thabs*), which were written down by Shes-rab-'byung-gnas in 1226 and later divided by him into seven chapters:[714]

1. *Chos kyi 'khor lo spyi'i gnad bsdus*. "Summary of the Vital Points of the Wheels of Dharma in General."

---

[712](...continued) no. DD 8/3-9/1.

[713] For the microfilmed *bKa' 'bum*, see ftn. 712.

[714] For a short introduction to the structure of the *Same Intention*, see Dan Martin (1997b: 264 ff.).

2. *Kun la phan pa rten 'brel gyi gnad bsdus*. "Summary of the Vital Points of Dependent Origination, [which] is of Benefit for All."
3. *'Dul ba so sor thar pa'i gnad bsdus*. "Summary of the Vital Points of the Vinaya Prātimokṣa."
4. *bSlab pa byang sems gnad bsdus*. "Summary of the Vital Points of the Bodhisattva Training."
5. *gSang sngags rig 'dzin sdom pa*. "The Vows of the Tantric Adepts."
6. *Khyad par lta sgom spyod pa*. "The Special View, Practice, and Conduct."
7. *'Bras bu sangs rgyas kyi sa*. "The Resultant Buddha-*bhūmi*."

These vajra utterances[715] are held to express doctrines that have the same (*gcig pa*) intention (*dgongs pa*) as the Buddha's, and they are formulated often in an almost provocative manner, sometimes apparently contradicting such standard treatises as for example the *Abhidharmakos'a*.[716] The *Same Intention* therefore attracted the attention of numerous contemporary and later Tibetan scholars, who, not surprisingly, did not always view its contents in an approving manner.[717] The entire cycle is much too complex to be analyzed here, since in most cases a single vajra utterance cannot be fully appreciated without the context of a number of other vajra utterances. I hope, however, to be able to produce such an analysis in the future.

The earliest available commentary on the *Same Intention* was composed by one of Shes-rab-'byung-gnas' disciples, namely rDo-rje-shes-rab.[718] Another first

---

[715] For the meaning of the term "vajra utterance" see ftn. 709.

[716] The interpretation of "*dGongs pa gcig pa*" as "*[Having] The Same Intention [as the Buddhas]*" is based on oral communications of mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan and Mr. Ngawang Tsering. Their interpretation is probably again based on such statements as the following one from the *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i khog dbub* (rDo-rje-shes-rab, vol. 1, fol. *kha* 1r), according to which the author "is going to write down a brief summary from the teachings [of] the precious [one, i.e. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, namely] the *intention of all Buddhas of the three times*, ... [in] the manner of one-hundred and ninety statements [accepted as that of my own tradition]" (*ji snyed dus gsum rgyal ba thams cad kyi// thugs dgongs bla med khyad par 'phags pa rnams// brgya dang dgu bcur rnam grangs bzhed pa'i tshul// rin chen gsung las mdor bsdus bri bar bya//*).

[717] A number of commentaries on Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows* identified the "'Bri-gung-pas" as one of the main opponents criticized, referring especially to certain teachings in the *Same Intention*.

[718] For full references to all the commentaries mentioned here, see the bibliography. rDo-rje-shes-rab is also said to have been a disciple of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po by bsTan-'dzin Padma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser 'phreng*, p. 105. Dan Martin (1997b: 292, n. 15) has provisionally dated rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary to 1267. If that is accurate, he must (continued...)

generation commentary, the *Rin byang ma*, has recently surfaced in India and will probably be published within the next years.[719] In the sixteenth century the eighth Karma-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-1555) composed a large commentary, and in the seventeenth century the 'Bri-gung-pa master Rig-'dzin-chos-kyi-grags-pa (1595-1659) produced one commentary in 1633, and his elder brother, the sixth Zhwa-dmar-pa Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1584-1635) another one. A short commentary was composed by rTogs-ldan Rin-po-che dKon-mchog-thub-bstan in the twentieth century. Beyond these few examples, there existed also many other commentaries that are presently unavailable and perhaps even no longer extant.

14.4. The Three-Vow Theory of the *Same Intention*

For my presentation of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's doctrine of the three vows according to the *Same Intention* I have used the commentary by rDo-rje-shes-rab (on which see the bibliography). The 1976 edition of the same commentary by Kunsang Topgey, Thimphu, Bhutan, has been consulted, but this manuscript from the eighteenth century is only a copy from the block prints of 'Bri-gung-thil that were also used by Tsondu Senghe for his publication of rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary one year earlier. It has some minor orthographic variants, but otherwise the text is identical, even down to the same spelling mistakes.

As was mentioned in section 3 above, the *Same Intention* contains as chapters 3 to 5 what amounts to a three-vow treatise of its own. But general remarks about the three vows can also be found in other chapters, such as in chapter 1. I have selected four vajra utterances from chapters 1 and 5 of rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary for translation, because these contain the most important principles of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's teachings on the three vows. The first two are concerned with the thing to be abandoned through all three vows, which is the same vital point as in abandoning the non-virtues (*Same Intention*, ch. I, no. 24), and with the fact that the vows become three because the possessor has changed (ch. I, no. 25). These vital points were later also discussed by Karma-'phrin-las-pa in his *Replies to Ngo-gro* (section 6 and 7).[720] The other two vajra utterances are especially concerned with Mantra practice. The first one (ch. V, no. 23) states that there exists no occasion where a non-virtue of the Mantra becomes virtue. This is to say that the defilements, which are only of a temporary nature, lack an established ground, while the qualities

[718](...continued)
have been quite young at the time of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's death in 1217.

[719] The author of the *Rin byang ma* is stated in bsTan-'dzin Padma'i-rgyal-mtshan, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud gser 'phreng*, p. 105, to have been Thub-pa bSod-snyoms, one of the younger brothers of Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, whose religious name was Rin-chen-byang-chub.

[720] See chapter 10, section 3.2 and chapter 11, section 2 of this book.

of awakening, which exist from the beginning, are not like that. Therefore the defilements are *not* transformed into the qualities. The second vajra utterance (ch. V, no. 24) therefore states that that which is non-virtue in the Vinaya is also non-virtue in the Mantra. One of the main points made here is that the teachings of the tantras must not be taken literally, but that they need to be interpreted.

In general, the main modern representative of the 'Bri-gung-pa school, H.H. Chetsang Rinpoche, believes that each single vajra utterance can be traced back to the teachings of Tilopa and Nāropa. Although I did not have the opportunity to benefit from Chetsang Rinpoche's profound knowledge of the *Same Intention* in greater detail, I have found evidence myself that 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's teachings concerning the three vows go back at least to the instructions of his guru Phag-mo-gru-pa, since he mentions him several times as the master from whom he received those very teachings.[721]

14.5. Topical Outline of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's Relevant Vajra Utterances

'Jig-rten-mgon-po says in his **vajra utterance (1.24)**: "[Regarding all] three vows, the thing to be abandoned is the same vital point [as] in abandoning the ten non-virtues." rDo-rje-shes-rab begins his commentary on this vajra utterance with the remark that all the Buddha's teachings, if summarized as practice, are included within the three vows.[722] Then he presents some general teachings on the three vows from canonical sources, including a rNying-ma-pa tantra,[723] which he apparently thinks were misunderstood and which he therefore wishes to contrast with his master's teaching. He quotes, for example, a verse according to which "the Sage allowed the seven non-virtues of body and speech for the great beings [i.e. bodhisattvas]"[724] and Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. V, v. 84), according to

---

[721] This becomes especially clear in 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, *sDom gsum gnad gcig*, where he attributes the teaching that "the three vows have the same vital point, which is [also] possessed 'upwardly'" to his teacher (fol. 2v: *da res 'dir ni dpal phag mo gru pa'i bzhed pa sdom pa gsum gnad gcig yar ldan yin te*). The same statement can also be found on fol. 3v of the same work: *de ltar na rje phag mo gru pa'i thugs dgongs sdom gsum gnad gcig yar ldan yin no.*

[722] Go-rams-pa makes the same statement in the beginning of *General Topics*, fol. 4r. See chapter 2, section 5.

[723] In general, the rNying-ma-pa tantras were, along with several other disputed doctrines such as the tradition of the "adept Vajrapāṇi" and certain teachings of "mental inactivity" (*amanasikāra*), accepted by 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon as "[genuine] Dharma." See 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, *Collected Writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje*, vol. *ka*, no. 13, *Dad ldan yid kyi dga ston nam yon tan rin po che dpag tu med pa bskyed par byed pa'i man ngag bsil byed tsan dan gyi phreng ba*, p. 231.

[724] This verse is unidentified, but cf. Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 79v, in the section

(continued...)

which "the Merciful-One [the Buddha] through far-sightedness allowed them [i.e. the bodhisattvas] even those things that were prohibited [for others]."[725] For the vows of the Tantric adepts, he refers in particular to a passage from a rNying-ma-pa tantra,[726] which was apparently understood by certain rNying-ma-pas as advocating the view that everything one does is purely virtuous after one has realized the sense of the primordial complete purity of the ultimate reality of all phenomena, i.e. reality or emptiness, through abandoning chiefly the defilement of ignorance.[727]

To avoid any misunderstanding in this regard, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po stated that it is impossible for any vow from among the three vows to become an obstacle for some people and a supramundane achievement (*siddhi*) for others. This is to say that, for example, "killing" cannot be, on the one hand, a means to attain supramundane achievements for the Tantric adept, while being an obstacle for the practitioner of prātimokṣa, or, *vice versa*, that "abandoning killing" could be a virtuous activity for the practitioner of prātimokṣa, leading to birth in higher spheres of existences, while that same abandoning could be an obstacle on the Tantric adept's path. The reason for this is "the vital points of the Buddha's attainment of the gnosis that perceives what is and what is not appropriate and [his] four kinds of fearlessness." The first, namely "the gnosis that perceives what is and what is not appropriate" (Skt. *sthānāsthānajñānabalam*, Tib. *gnas dang gnas ma yin pa mkhyen pa'i stobs*) is the first of the "ten powers of the Tathāgata" (*daśatathāgatabalāni*). This power is in general explained as the knowledge that karma and defilement are the cause of the

---

[724](...continued)
through which he presents his own tradition: "When there exists a special purpose such as its being for the benefit of sentient beings, even all restricted things for body and speech are allowed for such a person who is the basis (...);" (*sems can gyi don du 'gyur pa sogs dgos pa khyad pa can yod pa'i tshe rten gyi gang zag de lta bu la lus ngag gi bcas pa thams cad kyang gnang ste*); and, specifically with regard to killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, and telling lies, see Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension"*, fol. 306r: "Similarly they are also not incompatible with the bodhisattva vows, because [such activities] are endowed with compassion that wishes to benefit others and with special means, for [activities] possessing these two [i.e. compassion and special means] are allowed for bodhisattvas;" (*de bzhin du gzhan la phan 'dogs kyi snying rje dang thabs khyad par can gyis zin pas byang sdom dang yang 'gal ba med de/ de gnyis dang ldan pa ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams la'ang gnang ba'i phyir*).

[725] This verse is also cited by both Go-rams-pa and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī in the above quoted passages. See previous note.

[726] The *Sangs rgyas kun gyi dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*, see Eichi Kaneko (1982), catalogue no. 160.

[727] The view critisized here and connected to "certain rNying-ma-pas" has yet to be identified.

birth of beings, and that a self and a creator(*īśvara*) are not that cause, and that it is possible that higher spheres arise through virtue, but impossible that lower spheres arise through it, etc.[728] Thus in the terms stated above, namely that a vow cannot become an obstacle for some people and a supramundane achievement for others, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po makes the point that non-virtue such as "killing" is not only an "obstacle" and not a "supramundane achievement" in the practice of prātimokṣa, but that this is also valid for the Mantra path.[729]

The second reason for the impossibility for an obstacle in one Vehicle becoming a supramundane achievement in another one stated by 'Jig-rten-mgon-po above is "the vital points of the Buddha's attainment of (...) his four kinds of fearlessness." These "four kinds of fearlessness" (Tib. *mi 'jigs pa bzhi,* Skt. *catvāri vaiśāradyāni*)[730] are referred to in at least three basic works: The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya,* the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, and the *Ratnagotravibhāga.*[731]

Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya P 266-2-3; Pradhan (414,3 ff.)	*Mahāyānasaṅgraha* see Griffiths (1989: 322)	*Ratnagotravibhāga* III, 8; see Takasaki (1966: 214), *P* 28-5-2
mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas par gyur pa	*ye shes: nga yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas pa*	*chos kun rdzogs par byang chub*
zag pa zad par gyur pa	*spangs pa: zag pa 'di dag spangs so*	*gegs ni 'gog par byed pa* (*vibandhapratiṣedhana*)
nyan thos rnams la bar du gcod pa'i chos su gsungs pa	*bgegs byed de dag nyid la bar du gcod pa'i chos gang dag bstan pa*	*lam ston pa* (*mārgākhyāna*)

[728] *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, p. 1546: *las dang nyon mongs pa ni sems can skyed pa'i rgyu yin par shes la bdag dang byed pa dang dbang phyug la sogs pa ni sems can skyed pa'i rgyu ma yin par mkhyen pa dang / dge bas mtho ris su skye ba'i rgyu gnas yin la/ mi dge ba spyad pas ngan song du skye ba'i gnas yin la/ des mtho ris su skye ba'i gnas ma yin par mkhyen pa sogs so.* The same point is also referred to in the vajra utterances 23 and 24 of ch. V of the *Same Intention.* See for the ten powers, *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 119-129. Cf. *Ratnagotravibhāga*, ch. XV, v. 2-5; Takasaki (1966: pp. 338 f.); *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan (1967: 411, 133; 414, 3).

[729] See also the vajra utterance no. 24 of ch. V below, according to which non-virtue in the Vinaya is non-virtue also in Mantra.

[730] See *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 130-134.

[731] The first point of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is the same as in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, point 2 equals point 4, 3 equals 2, and 4 equals 3.

nyan thos rnams kyi nges par 'byung ba'i lam du gsungs pa	*nges 'byung ngas nyan thos rnams la nges par 'byung ba'i chos gang dag bshad pa*	*'gog thob* (*nirodhāpti*)

Unfortunately rDo-rje-shes-rab does not explain in any detail the meaning of his reference to the "four kinds of fearlessness." Judging, however, from his reference to the first of the "ten powers of the Tathāgata," it appears that he wants to show the purpose of the vows of both Mahāyāna and Mantra to be nothing but the elimination of the defilements. Therefore he says that "since those ten non-virtues are included within the three poisons, there is no differentiation of the ways of abandoning into main and secondary." Thus the thing to be abandoned in all three vows is the same vital point as in abandoning the ten non-virtues.

After stating by means of three quotations that the ten non-virtues are to be abandoned through prātimokṣa, Mahāyāna, and Mantra alike, and after presenting an etymology for the Buddha's designation "*bcom ldan 'das*" that explains "*bcom*" in terms of being "victorious [over] the four māras," one of which is the māra of defilement, rDo-rje-shes-rab launches into a detailed explanation of the karmic results and ripenings of the ten non-virtues and the ten virtues. At the end of his commentary on this vajra utterance, he takes the example of abandoning killing and shows again how this is contained in all the three vows: It is one of the four fundaments of prātimokṣa, the respective cause and nature for the two kinds of resolve for awakening, and also contained within the second pledge of Mantra, namely not to "transgress against the teachings of the Sugata."[732]

The next **vajra utterance (1.25)** is: The vows become three because the possessor has changed. rDo-rje-shes-rab begins his commentary with the assertion that the sense of the Buddha's teachings, if summarized as practice, is the three vows. This is certainly accepted in all Tibetan traditions, but it is nevertheless remarkable that it is spelled out here so clearly: The three vows are the vital point of Buddhist practice. Having thus defined the value and importance of the three vows, he cites three statements by unidentified persons who attempt to explain the reason for the vows becoming three. Some appear to emphasize the incompatibility of the things

[732] "Abandoning killing," being one of the fundaments of the prātimokṣa, is "the cause for the preliminary resolve for awakening" (*praṇidhi*), because that resolve arises only on the basis of the prātimokṣa, and it is the "nature of the actualization of the resolve for awakening (*prasthāna*) vow," since "abandoning killing" is a part of "benefitting beings." For the second pledge of Mantra, see Aśvaghoṣa, *Vajrayānamūlāpatti*.

to be abandoned, presumably the non-virtues of body and speech in the prātimokṣa, of mind for the bodhisattva, and perhaps the mental constructions for the Tantric adept. Others say they arise as three for the three different things to be achieved, namely the practices (of auditors, bodhisattvas, and Tantric adepts). And still others say they arise as three for the three incompatible things to be obtained, namely the spiritual results (of auditors, bodhisattvas, and Tantric adepts). Therefore, such people say, the specifics (*khyad par*) of the three vows are differentiated. And this they understand as the reason for the teaching that the vows are to be individually obtained and continued, and that they are to be observed as entrusted.

What is criticized here by 'Jig-rten-mgon-po is the first conclusion, namely that the specifics of the vows are differentiated, and also the reasons given for that. The second conclusion, namely that the vows are to be obtained and continued individually, and that they are to be observed as entrusted (*'chol par bsrung*), is not opposed here, although I have elsewhere seen a passage where 'Jig-rten-mgon-po said that he does not maintain "*'chol par bsrung*," which in that context probably was understood as "mixed observance."[733] Thus what is primarily opposed in this vajra utterance is any differentiation with regard to the three vows of the thing to be abandoned and the thing to be achieved. He says: "All three vows remove the ten non-virtues together with anything of their kind, and [they] achieve the ten virtues together with anything of their kind. And therefore the nature of the three vows is not to be even slightly differentiated."

Even though the thing to be observed is therefore the same in all three vows, the vows become three through the differences of the changing possessor. As an illustration, the example is given of one and the same ornament that is hung around the neck of a common subject, a minister, and a king. Even though there is no difference with regard to the nature of that ornament, its functioning is different in that it can be touched by everyone in the first case, it is not to be touched by common people in the second case, and although it will be looked at by others in the third case, it is not to be touched by anyone except the king. This example appears to be a slightly refined version of the example that is ascribed by Kong-sprul to the Indian master Abhayākaragupta.[734] According to Kong-sprul:

> Even though the three vows are, with regard to their resolution to abandon, of a similar kind, they have different aspects (*rnam pa*), as a gold ornament is different as an ornament of the head, of the feet, and of the hands, even though it is of the same kind in being gold.

We do indeed find the "different aspects/same kind" argumentation in

---

[733] The *sDom gsum gnad gcig*, in: *'Bri gung thel Chos bDud rtsi'i Thigs pa*, vol. 1, fol. 2v; cf. chapter 9, p. 191.

[734] See Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 5.4.2.2.2.1.

Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*. The vows "arise as something other and persist differently, like different ornaments on one support," but "they are not in the least to be differentiated through their abandonings such as [the abandoning of] killing ..., like many golden ornaments."[735] There is a small difference between Kong-sprul's and 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's examples, and Abhayākaragupta's text, namely that the latter does not speak of different locations for the gold ornament, while 'Jig-rten-mgon-po and Kong-sprul do. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po has refined the example by explaining that the vows are taken by people with different abilities; hence the "king, minister, and subjects" of his example.

Furthermore, the functioning of the ten virtues is also illustrated through food that is eaten by different persons. If it is eaten by a servant, he will perform his duties. If it is eaten by a minister or a strong young man, he will perform the action of sustaining life or subduing enemies. If it is eaten by a king or by a spiritual teacher, he will establish benefits and happiness for the country or kingdom. Thus there are different systems of abandoning and establishing for the three persons who practice the vows. Accordingly, the results (of the three vows) will also be individually obtained. But there is not the slightest distinction with regard to that which is guarded against.

The next **vajra utterance (5.23)** states: "There exists no occasion where a non-virtue of the Mantra becomes virtue." Here the main topic is that some people maintain in general that Mantra belongs to the path that transforms the basis through skill in means, i.e. that through Mantra practice each defilement is transformed into its respective gnosis (*jñāna*). There are also two other opinions mentioned, according to which Mantra belongs to the path that abandons the basis, or that no other condition is necessary for liberation than to understand the nature of the basis, i.e. emptiness.

Of these positions the first, namely the transformation of the basis, is, in specific contexts, a fairly standard Tantric theory. Within the bKa'-brgyud-pas, for example, we find already in sGam-po-pa's writings the teaching that the Perfections Vehicle is a path that eliminates the basis (*gzhi spong ba'i lam*) and the Mantra Vehicle a path that transforms the basis (*gzhi sgyur ba*).[736] There, however, this teaching was to be understood in its specific context, namely the pointing out of the

---

[735] Abhayākaragupta, *Munimatālaṃkāra*, *D* vol. 72, no. 3903, fols. 89r f.; *P* vol. 101, no. 5299, 155/4/7 f.). The Tibetan text is according to *D* (fol. 89r): *de rnams gzhan nyid skye zhing tha dad nyid du gnas pa rten gcig la rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i rgyan ltar yin* (in the original text posed as a qualm; but accepted); (fol. 89v): *srog gcod pa la sogs pa spong ba nyid kyis na khyad par cung cad kyang med de ... gser gyi rgyan du ma bzhin no.*

[736] sGam-po-pa, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, p. 268. See also Jackson (1994: 27).

superiority of Mantra. Furthermore, in the same teaching sGam-po-pa shows the Mahāmudrā at the pinnacle, since the Mahāmudrā of the highest Mantra or the point of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po'i don*) is a path that knows the defilements as the basis of the great gnosis, a position which has certain similarities with the third "position of others" in rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary, which is there ascribed to "some rNying-ma-pas." In the *Same Intention*, however, these positions are presented as general statements without the specific framework of, for example, sGam-po-pa's teaching above.

With regard to these statements, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po taught that they are not true Mantra. According to him, both the Perfections and Mantra belong to the path that purifies the basis (*gzhi sbyong ba'i lam pa yin*), because the Buddha taught that one possesses from the beginning "the wheel of maṇḍala of the Lord Buddha" that is "obscured by adventitious defilements" (*glo bur gyi dri ma*), and because it is said in the *Hevajratantra*[737] that sentient beings are the Buddha; however, they are "obscured by adventitious defilements." If these temporary defilements are removed, the result is the Buddha of the ultimate fruit. This is also the reason that Mantra functions through taking the result as the path. To show that this is also valid for the general Mahāyāna, reference is made to an (unidentified) passage from the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*. For the validity of this interpretation also for the sūtras of definite meaning, reference is furthermore made to the *Ratnagotravibhāga* which explains that the "Buddha-nature" (*tathāgatagarbha*) does not change either through defilement (*saṃkleśa*) or through complete purification. The defilements exist only temporarily, while the qualities are possessed by nature, since the *dharmatā* is unchangeable.

As for the second position, namely that Mantra belongs to the path that abandons the basis, that is also not acceptable, since the "Buddha-nature" that exists on the basis would also be abandoned, and since at the time of the basis, too, oneself is the deity, which is also the reason why Mantra takes the result as the path. The third position, according to which Mantra belongs in general to the path that understands the basis, is also not acceptable, even though it is accepted that one part of that path exists for both Mantra and Sūtra. But even though one has understood the nature (of mind), there will arise the new mental construction of "non-duality," and emptiness itself will arise as cause and result.[738] Therefore complete realization needs a "perfectly complete medium of skill in means and the entire dependent

---

[737] See Snellgrove (1959): vol. 2, ch. IV, p. 69.

[738] This is connected with another vajra utterance of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, i.e. no. 17 in ch. VI: *stong nyid rtogs nas stong pa nyid rgyu 'bras su 'byung bar bzhed do*. This point is explained in detail by rDo-rje-shes-rab in his commentary on fols. 37v-41v (margin marked *ta*), where he quotes especially Phag-mo-gru-pa, sGam-po-pa, and Atiśa.

origination of causes and results."

The next **vajra utterance (5.24)** is: "That which is virtue in the Vinaya is virtue also in the Mantra, and that which is non-virtue [in the Vinaya] is non-virtue [also in the Mantra]." This is, of course, closely connected with the three previous utterances. The main point that is criticized here is the opinion that activities which are considered non-virtuous in the Vinaya become virtuous in the Mantra through skill in means. This refers to such teachings as from the *Guhyasamājatantra* (16.61 c-f):

> You should kill living beings!
> You should tell lies!
> You should also steal!
> You should also resort to women!

'Jig-rten-mgon-po points out that the true sense of the majority of the Mantra teachings is hidden or esoteric. To discover the true pith instructions, one mainly has to understand the intentional (*ābhiprāyika*), the non-literal (*na yathāruta*), the hidden meaning (*garbhin*), the hidden intention with regard to transformation (*pariṇāmanābhisaṃdhi*), and the symbolic language of Mantra (*saṃketa*?). Of these, the first refers to the "six positions" (*mtha' drug*, Skt. *ṣaṭkoṭi*): the intentional (*dgongs pa can*, Skt. *ābhiprāyika*) and the non-intentional (*dgongs min*, Skt. ?), the provisional meaning (requiring to be further or otherwise interpreted, *drang don*, Skt. *neyārtha*) and the definitive meaning (*nges don*, Skt. *nītārtha*), as well as the literal (*sgra ji bzhin pa*, Skt. *yathāruta*) and the non-literal (*sgra ji bzhin ma yin pa*, Skt. *na yathāruta*).

"The intentional," again, refers to the "four intentions" that are taught in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*,[739] and similarly the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*[740] and the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*.[741] According to these sources, these four are: 1. the intention that has in mind the sameness (of the *dharmakāya* for Buddha Śākyamuni and other Buddhas, *mnyam pa nyid la dgongs pa*, Skt. *samatābhiprāya*), 2. the intention that has in mind a different meaning (i.e. different from the literal one, *don gzhan la dgongs pa*, Skt. *arthāntarābhiprāya*), 3. the intention that has in mind a different time (i.e. not the immediate future as expected from the literal meaning, *dus gzhan la dgongs pa*, Skt. *kālāntarābhiprāya*), and 4. the intention that has in mind the individual's mental disposition (*gang zag gi bsam pa la dgongs pa*, Skt.

---

739 See Lévi (1983: ch. XII, 16-18).
740 See Lamotte (1973: ch. XI, 31).
741 See Rahula (1971: 142), Pradhan (1950: 106-107).

pudgalāśayābhiprāya).[742]

The mentioning of the "hidden meaning" (Skt. *garbhin*) in rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary refers to the "four ways" (*tshul bzhi*) of Tantric exegesis, i.e. 1. the literal meaning (of the words, *tshig gi don*, Skt. *akṣarārtha*; also *yi ge'i don*), 2. the common meaning (for Sūtra and Mantra, *spyi'i don*, Skt. *samastāṅgam*), 3. the hidden meaning (referring to the first three stages of perfection, *sbas pa*, Skt. *garbhin*), and 4. the ultimate meaning (*mthar thug pa*, Skt. *kolikam*).[743]

The mentioning of the "hidden intention with regard to transformation" (*pariṇāmanābhisaṃdhi*) in rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary refers to the "four hidden intentions" (*ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *abhisaṃdhi*). These are 1. the hidden intention with regard to introducing (someone to the teachings, *gzhug pa la ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *avatāraṇābhisaṃdhi*), 2. the hidden intention with regard to the characteristics (of the *dharmas*, i.e. their lacking a *svabhāva*, *mtshan nyid la ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *lakṣaṇābhisaṃdhi*), 3. the hidden intention with regard to the antidote (in order to remove faults, *gnyen po la ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *pratipakṣābhisaṃdhi*), and 4. the hidden intention with regard to transformation (where the intention does not depend at all on the words, *bsgyur ba la ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *pariṇāmanābhisaṃdhi*).[744]

"Symbolic language," Skt. *saṃketa* or *chomā* (as in the *Hevajratantra*), is a code language that is employed in the tantras themselves, as well as in Tantric songs. It is not limited to speech alone, but also includes gestures.[745]

---

[742] On the four intentions, etc., see Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 165 ff., 1985b: 309 ff., 1989b) and (1988: 1-4); Steinkellner (1978: 451 ff.), as well as the works of Broido (1982, 1983, and especially 1984). As far as Broido's Tibetan sources are concerned, i.e. Bu-ston's commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, Thogs-med-bzang-po's commentary on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, Tsong-kha-pa's commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, and Padma-dkar-po's works on *Guhyasamāja* and *Hevajra*, and his *dBu ma gzhung lugs gsum*, etc., they are all later than the *Same Intention* and rDo-rje-shes-rab's commentary. One would expect to find these concepts also employed in other passages within 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's and Phag-mo-gru-pa's still unexplored collected works.

[743] The "four ways" have been dealt with in some detail by Steinkellner (1978: 453 ff.). His main source was Candrakīrti, *Pradīpoddyotanā* (*P* no. 2650); see his note 6. For variants he used its commentary, Bhavyakīrti, *Pradīpoddyotanābhisaṃdhiprakāśikā* (*P* no. 2658a,b), and *Vajrajñānasamuccayatantram* (*P* no. 84). See also Broido (1981: 18 ff.), and (1984: 31, n. 40).

[744] The canonical sources are again the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, the *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, and the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*. See Lamotte (1973: Vol. I, 41; Vol. II, 131 f.), and Seyfort Ruegg (1969: 165 f.), and (1985b: 316), and the work of Broido (1984).

[745] See Snellgrove (1959, vol. 1, 7); and Broido (1984: 32, n. 41), and (1982: 13 ff.).

rDo-rje-shes-rab also offers three concrete examples for correct explanations of intentional and non-literal Mantra teachings. The first appears to be a passage from the *Guhyasamājatantra*,[746] according to which those who pay respect to their father and mother "will proceed immediately to hell" (after death). Here the correct explanation is that "father" means "ignorance," and "mother" means "desire." The second example refers to the initial quote from the *Guhyasamājatantra* (193-3-8). The correct explanation[747] is that "stealing," "telling lies," "killing," and "resorting to women" means to strongly cultivate or produce the resolve for awakening, to resort to relative truth (when leading the beings on the path), to realize the deity, and to cultivate the four brahmic states.

The third example is the teaching that the use of alcohol in Mantra practice is to be understood as intentional and non-literal.[748] As an example for such a non-literal statement, rDo-rje-shes-rab quotes 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, who said:

I am drunk with the alcohol of great bliss.
Please do not scold me blindly [lit.: "biased"]
for blathering drunken words.[749]

---

[746] The Tibetan short title, *gTan la phab pa,* suggests a quotation from the *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa man ngag gtan la dbab pa (Upadeśaniścayanāmaśrīguhyasamājavṛtti), P* vol. 63, no. 2706.

[747] *gSang 'dus bshad rgyud dgongs pa lung bstan zhes bya ba'i rgyud (Sandhivyākaraṇa-nāmatantra), P* vol. 3, no. 83. The quote is in *P* on 249-3-8, and in *D* on p. 1083 (vol. 29, no. 444).

[748] 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was very strict with regard to the use of alcohol. The biographies relate the story of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po serving as abbot in Phag-mo-gru after the guru's passing, and after 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's seven year retreat and his full ordination. But the monks were not satisfied with him because he followed the rules of the Vinaya strictly and insisted that others did the same. It is especially mentioned that he did not allow the use of alcohol. The situation escalated, until 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was apparently forced to leave the monastery. See 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, *Deb ther sngon po,* p. 672, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston,* p. 825, and Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 217. In his collected works, for example, he has said that "there exist no connection between all those who drink [alcohol] and me" *(gang 'thungs pa thams cad dang nga dang 'brel pa med gsungs pa*). See *Collected Writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po,* vol. 4, fol. 17r. Furthermore, he said that his own master, too, namely Phag-mo-gru-pa, did not even allow the use of alcohol in Tantric rituals such as the feast in the evening. And in addition to not drinking alcohol, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po also asked his disciples not to eat meat (vol. 2, p. 22), and even though he became a full monk only after his thirty-fifth year, he said that he had spent his whole life in perfect celibacy and that the only woman who ever touched him was his mother (vol. 1, p. 131).

[749] *Collected Writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po,* vol. 2, p. 122; see p.

A lengthy passage of the commentary is then dedicated to the transformation of alcohol into nectar.[750] A great adept (*mahāsiddha*) like Saraha, who was able to transform the colour, smell, taste, and potency of alcohol, drank from the nectar and realization arose in his mind. This is the pledge of Mantra, and it is also permitted in the Vinaya. But if the drinking of alcohol would be permitted for anyone with less powers than that, anything would be possible or permissable! Those who merely claim to possess that ability are in truth only craving for alcoholic drinks. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po points out that in general alcohol is not so much taught to be nectar. Instead, excrement is recommended. Thus, anyone who wishes to drink alcohol should mix it with the same amount of excrement, stir well, and drink it. If he thinks that this is disgusting, then where is the nectar?

A fully realized yogi, on the other hand, is fully competent in both meditation stages of production and perfection, is never overwhelmed through the objects of the senses, possesses full control over phenomena, and reveals many means for training living beings. Such a yogi's activities are also not prohibited by the Vinaya. Such persons are magical emanations of Vajradhara (*rdo rje 'chang gi sprul pa yin*). Similarly, it has been taught in the large *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* that all phenomena, too, are magical emanations. Therefore, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po says, we follow the genuine intention (*dgongs pa tshad mar gyur ba*) that is in accordance with the Buddha's gnosis that perceives what is and what is not possible (*gnas dang gnas ma yin pa mkhyen pa'i ye shes dang mthun pa*).

---

[749](...continued)
379.

[750] This kind of transformation (*bsgyur ba*) is not to be confused with the transformation of defilements, which is considered impossible (see vajra utterance 5.23). While defilements, which only exist temporarily, can never become the gnoses (*jñāna*), since these exist from the beginning, the transformation of alcohol is considered one of the supramundane achievements of the fully realized yogi.



Abb. 5: sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153)
(Same Intention, vol. 1, p. 155)



Abb. 6: 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217)
(Same Intention, vol. 1, p. 201)



Abb. 7: dBon-po Shes-rab 'byung-gnas a.k.a. 'Bri-gung Gling-pa
(1187-1241) (Same Intention, vol. 2, p. 586)



Abb. 8: Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899)
(Kailash, vol. 3-4, 1975, p. 384)

<431> sdom pa gsum yang spang bya mi dge ba bcu spong bar gnad gcig bya ba 'di bzhugs/

de la spyir sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis chos kyi 'khor lo ji snyed cig bskor ba thams cad kyi don nyams len du 'dril na/ sdom pa gsum du 'du/ sdom pa gsum po de spang bya spong tshul dang / gnyen po brten tshul tha dad de/ so sor thar pa'i sdom pa ni mi dge ba bcu las <432> lus ngag gi mi dge ba bdun 'khor dang bcas pa spong zhing / de'i nang nas kyang gtsor 'dod chags spong bar gsungs te/ bye brag bshad mdzod las/

nyes spong yon tan rin chen 'phel ba yi//
spong bdun thub pas gsungs pa'i legs spyad 'di//
ma thob pa la sdom pa med gyur pas//
thog mar thob par byed pa'i thabs 'di'o//

ces pa dang / sdom la/ lung rnam 'byed las/

mi tshangs spyod dang rku ba dang //

ces gsungs/ byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni/ mi dge ba bcu la yid kyi mi dge ba gsum dang zhe sdang gtso bor spong zhing / lus ngag gi mi dge ba bdun ni 'gro don du 'gyur na gnang bar gsungs te/

sems dpa' che la lus ngag gi//
mi dge bdun po thub bas gnang //

ces pa dang / spyod 'jug las/

zhe sdang lta bu'i sdig pa med//
bzod pa lta bu'i dka' thub med//
de bas bzod la nan tan du//
sna tshogs tshul gyis bsgom par bya//

ces pa dang /

14.6. Texts and Translations of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's Vajra Utterances from the *Same Intention*

This [next vajra utterance (**1.24**)] is:

> **[Regarding all] three vows, the thing to be abandoned is the same vital point [as] in abandoning the ten non-virtues.**

[Some] say that in general, if one summarizes the content of all the lord Buddha's teachings whatsoever as practice, it is included within the three vows. Those three vows are different [with regard to] how it is given up and how one makes use[751] of the antidote. The prātimokṣa vows abandon, from among the ten non-virtues, <432> the seven of body and speech, together with related acts. And again, regarding these [seven], it is chiefly taught that [the defilement of] desire is to be abandoned. In the *Bye brag bshad mdzod*[752] it is said:

> For those who have not obtained this excellent conduct
> taught by the Buddha of the [things that are] abandoned, i.e. the seven [things],
> —[a conduct] that abandons [moral] faults [and] increases the precious qualities—
> the vows do not exist. Therefore,
> this is the means for obtaining [it] first.

And with regard to the vows, the *Lung rnam 'byed*[753] says:

> Sexual misconduct, stealing, ... [etc.]

With regard to the bodhisattva vows, it is taught that the three non-virtues of mind from among the ten non-virtues, and chiefly [the defilement of] hatred, are to be abandoned, and that the seven non-virtues of body and speech are permitted if they will benefit beings.

> The Sage allowed the seven non-virtues
> of body and speech for the great beings [i.e. bodhisattvas].

And in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. VI, v. 2) it is said:

> There is no sin like hatred,
> there is no austerity like patience.
> Therefore, exerting oneself with regard to patience,
> one should cultivate [it] in various ways.

---

[751] Read: *gnyen po bsten tshul.*

[752] Unidentified. According to the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, this text is known under several names: *Bye brag tu bshad pa chen po,* or alternatively *Bye brag bshad mtsho, Bye brag bshad mdzod,* or *Bye brag bshad mdzod chen mo.*

[753] This must be the *'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*), *P* vol. 42, no. 1032, *D* vol. 2-3, no. 3, but I could not locate the quote. Cf. the quote next page.

thugs rje mnga' ba ring gzigs pas//
bkag pa rnams kyang de la gnang//

ces gsungs/ gsang sngags kyi sdom pa ni/ mi dge ba bcu log lta dang / gtso bor gti mug spong ste shes bya thams cad la rmongs pas ma rig pa/ ci yang mi shes pa gti mug yin pas(!) de dang / log par lta ba spangs nas/ chos thams cad kyi gnas lugs gdod nas rnam par dag pa de kho na nyid stong pa nyid kyi don rtogs nas byas tshad dge ba 'ba' zhig yin pas/ log lta ma gtogs pa spyir mi dge ba dgu char gnang zhing bye brag tu rtsa ba bzhi gnang bar gsungs te/ dgongs 'dus las/

ci bzhin nyid de ma bcos na//
chen po bzhi la gnas byas kyang//
nam mkha' la ni sprin bzhin du//
'di ni rnam dag legs pa'i lam//

ces gsungs pas/ de ltar na bsrung rgyu'i rigs mi mthun pa gsum po des sdom <433> pa gsum du 'byung ba yin zer/

'dir zhal snga nas/ sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis gnas dang gnas ma yin pa mkhyen pa'i ye shes dang / mi 'jigs pa bzhi brnyes pa'i gnad kyis sdom pa gsum ka la/ la lar gegs su 'gyur ba/ la lar dngos grub tu 'gyur ba mi srid de/ mi dge ba bcu po de yang dug gsum du 'du bas/ gtso 'khor du spong lugs kyi bye brag med/ mi dge ba bcu sdom pa gsum char gyis spong dgos te/ so sor thar pa'i sdom pa la yang / lung rnam 'byed las/

lus kyi sdom pa legs pa ste//
ngag gi sdom pa legs pa yin//
yid kyi sdom pa legs pa ste//
thams cad du ni sdom pa legs//

ces gsungs/

And [in the same text]:[754]

The Merciful-One, being far-sighted
allowed them [i.e. the bodhisattvas] even those things that were prohibited [for others].

With regard to the vows of the Tantric adepts, wrong views [from among] the ten non-virtues, and chiefly [the defilement of] ignorance are to be abandoned. After that [which is called] "delusion," since it is deluded regarding all the objects of knowledge, that [which is called] "ignorance," because[755] nothing whatsoever is known, and "wrong views" have been abandoned, one realizes the sense of the primordial complete purity of the ultimate reality of all phenomena, [i.e.] reality [or] emptiness. Since everything one does [after that] is purely virtuous, it is taught that with the exception of wrong views, all the other nine non-virtuous deeds are, generally speaking, permitted, and, in particular, the four fundamental-[infractions entailing expulsion] are permitted. In the *dGongs 'dus* it is taught:[756]

If one does not alter that "howness" [ultimate reality],
even though one has dwelled in the great four;
like a cloud in the sky,
this will be a pure, excellent path.

Thus, [some others maintain that] in that way, according to the three different kinds of things to be observed, there arise the three vows. <433>

[Reply:] In this regard, the [lord 'Jig-rten-mgon-po] stated: Because of the vital points of the Buddha's attainment of the gnosis that perceives what is and what is not possible and [his] four kinds of fearlessness, it is impossible that with regard to all three vows, they would become for some [people] obstacles and for some [people] supramundane achievement (*siddhis*). Since those ten non-virtues are included within the three defilements, there is no differentiation of the ways of abandoning into main and secondary. The ten non-virtues must be abandoned through all three vows. With regard to the prātimokṣa, it is said in the *Lung rnam 'byed*:[757]

The vows of the body are excellent,
the vows of the speech are excellent,
the vows of the mind are excellent,
the vows are excellent in every respect.

---

[754] *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ch. V, v. 84.

[755] Read *ci yang mi shes pas gti mug yin pa*?

[756] This is a text from the collection of rNying-ma-pa tantras, namely the *Sangs rgyas kun gyi dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*, Eichi Kaneko (1982), catalogue no. 160.

[757] Cf. ftn. 753. *'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*), *D* fol. 22v.

mi dge ba bcu char spong / byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pas kyang mi dge ba bcu spong ste/

> *gang la nyan thos theg pa yod gyur de la rang rgyal theg pa yod pa yin/ gang la rang rgyal theg pa yod kyang de la theg pa chen po yod pa yin/*

ces gsungs pas/ mi dge ba bcu spong / gsang sngags rigs 'dzin gyi sdom pas kyang mi dge ba bcu spong ste/

> *bcom ldan 'das la rje btsun gsang ba'i bdag pos gsang sngags kyi dam tshig gang lags zhus pas/ mi dge ba bcu spong ba'o*

gsungs pas mi dge ba bcu spong gsang sngags la nyon mongs pa ma spangs pas sangs rgyas mi 'ong ste/ bcom ldan 'das zhes gsungs pa'i phyir/ bcom pa ni bdud bzhi bcom pa yin te/ de'i ya gyal gcig nyon mongs pa'i bdud yin la/ nyon mongs pa de dug gsum yin pas de sdom pa gsum kas spong dgos par gsung rab rnams su sdar bzhin gsungs pa yin la/ 'khor ba(!) sdug bsngal de tsam du che ba na/ 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal thams cad skyed par byed pa chags sdang rmongs gsum dang / mi dge ba bcu yin/ zhe sdang gis kun nas bslang ba'i mi <434> dge ba bcu spyad pas dmyal bar skye/ chags pas kun nas bslang ba'i mi dge ba bcu spyad pas yi dag su skye/ gti mug gis kun nas bslang ba'i mi dge ba bcu spyad pas dud 'gror skye/ de mi dge ba bcu spyad pa'i rnam smin yin/

ngan song gi rnam smin de myong nas mir skyes nas kyang / mi dge ba bcu spyad pa'i myong ba rgyu 'thun yod[758] *srog bcad pa'i myong ba rgyu 'thun tshe thung nad mang / dus rtag tu na tsha'i kha nas mi thar ba yin/ byed pa rgyu 'thun srog gcod pa la dga' ba yin/ (... <435> ...) log par lta ba'i myong ba rgyu 'thun dkon mchog gsum la yid mi ches/ bden pa gnyis la sogs pa'i chos la yid mi ches pa yin/ byed pa rgyu 'thun rgyu 'bras la yid mi ches par log par lta ba 'dzin pa yin/*

'khor ba'i sdug bsngal thams cad skyed par byed pa chags sdang rmongs gsum mi dge ba bcu yin pas/ chags sdang rmongs gsum mi dge ba bcu la/ dgra dang skyon dang nyes dmigs su bsgoms nas/ rgyu 'bras la yid ches par bya ste/ mi dge ba phra ba yan chad la 'dzem pa yin/

---

[758] One should insert a *shad* (/) here.

[Thus] all the ten non-virtues are abandoned. Through the vows of the bodhisattvas, too, the ten non-virtues are abandoned, [as it is said:]

> Whatever exists in the vehicle of auditors, exists in the vehicle of solitary Buddhas. And whatever exists in the vehicle of solitary Buddhas, exists in the Mahāyāna.

Therefore the ten non-virtues are abandoned. Through the vows of the Tantric adepts, too, the ten non-virtues are abandoned.

> The Lord of Secrets asked the Lord [Buddha]: "What are the pledges of the Mantra?" [The Lord Buddha] answered: "Abandon the ten non-virtues!"

Therefore the ten non-virtues are [to be] abandoned. By not abandoning the defilements in the Mantra one cannot become a Buddha, because [a Buddha] is called "victoriously passed beyond" (skr. *bhagavant*, tib. *bcom ldan 'das*). [Here] "victorious" [means] victorious [over] the four māras. One of them is the māra of defilement (*kleśamāra*), and since the defilements are the three poisons, it has been very carefully taught in the holy scriptures that they must be abandoned through all the three vows. As the suffering [of] saṃsāra is so great, the things that produce all saṃsāric suffering are desire, hatred, and ignorance, and the ten non-virtues. Through the practice of the ten non-virtues motivated by hatred, one is born in hell. <434> Through the practice of the ten non-virtues motivated by desire, one is born among hungry ghosts. Through the practice of the ten non-virtues motivated by ignorance, one is born among animals. These are the karmic ripening of the practice of the ten non-virtues.

Even if one is born as a human after one has experienced the karmic ripening [as rebirths in] the lower realms, one has [karmic results] from having practiced the ten non-virtues in which the experience agrees with the cause. [The karmic result] where the experience is similar to the cause is short life and many illnesses. One can never escape from diseases. The [karmic result] in which one's actions agree with the cause is that one enjoys killing (...<435>...).[759] The [karmic result] from having entertained wrong views in which the experience agrees with the cause is that one has no confidence in the three supreme jewels. One has no confidence in such teachings as the two truths. The [karmic result] in which one's actions agree with the cause is that one holds to wrong views, lacking confidence with regard to cause and result.

Since desire, hatred, ignorance, and the ten non-virtues are the producers of all saṃsāric suffering, by learning to see desire, hatred, ignorance, and the ten non-virtues as enemies, faults, and defects, one should have confidence with regard to karmic cause and result, and one should avoid non-virtue down to the subtle [levels].

---

[759] Similarly it is explained for the other non-virtues.

'khor ba'i sdug bsngal thams cad skyed par byed pa chags sdang rmongs gsum/ mi dge ba bcu/ 'dod pa'i yon tan lnga/ phyin ci log bzhi yin pas/ de rnams la dgra dang skyon dang nyes dmigs su bsgoms nas/ ma chags pa dang / zhe sdang med pa dang / gti mug med pas kun nas bslang ba'i dge ba bcu nyams su blangs pas mtho ris lha dang mi'i lus thob nas 'ong/ dge ba bcu nyams su blangs pa'i myong ba rgyu 'thun dang byed pa rgyu 'thun/ srog bcod pa spangs pa'i myong ba rgyu 'thun tshe ring ba nad nyung / byed pa rgyu 'thun lus la gtar kha dang me btsā byed ma myong zer ba 'ong ba yin/ (... <436>...) log par lta ba spangs pa'i myong ba rgyu 'thun rgyu 'bras la yid ches pa/ dkon mchog gsum dang bden pa gnyis la sogs pa la yid ches <437> pa cig yong ba yin/ byed pa rgyu 'thun lta ba bzang po 'dzin pa cig yong ba yin/

mi dge ba'i nyes dmigs shes par byas nas mi dge ba phra ba yan chod spong ba yin/ dge ba'i phan yon shes par byas nas khas blangs pa'i bsrung sdom dag par byas nas las 'bras la yid ches par byed pa yin/ las 'bras man chad kyi chos de rnams thams cad thun mong gi lam yin/ nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas dang / rdo rje theg pa gsum ka'i lam yin te/ 'jig rten mgon pos/

so sor thar dang byang chub sems//
rig 'dzin sngags kyi sdom pa yis//
dam tshig sdom pa gang bsrungs pa//
nyon mongs dug gsum spong bar bya//

ces pas/ sdom pa gsum spang bya mi dge ba spong bar yang gnad gcig la/ gnyen po dge ba bcu sgrub par yang gnad dang rtsa ba gcig ste/ gnad ces bya ba srog yin te/ de yod med las med pa'i phyir/[760]

---

[760] Or: *de med las ['di] med pa'i phyir/?*

Since the producers of all saṃsāric suffering are desire, hatred, ignorance, the ten non-virtues, the five objects of the senses, and the four wrong views, [by] learning to see them as enemies, faults, and defects one will obtain the body of a deity or a human being in the higher realms, having practiced the ten virtues that are motivated by non-desire, absence of hatred, and absence of ignorance. [There are also the karmic results] from having practiced the ten virtues in which the experience agrees with the cause and in which one's actions agree with the cause. [The karmic result] from having abandoned killing in which the experience agrees with the cause is long life and little illness. [The karmic result from that] in which one's actions agree with the cause is that one will not experience (*sic!*) blood-letting and cauterization[761] (... <436> ...).[762] [The karmic result] from having abandoned wrong views which agrees with the cause is that one becomes a person who has confidence with regard to cause and result [and] who has confidence with regard to the three supreme jewels, the two truths, etc. <437> [The karmic result for that] in which one's activities agree with the cause is that one becomes a person who holds to a correct view.

Having been made to understand the faults of the non-virtues, one should abandon the non-virtues down to even very minor [infractions]. Having been made to understand the benefits of virtuous acts, one should purify the vows which one has taken, and one should make oneself trust in karma and result. All those teachings starting with "karmic cause and effect" on down(?) are the common path. They are the path of all three vehicles, [i.e. the vehicles of] the auditors, solitary Buddhas, and Mantra. [As was said] by 'Jig-rten-mgon-po:

> Whichever pledge [or] vow is observed
> through prātimokṣa vows, bodhisattva vows,
> and vows of the Tantric adepts,
> the defilements, [i.e.] the three poisons, are to be abandoned.

Therefore, not only do the three vows have the same vital point in their abandoning non-virtue, [i.e. actions motivated by defilements], but also in their accomplishing the antidote, namely the ten virtues, do they have the same vital point and root. The term vital point means "life-force," because there is nothing besides its existence or non-existence.[763]

---

[761] Here something must have gone wrong with the text. One would expect that the respective activity is to save life whenever possible. This is also explained in some detail in the "karma" (*las rgyu 'bras bu*) chapter in sGam-po-pa's *Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*. See Guenther (1959: 79).

[762] Similarly it is explained for the other virtues.

[763] *de yod med las med pa'i phyir* - a scribal error? Jackson proposes to read *de med las*

(continued...)

sdom pa gsum po gang rung gcig la nyams chags byung na gsum ka la 'byung ste/ dper na srog gi dbang po 'gags na dbang po gzhan thams cad gcig tu hril hril 'ong ba'i gnad yod de/ 'dir gcig la mtshon na/ srog gcod spong ba de mi chos bcu drug gi dang po yin la so sor thar sdom gyi rtsa bzhi'i ya gyal gcig yin/ de byang chub sems dpa'i sdom par smon pa ma skyes pa skye ba'i rgyu/ skyes nas bslab bya 'jug sdom gyi ngo bo/ gsang sngags su dbang bskur nas rtsa ltung gnyis pa bde gshegs bka' 'das kyi dam tshig tu 'ong / mthar thug sangs rgyas pa'i tshe dbang bcu las de tshe la dbang thob [/] de bzhin du dge mi dge thams <438> cad tshul de bzhin du 'ong bas/ 'di lta bu'i don la bsams nas/ bdag cag rnams kyis nyams len ma 'khrugs par bya gsung//

bdag po 'phos pas sdom pa gsum du 'ong bya ba 'di bzhugs/

de la yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i don/ brjod bya nyams len du dril na sdom pa gsum yin/

gsum du 'ong ba'i rgyu mtshan gang yin na/ 'ga' zhig na re/ sdom pa gsum spang bya mi mthun pa gsum du byung ba yin zer/ 'ga' zhig na re/ sgrub bya nyams len tha dad pa gsum du byung ba yin zer/ 'ga' zhig na re/ thob bya 'bras bu mi mthun pa gsum du 'byung ba yin zer te/ de ltar bsrung rgyu mi mthun pa tha dad pas sdom pa gsum gyi khyad par phye ba yin pas sdom pa gsum len na so sor len/ gnas na gcig tu gnas/ bsrung na 'chol par bsrung bya ba yin zer/

'dir zhal snga nas/ sdom pa gsum kas kyang mi dge ba bcu 'khor dang bcas pa spong la/ dge ba bcu 'khor dang bcas pa sgrub pa yin pas

---

763(...continued)
['di understood] *med pa'i phyir*: "Because [that] does not exist when [this one] fails to exist."

If a transgression occurs against any one of the three vows, it occurs against all three. For example, there exist vital points [in one's body] which, if damaged, will cause all the other sense faculties together automatically to cease functioning. If one illustrates [the matter] here through one [example], to give up killing is the first of the sixteen rules of men,[764] and it is one of the four fundamental [vows] of the prātimokṣa vows. That [i.e. not to kill] is the cause for the arising of the [yet] unarisen "resolve" (*smon pa*) within the bodhisattva vows. After [the resolve] arose, [to abandon killing] is the nature of the "actualization-[of-resolve]-vow" [which is] the [actual] training (*bslab bya 'jug sdom).* After one is initiated into Mantra, [to abandon killing] becomes the pledge of [guarding against] the second fundamental transgression, [i.e.] "transgressing against the rules [enacted by] the Sugata." Finally, at the time when [oneself has become a] Buddha, [to abandon killing becomes] the obtaining of the "power over life" from among the ten powers. Likewise all the virtues and non-virtues <438> function similarly. Therefore [the lord 'Jig-rten-mgon-po] taught that we should perform [our] practice in a way that is not mixed up, keeping the above point in mind.

[The next vajra utterance **(1.25)**] is: **The vows become three because the possessor has changed.** Now, if one summarizes as practice the content or sense [expressed] by the completely perfected Buddha, the Exalted One through his turning the wheel of Dharma, it is the three vows.

[Question]: "What is the reason for [their] coming as three?" [Opinions of others:] Some say: "The three vows arise for the three incompatible [things] to be abandoned." Some say: "[The three vows] arise for the three different things to be achieved, namely practices." Some say: "[The three vows] arise for the three incompatible things to be obtained, namely the spiritual results." [Such people] say that since the incompatible things to be observed [i.e. the things to be abandoned, practices, and results] are thus different, the specifics of the three vows are differentiated. Therefore, if the three vows are taken, they are to be taken individually, if they continue, they continue individually (? "as one," *gcig tu*), and if they are observed, they are to be observed as entrusted.

[Reply:] In this regard, the [lord 'Jig-rten-mgon-po] taught: "All three vows remove the ten non-virtues together with anything of their kind,[765] and [they] achieve the ten virtues together with anything of their kind.

---

[764] The *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* lists the "sixteen pure rules [for] men" that were promulgated by Srong-btsan-sgam-po, but avoiding killing is not explicitly among them. One can, however, understand it implicitly through the rule "to benefit the people of the country and the villagers [or: neighbours]."

[765] *'khor dang bcas pa* is similar to *phyogs gtogs*.

sdom pa'i ngo bo la tha dad du bya ba cung zad tsam yang med gsung/

'o na de ltar tha dad med na sdom pa gsum zhes bya bar bzhag tu med ce na/

'dir bsrung rgyu gcig kyang bdag po 'phos pa'i bye brag gis sdom pa gsum du 'gyur te/ dper na g.yu rdog gam/ gser sbram cig 'bangs phal pa'i mgul du btags na/ de thams cad kyis reg tu yod cing 'bangs kyi rgyan du 'ong/ blon po'i mgul du btags[766] *na phal gyis reg tu med cing blon po'i rgyan du 'ong/ de rgyal po'i mgul du btags na gzhan gyis bltar yod kyang reg tu med cing rgyal po'i rgyan du 'ong bas rgyan gyi ngo bo la khyad par med de/ 'dogs sa gsum gyi byed pas gsum du byung ba dang 'dra/ <439> byed las sam bsgrub bya yang mi gcig ste/ dper na zas za bar 'dra yang za rgyu gang yin de g.yog gam 'bangs phal pas zos na me 'bud shing len pa la sogs pa'i bya ba byed la/ blon po 'am stag shar*[767] *gyis zos na srid 'tsho ba 'am dgra 'dul ba'i bya ba byed/ rgyal po 'am/ dge ba'i bshes gnyen*[768] *gyis zos na/ yul ris dang rgyal khams kyi phan bde sgrub pa dang 'dra bas/ mi dge ba bcu 'khor bcas kyi 'gro ldog 'di yang sdom pa gsum nyams su len pa'i gang zag gsum gyi spong lugs dang sgrub lugs tha dad pa bzhin du/ 'bras bu yang tha dad du so sor 'thob pas/ de ltar na don nyams len la bsrung rgyu la khyad par ram/ bye brag rdul tsam yang med kyang nyams su len mkhan bdag po gsum gyi khyad par gyis sdom pa gsum du byung ste/ 'di ni bcom ldan 'das la rje btsun gsang ba'i bdag pos sngags kyi dam tshig gi zhu ba phyi ma zhus pa la brten nas gsungs pa'i don de yin gsung//*

---

[766] The text has *brtags*.

[767] Gloss?

[768] Gloss?

And therefore the nature of the three vows is not to be even slightly differentiated."

[Objection]: "In that case, if there is thus no difference [between them], they should not be termed 'the three vows.'"

[Answer]: Here, even though the thing to be observed [through all three vows] is the same, they become three vows through the differences of a changing possessor. For example, it is like when a piece of turquoise or a gold amulet(?) is hung around the neck of a common subject, it can be touched by everyone and it becomes the ornament of a subject. If it is hung around the neck of a minister, it is not to be touched by common people and it becomes the ornament of a minister. If it is hung around the neck of a king, even though it will be looked at by others, it is not to be touched, and it becomes the ornament of a king. Therefore, there is no difference with regard to the nature of the ornament, but it occurs as three through the functioning of the three places where it is hung. <p.439> Its action performed or thing to be achieved is also different. For example, it is like even though the eating of food is similar [for various people], if whatever is to be eaten is eaten by a servant or an ordinary subject, then [that person] will perform the action of collecting fire wood, etc. If it is eaten by a minister or a strong young man, [that person] will perform the action of sustaining life or subduing enemies. If it is eaten by a king or by a spiritual teacher, [that person] will establish benefits and happiness for the country or kingdom. Therefore, also with regard to this functioning of the ten non-virtues together with anything of their kind, the results will be separated [and] individually obtained in accordance with the different systems of abandoning and establishing for the three persons who practice the three vows. Therefore, in that way, there is not the slightest difference or distinction with regard to that which is observed in the practice of the matter, but the vows nevertheless come to exist as three through differences between the three possessors [of the vows], i.e. the practitioners. This is the sense expressed in the [text] *The Later Requesting of the Mantra Pledges by the Lord of the Secrets [Vajrapāṇi] from the Exalted One.*[769] So taught ['Jig-rten-mgon-po].

---

[769] This is an otherwise unidentified Tantric text dealing with the pledges of Mantra.

<322> rdo rje'i gsung //

sngags kyi[770] *mi dge ba dge bar 'gyur ba'i gnas med bya ba 'di bzhugs/ de la spyir mtshan nyid rgyu'i theg pa dang / 'bras bu sngags kyi theg pa'i khyad par ni/ mtshan nyid pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa la/ 'dul ba dang theg chen gnyis las/ dam pa'i chos 'dul ba gzhi spong ba'i lam pa yin/ mtshan nyid pha rol tu phyin pa gzhi sbyong ba'i lam pa yin/ gsang sngags thabs mkhas pas gzhi bsgyur ba'i lam pa yin te/ 'dod chags lam du bsgyur ba bde ba'i ting nge 'dzin/ 'bras bu longs spyod rdzogs sku/ zhe sdang lam du bsgyur ba gsal ba'i ting nge 'dzin 'bras bu sprul pa'i sku/ gti mug lam du bsgyur ba mi rtog pa'i ting nge 'dzin 'bras bu chos kyi skur bsgyur ba dang / sha lnga bdud rtsi lnga dang chang bdud rtsir bsgyur ba yin pas/ rnam rtog ci tsam mang ba bzhin du ye shes kyi rol par 'char ba yin zer/*

'ga' zhig na re/ gsang sngags nyid kyang gzhi spong ba'i lam pa yin te/ gzhi la yod pa thams cad spangs nas/ 'bras bu de las bzang ba mthar thug pa cig yod pa de sgrub pa yin zer/ rnying ma ba 'ga' zhig na re/ gzhi'i rang bzhin shes pa lam yin te/ rgyu 'bras thams cad stong pa nyid yin pas/ 'di shes shing rtogs na grol bar 'gyur ba'i phyir/ gzhi la ji ltar yod pa de nyid bsgoms pas 'bras bu yang de kho na 'dra ba cig 'byung ba yin/ rgyu rkyen gzhan mi dgos <323> zer/

[770] The text has *kyis*, but I prefer to read *kyi*.

<322> [The next] vajra utterance **(5.23.)**] is this:

There exists no occasion where a non-virtue of the Mantra becomes virtue.

[Other opinions:] Regarding that, [some] say that in general, with regard to the difference between the Causal Vehicle of Non-Tantric Doctrine[771] and the Resultant Mantra Vehicle, the Vehicle of the Non-Tantric Doctrine[772] has two parts: the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna. Of these, the noble doctrine of the Vinaya is a teaching belonging to the path that abandons the basis [i.e. defilement-ridden existence]. The [Mahāyāna]-Perfections of the Non-Tantric Doctrine belong to the path that purifies the basis. Mantra belongs to the path that transforms the basis through skill in means. The transformation of desire into the path is the *samādhi* of bliss, of which the result is the *sambhogakāya*. The transformation of hatred into the path is the *samādhi* of clarity, whose result is the *nirmaṇakāya*. The transformation of ignorance into the path is the *samādhi* of [mental] non-construction, of which the result is transformation into the *dharmakāya*; and the five kinds of flesh and the five kinds of fluids and alcohol are transformed into nectar. Therefore the more [mental] constructions arise, the more [opportunity exists that] the play of gnosis arises.

Some say that Mantra itself also belongs to the path which abandons the basis; after one has gotten rid of everything that exists on the level of the basis, one establishes a result that is better than that and that is an ultimate result. Some rNying-ma-pas say that to understand the nature of the basis is the path, since all causes and results are emptiness, and therefore if one understands and realizes that [nature], liberation will ensue. By cultivating in meditation just that which exists on the basis, a result, too, which is exactly like that will appear. No other causes or conditions are necessary. <323>

---

[771] According to the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* the *rgyu'i theg pa* is, in general, the vehicle which practices as the path the cause through which buddhahood is obtained, such as the perfection of the thirty-seven elements of awakening. As contrasted with *'bras bu sngags kyi theg pa*, however, of which the full form is "the Resultant Mantra Vajra Vehicle" (*'bras bu gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa*), the same source gives "the Causal Vehicle of Definition [or the Defining Marks]" (*rgyu mtshan nyid kyi theg pa*). The key point appears to be the Tantric theory of "taking the fruit [or result] as the path" (*'bras bu lam byed*), which is opposed to the path of the Non-Tantric doctrines as a whole. Elsewhere the term *mtshan nyid pa* came to mean a dialectician or scholastic monk, who analyzes the meaning through scripture and reasoning, possibly through a different etymology (*mtshan nyid* = "definition").

[772] Here the vehicle *mtshan nyid kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa* should be without *pha rol tu phyin pa*, since this vehicle is in the next step further divided into the main subsections Vinaya—which stands for *nyan thos kyi theg pa*—and Mahāyāna (*theg [pa] chen [po]*).

'dir zhal snga nas// de rnams gang yin yang gsang sngags su mi 'gyur gsung/

'o na gang yin na/

gzhi sbyong ba'i lam pa yin te/ phar phyin gzhi sbyong ba'i lam par 'dod pa dang rang re'i 'di 'thun/ de yang rang nyid gdod ma nas/ sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi dkyil 'khor gyi 'khor lo dang bcas pa gcig yin pa la/ blo bur gyi sgrib pas bsgribs pas/ de bsal na 'bras bu mthar thug gi sangs rgyas su gsungs te/ kye'i rdo rje'i brtag pa 'og ma le'u bzhi pa las/

sems can rnams ni sangs rgyas te[773]*//*
'on kyang blo[774] *bur dri mas bsgribs//*
de nyid bsal nas[775] *sangs rgyas nyid//*

ces gsungs pas/ gzhi sbyong ba'i lam yin te/ gsang sngags 'bras bu lam du byed pa'i rgyu mtshan yang de yin/ bsgyur ba'i lam par 'dod pa ni/ sa bon bra bo la[776] *'bras bu nas mi*[777] *'byung ba dang mtshungs/ de yin na gsang sngags badzra las drangs pa'i/ sgra don gsang sngags rdo rje'i theg par yang mi 'gyur te/*

'dir gsang sngags re shig zhog / gzhi bsgyur lam du 'dod pa ni/ mtshan nyid kyi lam du yang mi 'gyur te/ mtshan nyid du yang rang nyid sangs rgyas bral 'bras yon tan dang bcas pa gdod nas yin pa la blo bur gyi dri mas bsgribs pas[778] *don de ston pa la/ sangs rgyas phal po che las/ bcom ldan 'das kyis stong gsum dar yug gi dpe mdzad nas bstan pas/*

---

[773] Snellgrove: *nyid.*

[774] Snellgrove: *glo.*

[775] Snellgrove: *na.*

[776] The parallel passage in Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-dbang-phyug's *dGongs gcig gsal byed,* fol. 104r, suggests *las.*

[777] Om. *mi,* since the negation contradicts the sense. See ftn. 781.

[778] The genitive would be preferable.

[Reply:] In this regard [the lord 'Jig-rten-mgon-po] taught that whatever those [positions] may be, they are not [true] Mantra.

[Question:] "In that case, what is [Mantra]?"

[Answer:] [Mantra] belongs to the path that purifies the basis. The opinion that the Perfections Vehicle (*pāramitā*) belongs to the path that purifies the basis and this [position] of ours agree. Moreover, it is taught [by the Buddha] that oneself from the beginning has been someone possessing the wheel of the maṇḍala of the lord Buddha, but [that] has been obscured by adventitious[779] defilements. If [these] are removed, the result is the Buddha of the ultimate fruit. In the fourth chapter of the second part of the *Hevajratantra* it is said:[780]

> Sentient beings [are] the Buddha.
> They are, however, obscured by adventitious defilements.
> If these are removed, they are buddhas.

Therefore [Mantra] is a path that purifies the basis. This is also the reason that Mantra [functions through] taking the result as the path. The opinion that [Mantra] belongs to a path that transforms [the basis] is like getting barley as fruit from a seed of buckwheat.[781] If that would be the case, the etymological sense of the [Sanskrit] *mantra vajra* (Tib. *badzra*) would not be the *mantra[yāna] vajrayāna* (Tib. *gsang sngags rdo rje'i theg pa*).[782]

Let us here leave Mantra aside for the time being. To hold the transformation of the basis as the path will also not [work] for the General Non-Mantric [Mahāyāna] Path. In the General Non-Mantric [Mahāyāna], too, we ourselves have been from the beginning [in possession of] the separation-result of buddhahood together with [its positive] qualities, but we have been obscured by adventitious defilements. Thus, in order to demonstrate this, the Exalted One explained in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka[sūtra]* using the example of the three-thousand rolls of silk-cloth.[783]

---

779 *blo bur* is another orthographic form of *glo bur*.

780 Snellgrove (1959: vol. 2, ch. IV, v. 69).

781 Getting barley from the seed of buckwheat is an example for an impossible transformation. The Tibetan text has "*not* getting barley from the seed of buckwheat," which would be an example for 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's opinions that the basis cannot be transformed into something else.

782 This remark remains unclear. Is this an example for the unchangeable Buddha-nature, i.e. is the concept of an unchangeable vajra referred to, or has this to do with the concept of the possibility of "translation," i.e. that sort of change where the thing "transformed" remains the same—hence where the emphasis is not on change but on continuity?

783 I have not been able to locate this particular story in the *Buddhāvatamsakasūtra*. Cf. rDo-rje-shes-rab, *dGongs gcig yig cha*, vol. 2. pp. 348 f.

sgrib pa de lta bu de sbyong bar byed pa la thabs mkhas pa'i sgo tshang bar byas nas nyams su blangs pas sgrib pa dag nas/ gzhi la ji ltar yod pa'i sangs rgyas de mngon du 'gyur bar gsungs pa dang / gzhan yang nges don chos kyi 'khor lo'i mdo rnams su tshul de ltar gsungs te/ rgyud bla ma las/

nyes pa blo <324> bur dang ldan dang //
yon tan rang bzhin nyid ldan phyir//
ji ltar sngar bzhin phyis de bzhin//
'gyur ba med pa'i chos nyid do//

ces gsungs pas/ gzhi sbyong ba'i lam pa 'di lta bu ni mtshan nyid pha rol tu phyin pa yang yin gsung / gzhi bsgyur ba'i lam yin na ni sngags su mi 'gyur te/ sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis gnas dang gnas ma yin pa mkhyen pa'i ye shes dang 'gal ba'i phyir dang / bcom ldan 'das zhes pa bdud bzhi bcom pa yin pas/ de'i nang nas kyang bdud che shos nyon mongs pa'i bdud bcom pa la zer te/ kye'i rdo rje brtag pa gong ma de kho na nyid kyi le'u ste lnga pa las/

kun nas[784] *nyon mongs la sogs bdud//*
'joms[785] *phyir bcom ldan 'das shes bya//*

ces gsungs pas/

---

[784] Snellgrove: *yang na.*
[785] Snellgrove: *bcom.*

He taught that the buddhahood which is actually present in the basis will manifest itself, after purifying the obscurations by practicing with a full complement of skill in means in order to purify that sort of obscuration. Furthermore [the same point] is taught in a similar way in the sūtras of the Dharma wheel of definite meaning. Thus it is said in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*:[786] <324>

Since the faults are possessed [only] adventitiously
and the qualities are possessed [by] nature,
the unchangeable *dharmatā*
[exists] later just as it existed before.

Therefore this sort of teaching belonging to a path that purifies the basis is also the Non-Tantric Perfections [the master] says. If this were a path that transforms the basis, it could not be Mantra, because it would be incompatible with the Buddha's gnosis that perceives what is possible and what is impossible.[787] And also for the following reason:[788] Since "*bhagavan*" is [equivalent with] "destroyer of the four māras," he is called the destroyer of the *māra* of defilement which is the worst of the māras.[789] Thus in the fifth chapter of the first part of the *Hevajratantra*, the chapter on reality (v. 15ef), it is said:[790]

He is to be known as *Bhagavan*
because he has destroyed the māras such as the defilements (*saṃkleśas*).[791]

---

[786] This is not from one of the basic verses. The passage explains that the nature of the Buddha-nature neither changes through *saṃkleśa* nor through complete purification (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i khams ... kun nas nyon mongs pa dang rnam par byang ba de dag gis mi 'gyur ba...*). See Nakamura (1867: 81), and Takasaki (1966: 234).

[787] For the Buddha's gnosis of knowing what is possible and what is impossible, see above, p. 343.

[788] The reason is stated through the construction "*pa'i phyir*" which follows at the end of the next paragraph.

[789] This is one of the etymological explanations of the Tibetan term *bcom ldan 'das*. It also appears in Sanskrit works. See the following quote from the *Hevajratantra*.

[790] Snellgrove (1959: vol. 1, p. 16 f.): *yang na nyon mongs la sogs bdud// bcom phyir bcom ldan 'das shes bya.* Note the use of *bhañj* ("to break") in the Sanskrit text: *athavā kleśādimārāṇāṃ bhañjanād bhagavān iti.* Cf. the etymologies for *bhagavān* in Ishikawa (1990: 6).

[791] Snellgrove, *ibid.* has *kleśādi* instead of *saṃkleśādi.*

dug gsum la gzhi grub pa med pa dang / bsgyur bas 'gyur na mi dge ba dge bar 'gyur te/ rgyu 'bras kyi gshis dang 'gal bas mi 'gyur ba'i phyir ro//

gzhi spong ba'i lam pa yin na yang gsang sngags su mi 'gyur te/ de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po rtag pa dang 'gal ba'i phyir dang / gzhi'i dus su phung po dang khams dang skye mched thams cad lha'i dkyil 'khor yin pas/ de thabs mkhas pas nyams su blangs pas 'bras bu yang de kho na thob par 'gyur bas na/ gsang sngags 'bras bu lam du byed pa'i phyir ro//

gzhi rang bzhin shes pa'i lam pa gcig pu yin na yang gsang sngags su mi 'gyur te/ mnyam pa nyid rtogs nas rang bzhin shes kyang / gnyis med dbye ba med tshul du rtog pa skye bas sangs rgyas la sgrib par byed pas/ thabs mkhas pa'i sgo ma lus pa tshang dgos pa'i phyir dang / stong nyid rtogs nas/ stong nyid rgyu 'bras su 'byung ba'i phyir ro//

de ma gtogs pa gzhi'i rang bzhin shes pa'i lam phyogs gcig <325> ni sngags mtshan nyid gnyis ka la yod kyang de la thabs mkhas pa'i sgo ma tshang ba med pa/ rgyu 'bras kyi rten 'brel ma lus pa dgos pa yin gsung //

rdo rje'i gsung //

> *'dul bar dge ba de gsang sngags su yang dge la / mi dge ba de mi dge bar 'gyur bya ba 'di bzhugs/*

de la dam pa'i chos 'dul bar ni/ rtsa ba bzhi lta smos kyang ci dgos te chang yang bkag la/ theg pa chen po gsang sngags su/ gzhi mi dge ba 'dul bar nyes par 'gyur ba rnams kyang thabs mkhas pas dge bar 'gyur te/ ji skad du

> *'dod chags zhe sdang gti mug dang //*
> *nga rgyal phrag dog mi spang ngo//*

ces pa dang /

Therefore the three poisons lack an established basis,[792] and if they would change through transformation, non-virtue would transform into virtue, but there is no transformation[793] since that would be incompatible with the nature of cause and effect.[794]

Also if that were [a teaching] belonging to a path that abandons the basis, it could not be Mantra, because that would be incompatible with a permanent Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*), and because since at the time of the basis all the psycho-physical constituents of the person are the maṇḍala of the deity, one will attain just that result through practicing the [deity] through skill in means, and therefore Mantra takes the result as the path.

Also if [that teaching] belonged solely to a path that understands the nature [of] the basis, it could also not be Mantra, because it is necessary for [all] the media of skill in means without exception to be complete, since even though one has understood the nature after having realized sameness, there will arise a [mental] construction in the manner of "non-dual" [and] "inseparable" and this will obscure buddhahood; and because emptiness will arise as cause and result after one has realized emptiness.

Apart from that, even though one part of the path that consists in understanding the nature of the basis exists for both Mantra and Non-Mantra, <325> that requires a perfectly complete medium of skill in means and the entire dependent origination of causes and results. So taught [the master].

<325> [The next] vajra utterance **(5.24.)** is this:

> **That which is virtue in the Vinaya is virtue also in the Mantra, and that which is non-virtue [in the Vinaya] is non-virtue [also in the Mantra].**

[The opinion of others:] In this regard, [some say]: With regard to the holy teachings of the Vinaya, what need is there to mention the four fundaments, but even alcohol is prohibited! But in the Mantra [which belongs to the] Mahāyāna, even the basic non-virtue,[795] [i.e.] that which is morally faulty in the Vinaya, is virtuous through skill in means. As it is said [in a Mantra text]:

> One should not abandon desire, hatred,
> ignorance, pride, and jealousy.

---

[792] They exist, other than the qualities, only temporarily.

[793] The concise Tibetan formulation suggests this gloss.

[794] This reason refers to an assertion above, namely that the transformation of the basis could not be Mantra because it would be incompatible with the Buddha's gnosis that perceives what is possible and what is impossible.

[795] I.e. the four fundaments referred to in the previous sentence: killing, stealing, sex, and lying.

gsang 'dus pa dngos grub thams cad kyi dkyil 'khor mngon par byang chub pa'i le'u ste bcu drug pa las/

khyod kyis srog chags bsad par bya//
brdzun gyi tshig kyang smra bar bya//
ma byin par yang khyod kyis blang //
bud med dag kyang[796] *bsten par bya//*

ces pas/ rtsa ba bzhi la yang spyad pas chog la/ sha chang la sogs 'dul ba dang mi mthun pa'i zas rnams la yang spyad pas chog ste/ ji skad du/

chang med pa la dngos grub ci//
ye shes yang ni de bzhin no//

zhes gsungs pa dang /

sngags pa gzi mdangs bskyed pa'i phyir//
dpa' bo chang yang btung bar bya//

ces pas/ de lta bu rnams la longs spyad pas dge bar 'gyur bas/ gsang sngags kyi dngos grub thams cad thob par 'dod pa yin ces zer//

'dir zhal snga nas/ 'dul bar mi dge ba sngags su yang mi dge ste/ gsang sngags pa la[797] *cher/ bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'chang chen pos rgyud dkrugs/ lung gcus/ man ngag gab tu bcug pa yin pa dang / mtha' drug la dgongs pa can dang / sgra ci bzhin ma yin par* <326> *bshad pa dang / tshul bzhi las sbas don bshad pa shas che ba dang / ldem dgongs bzhi las bsgyur ba la ldem dgongs shas che bar gsungs pa dang / gsang sngags brdas bshad pa yin te/ gtan la phab pa las/*

---

[796] *P: pha rol bu med.*

[797] Read *phal* instead of *pa la.*

And in the sixteenth [chapter of] the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the chapter of the maṇḍala of all supramundane achievements, the supreme awakening, it is said [16.61 c-f]:[798]

> You should kill living beings!
> You should tell lies!
> You should also steal!
> You should also resort to women!

Therefore, not only may one indulge in the four fundamental [infractions], but also one may indulge in those nourishments which are incompatible with the Vinaya, such as meat and alcohol. As it is stated [in a Mantra text]:

> How could supramundane achievements [be possible] for someone who has no alcohol?
> And the same applies also for gnosis.

And:

> The Tantric adept, in order to produce the [bodily] radiance,[799]
> being a hero, he should drink alcohol, too.

Therefore, we maintain that all supramundane achievements of the Mantra are [thus] to be gained since it will be virtuous [if one practices] through indulging in such things. So [other people] say.

[Reply:] Here the lord ['Jig-rten-mgon-po taught that] non-virtue in the Vinaya is non-virtuous also in the Mantra. Regarding the Mantra [teachings] for the most part, the great Buddha Vajradhara has disordered the tantras, has turned around the authoritative statements (*lung*), and has hidden the pith instructions. And with regard to the six positions (*mtha' drug*, Skt. *ṣaṭkoṭi*) [he] taught through the intentional (*ābhiprāyika*) and non-literal (*na yathāruta*) [expression], <326> and from among the four ways (*tshul bzhi*) [he] explained mainly [with] the hidden meaning (*sbas don; sbas pa* = Skt. *garbhin*), and from among the four hidden intentions (*ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *abhisaṃdhi*) [he] taught mainly with hidden intention alluding to transformation (*bsgyur ba la ldem por dgongs pa*, Skt. *pariṇāmanābhisaṃdhi*), and [he] taught through the symbolic language (*brda*, Skt. *saṃketa?*) [of] Mantra. In the *gTan la phab pa* it is said:[800]

---

[798] The fundamental tantra of *Guhyasamāja*: *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs kyi gsang chen gsang ba 'dus pa zhes bya ba brtag pa'i rgyal po chen po (Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasyoguhyasamājanāmamahākalparāja) P* vol. 3, no. 81. Chapter XVI begins on 192-4-1. This passage is on 193-3-8. An almost identical passage is contained in the *Hevajratantra* II, iii, 29; see Snellgrove (1959: 56 f.).

[799] See ftn. 817 with some remarks on the potency that is ascribed to alcohol.

[800] Probably this is the *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa man ngag gtan la dbab pa (Upadeśaniścayanāmaśrīguhyasamājavṛtti), P* vol. 63, no. 2706.

ji ltar shin tu pha ma la//
bsti stang byas pas rjes su gzhol//
ji ltar nyams su blangs pa dag/
mtshams med sems can dmyal bar 'gro//

ces gsungs pa lta bu de'i don bshad na/ de nyid las

ma rig pa ni pha zhes bya//
'dod chags pa las[801] *ma zhes bya//*
bsti stang byas pas rjes zhugs nas//
mtshams med sems can dmyal bar 'gro//

ces gsungs pa lta bu yin pas/ 'dir gsang ba 'dus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud du/ rigs bzhi'i dam tshig gsungs pa de/ bshad rgyud dgongs pa lung bstan du/ don de nyid bkral te/ ci skad du/ rdo rje sbyor ba zhes bya ba'i dam tshig gis 'grub pa mchog bstan pa'i le'u ste bcu gnyis pa las/

ma byin pa la[802] *byang chub sems//*
kun rdzob ston[803] *pa brdzun smra ba//*
phung po srog chags gyur pa ste//
tshangs pa'i gnas bzhi bud med yin//
dgongs pa yis ni bshad pa la//
byis pa rnams ni yi ger rtog//
rdo rje theg par[804] *gnas 'dod*[805] *kyang //*
chos nyid de yis[806] *mi shes so//*

ces gsungs te/ de lta bu de 'dul bar yang gnang /

gnyis pa chang yang dgongs pa can dang / sgra ci bzhin ma yin pa ste/ 'jig rten mgon pos/

bde chen ro yi btung ba la//
chang zhes rnam par bshad pa'o//

ces pa dang /

---

[801] Read: *la.*
[802] *P + D: len pa.*
[803] *P: bsten, D: bstan.*
[804] *P + D: la.*
[805] *P + D: khyod.*
[806] *P + D: yang.*

Just as they very much(?) follow (? *rjes su gzhol*) their father and mother
by paying respect to [them],
those who practice in that way
will proceed immediately to hell.

If the meaning of such a teaching [of the Buddha] is explained, the same [text] states:

Following ignorance, i.e. the "father,"
[and] desire, i.e. the "mother"
by paying respect [to them]
one will proceed immediately to hell.

Since it is as taught in that text in this connection that teaching the pledges of the four families in the fundamental tantra of *Guhyasamāja*[807] is explained in the *bShad rgyud dgongs pa lung bstan* as [having] that very same sense. As it is said in the twelfth chapter which teaches the supreme attainment through the pledge called "vajra application" (*rdo rje sbyor ba*):"[808]

To steal [refers to] the resolve for awakening;
to reveal the relative [truth] is to tell lies;
the psycho-physical constituents [of the person] are the living beings;
the four brahmic states are women.[809]
[810]Fools consider the letters of what was taught
through allusion.
Even you[811] who dwell in the Vajra Vehicle,
do not understand the reality, either.[812]

Such a thing is also permitted in the Vinaya.

Secondly, [the teaching of the use of] alcohol, too, is [to be understood as] intentional and non-literal. [The lord] 'Jig-rten-mgon-po said:[813]

The drinking of the taste of great bliss
has been explained as "alcohol."

---

[807] See the above quote from the sixteenth chapter.

[808] It appears that the *bShad rgyud dgongs pa lung bstan* consists of twelve chapters, of which the twelfth chapter bears almost the same title as the twelfth chapter of the root tantra of *Guhyasamāja* (vol. 3, no. 81).

[809] This is possibly a wordplay: *tshangs pa'i gnas* and *tshangs par spyod pa*, i.e. Skt. *brahmavihāra* and *brahmacaryā*. The meaning is that to resort to women (which is of course the opposite of *brahmacaryā*) means to practice the four brahmic states.

[810] The following lines actually appear a bit further down in the source text.

[811] Here I follow *P* and *D*, reading *khyod*.

[812] Here I follow *P* and *D*, reading *yang*.

[813] I was as yet unable to identify this quote.

nga bde ba chen po'i chang gis bzi//
bzi gtam cal col smra ba la//
khyed phyogs ris kyi bka' skyon mi mdzad zhu//

ces pa dang / dgongs pa lung bstan yang dag par byang chub kyi sems bshad pa'i le'u ste gnyis pa las/ <327>

dgongs pa'i tshig la rmongs pa rnams//
gsungs pa'i don 'di ma rtogs nas//
gsungs pa[814] *'di las gzhan min zhes//*
de ni ji bzhin sgrar 'dzin to//

ces gsungs pa yin/

sngags kyi dam tshig tu bsten par gsungs pa de yang yi ge gsum gyis kha dog sgyur te 'o ma lta bu/ dri dang ro bsgyur te chab tsha lta bu/ nus pa bsgyur te bzi ba dang ra ro ba med par/ 'thungs pa tsam gyis rang byung lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes rtogs par nus pa/ dper na bram ze chen po thod pa'i chang la brten te sems nyid phyag rgya chen po'i rtogs pa shar ba de lta bu byung na/ gsang sngags kyi dam tshig tu gsungs pa yin/ de 'dra byung na 'dul ba dang mtshan nyid du yang bkag pa lta ci smos te ye gnang chen po yin/ de ltar ma yin par ci rung ma rung /

slob dpon bir wa pas kyang chang mang po gsol ba yin/ bdud rtsir bsgyur ma nus kyang / sngags kyi cho ga la brten nas chang 'thung ba gnang ba yin zer/

[814] *P*: *gsung ba.*

And:[815]

I am drunk on the alcohol of great bliss.
Please do not scold me blindly [lit.: "biased"]
for blathering drunken words.

And in the second chapter of the *dGongs pa lung bstan pa*, [i.e.] the "Explaining of the Correct Resolve for Awakening,"[816] it is said <327>:

Those who are ignorant of allusive words
do not understand this sense that has been taught
and saying: "the teaching is nothing but this,"
[they] take it to be a literal statement.

The teaching that one should make use of [such substances as of] the pledges of Mantra [are as follows:] Through the three syllables [*oṃ āḥ hūṃ*] one transforms the colour [of alcohol] and [it becomes] like milk; one transforms the smell and taste and [it becomes] like salt(?)-water; one transforms the potency[817] and by merely drinking [this nectar] remaining free from intoxication and drunkenness [one is] able to realize the innate simultaneously arisen gnosis. For example, the great brahmin [Saraha] resorted to the alcohol of the skull cup (*kapāla*), and if something such as the arising [of] the realization of the mind itself, [i.e.] Mahāmudrā, occurs, [that] was taught [by the Buddha] as the pledge of Mantra. If such [a thing] occurs, how could it be prohibited even in the Vinaya and again for the Non-Tantric [Mahāyāna] tradition? [It] is a great absolute permission! [But] not being like that, what is permissable and not permissable?

[Objection:] "The master Virūpa, too, drank a lot of alcohol. Even though one is unable to transform [alcohol] into nectar, relying on the ritual of Mantra one is permitted to drink alcohol."[818]

---

[815] 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, *Collected Writings*, vol. 2, p. 122.

[816] As above, *P* vol. 3, no. 83, p. 236-2-4.

[817] My colleague Anne MacDonald pointed out to me that these categories, i.e. colour, taste and (what I termed here) potency (*kha dog, ro* and *nus pa*), also appear in a medical context in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, in the commentary to ch. VI, v. 10a-b. There, *vīrya* is "un genre de force, certain pouvoir merveilleux, comme, par example, la guérison des hémorroides par le seul contact du corps avec l'herbe *arśa*." See La Vallée Poussin (1957: 281). Even though the power of alcohol is a lot less magic, there is a certain similarity, and I would expect a lot more similarities between Tantric and medical systems. Studies on the connection between Tantric, medical, and Taoist terminology, too, are certainly a *desideratum*.

[818] See for the latter two stories, rDo-rje-shes-rab, *dGongs gcig yig cha,* vol. 2, pp. 350 f. (Saraha); pp. 352 f. (Virūpa).

zhal snga nas cis kyang mi 'thung ma tshugs shing chang ni 'thung 'dod/ bsgyur ba'i nus pa yang rang la med na/ gsang sngags gsar snying med pa nas/ dri chen 'di bdud rtsi lnga'i che shos su gsungs/ chang la bdud rtsir gsungs pa de tsam med kyang rang chang 'thung 'dod pa'i phyir mgo snyoms la/ chang mang nyung ci tsam 'thung ba tsam du bdud rtsi chen po yang de dang mnyam du dkrug gis bsres la btung / de la bag dri nga bas mi tshugs par 'dug na bdud rtsi yul gsum phyogs na med de/ dug yin pas de bsten na/ 'dir yang bgegs mang pos gtser te/ smad cing nyams par gyur nas phyi mar dmyal ba ngu 'bod du skye bar gsungs pas/ gsang sngags su yang bkag ste/ bde mchog 'byung ba 'am <*328*> *sdom pa 'byung bar/ myos byed nges par 'byung ba'i*[819] *rim par phye ba nyi shu rtsa drug pa las/*

> *oṃ āḥ hūṃ zhes bya sngags kyis//*
> *rtag tu byin gyis brlab par bya//*
> *ha ho hriḥ zhes bya sngags kyis//*
> *sbyangs pa dang*[820] *ni rtogs bya ste//*
> *yi ge has ni kha dog 'phrog/*
> *ho yis dri ni 'joms pa ste//*
> *yi ge hriḥ yis nus pa'ang*[821] *bcom//*
> *bdud rtsi rnam par bsten par bya//*

---

[819] *P: bstan pa.*
[820] *P: sbyang ba nang.*
[821] rDo-rje-shes-rab: *pa.*

[Reply:] The lord ['Jig-rten-mgon-po] taught: If one absolutely cannot resist to drink, and wishes to drink alcohol, and if one does not have also the ability to transform [it, one should know that] it was taught in all tantras without any distinction of new and old that this very excrement is the greatest of the five nectars. With regard to alcohol, it is not taught that much as being nectar. However, since oneself desires to drink alcohol, one [should] equalize [the two substances], and having mixed as much alcohol as one will drink with that great nectar [i.e. excrement], one should drink it. If one cannot bear that because of its bad smell, the nectar does not exist anywhere within the three objects.[822] And since it is poison, here, too, one is harmed by many demons if one resorts to it. Thus it is taught [by the Buddha] that being low[823] and destroyed, later one will be born in the howling hell. Therefore, [alcohol] is prohibited also in Mantra. In the *bDe mchog 'byung ba* or *sDom pa 'byung ba*, in the twenty-sixth chapter, the teaching on alcohol, it is said:[824]

Bless [i.e. control it] constantly
through the Mantra "*oṃ āḥ hūṃ!*"
Purify and realize [it]
through the Mantra "*ha ho hriḥ!*"
Steal the colour with the syllable "*ha!*"
Defeat the smell with "*ho!*"
Defeat the potency, too, with the syllable "*hriḥ!*"
[Thus you] should fully partake of the nectar!

---

[822] The "three objects" (*yul gsum*) are according to the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*: *zhen yul, snang yul* and *dmigs yul*. Their Sanskrit equivalents are not clear. These terms are part of an actually fourfold division, where *zhen yul* is replaced by *'jug yul* in cases of direct perception, and where *dmigs yul* is sometimes given as *gzung yul*. There difference lies in the distinction between what appears to a consciousness and what is being comprehended by it. See Anne Klein (1986: 38), and Lati Rinpoche (1980: 28 f.).

[823] Or *smod [par 'gyur]*, as below, i.e. "insulted?"

[824] *bDe mchog 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po (Śrīmahāsaṃvarodaya-tantrarājanāma)*, *P* vol. 2, no. 20. Chapter twenty-six is on pp. 216-3-4 to 217-2-6. The quote starts on 216-5-1. A canonical commentary to this tantra is the *dPal sdom pa 'byung ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i dka' 'grel padma can (Śrīsaṃvarodayamahātantrarajasya-padminīnāmapañjikā)*, *P* vol. 51, no. 2137. This section is dealt with on pp. 110-1-8 to 111-2-3.

lha[825] *gsum la sogs dang bral bar//*
ci[826] *ste dam tshig can gyis 'thung*[827] *//*
de las dug 'gyur the tshom med//
sngags kyi dngos grub mi skye'o//
su zhig chang gis myos gyur pa[828]*//*
de la bgegs ni mang po 'byung //
sngags pa chang gis myos gyur pa[829]*//*
'dod la brkam zhing 'khrig par sred//
rgod cing glu[830] *ni de bzhin len//*
'thab[831] *mo la spro rnam par 'khrul//*
smod cing nyams par byed pa ste[832]*//*
ngu 'bod dmyal bar 'tshed par 'gyur//
rnal 'byor ma rnams khros nas ni//
de la nad dang mya ngan 'jigs//
'jigs par byed pas rnam[833] *gtses nas//*
sdig can dmyal bar 'khrid par 'gyur//
bla ma la 'khu bla ma smod//
sems can 'khu la sbyin mi bya//
bdud rtsi de nyid dug de nyid//
dngos grub sgrub[834] *pa 'bras bu med//*
sngags pas 'di dag spang bar ni//
sngon gyi sangs rgyas rnams kyis gsungs//
tsa ru'i bza' bar ldan[835] *pa dang //*
cho ga yang dag ldan pas spyad//

ces gsungs pa dang / kye'i rdo rje las/

dag pas dug med byas nas ni//

ces pas/

---

[825] According to *P* and commentary. lHa-btsun Nam-mkha'-snying-po and rDo-rje-shes-rab read: *ha*.

[826] *P*: *ji*.

[827] *P*: *mthungs*.

[828] *P*: *'gyur ba*.

[829] *P*: *rnam 'gyur bas*.

[830] *P*: *klu*.

[831] *P*: *thab*.

[832] *P*: *pas kyang*.

[833] rDo-rje-shes-rab: *rnams*.

[834] rDo-rje-shes-rab: *grub*.

[835] rDo-rje-shes-rab: *ba bsten*.

But if [it is] drunken by those who possess the pledges [of Mantra],
[while they are] separated from the three deities,[836] etc.,
there is no doubt that it turns into poison
[and] the supramundane achievements of Mantra will not arise.
Many demons will appear
for him who has become intoxicated by alcohol.
A Tantric adept who gets drunk on alcohol (*P*: [whose state of mind] is altered by alcohol)
longs for passion and craves for sex.
[They are] become wild[837] and sing songs accordingly.
[They] delight in fights [and] are completely deluded.
[They] abuse [themselves] and destroy [their vows].
[They] will be cooked in the howling hell.
The yoginīs become furious [with them]
and they scare them [with] disease and misery.
Having been tortured by being terrified,
the sinful ones are led to hell.
Do not give [nectar] to those who offend the guru,
[who] abuse the guru, [and who] offend sentient beings!
That very nectar is this same poison!
The acquiring of supramundane achievements has no result.
That the Tantric adepts abandon such [wrong practices]
has been taught by the former Buddhas.
Resort to the [three white] offerings[838]
and partake of them through the completely pure ritual!

And in the *Hevajra[tantra]*[839] it is said:

Having removed the poison through purity ...

---

[836] Both rDo-rje-shes-rab and lHa-btsun Nam-mkha'-snying-po read *ha gsum la sogs*, "the three *has*, etc.," i.e. the three *has* as they are contained in the three syllables *ha, ho, hriḥ*? The canonical commentary, however, explains *lha* as it appears in *P*. According to that, the three deities are Vairocana, Amitābha, and Akṣobhya, whose natures are the syllables *oṃ, āḥ,* and *hūṃ*.

[837] The Sanskrit text, I am informed by Dr. Harunaga Isaacson, has "they dance (*nṛtyate*) and sing songs," which makes perfect sense here.

[838] The three white *gtor mas* (*dkar gsum gyi bshos bu*, or *zas dkar gsum*), i.e. yoghurt, butter, and milk. Cf. *Good Vase*, section 1, p. 276.

[839] *Hevajratantra* I, ix, 7d: *nirviṣīkṛtyaśuddhitaḥ*.

ma dag pa gzugs sdug pa la sogs pa'i 'dod yon la dbang po 'jug pa yin pas/ rnal 'byor pa bskyed rdzogs gnyis kyi nus pa dang ldan zhing / phyi'i 'dod yon gyis rang rgyud tshur zil gyis gnon mi nus pa snang ba la dbang bsgyur ba/ seng ge lta bu rnams kyi nyams len <329> las bong rgan lta bu mthu med pa rnams kyis byas na rang rmas shing gnad[840] *par 'ong bas/ 'grel pa dri ma med pa'i 'od las/*

las dang po pas rnal 'byor pa'i spyod pa mi bya//
rnal 'byor pas grub pa thob pa'i spyod pa mi bya//
grub pa thob pas thams cad mkhyen pa'i spyod pa mi bya//

zhes gsungs pas/ brtan pa thob pa'i gang zag snang ba la dbang bsgyur zhing 'gro ba 'dul ba'i thabs tshul du ma ston pa de ni 'dul bar yang ma bkag ste ma gha dha bzang mo'i rtogs pa brjod pa las/ dgra bcom pa rnams la de bzhin gshegs pa'i bka' mngon sum du gnang ba/ grong khyer bu ram shing 'phel du khyim bdag phya mkhan 'dul ba la dgongs nas/ sras sgra can 'dzin bzang pos/ 'khor los bsgyur ba'i cha lugs su sprul pas 'gro ba dpag tu med pa'i don byung ba yin/

sngags nas kyang rgyal po'i cha lugs su btsun mo'i 'khor dang rgyan la sogs pa rgyal po indra bo dhi lta bu 'gro ba 'dul ba'i thabs la mkhas pa yin pas/ u rgyan gyi khyi tshun chad mkha' spyod du khrid pa yin/

mtshan nyid pha rol tu phyin pa la yang brgyad stong pa las/ byang chub sems dpa' chos 'phags rten dge slong yin yang / btsun mo brgyad khri'i dbus na bzhugs nas 'dod yon gyis rtse zhing / 'gro ba dpag tu med pa'i don mdzad pa yin pas/

[840] Read: *gnod.*

Therefore, [this is] the practice of those [yogis] who are like a lion, who have power over appearances, meditators who possess the ability [to remain in] both [stages of] production and perfection and whose mind cannot be overpowered by the outer objects of the senses through the sense organs engaging the impure sense objects such as the pleasing forms. But if [such practices as drinking alcohol] <329> are performed by those who are without power like an old donkey, they will wound and hurt[841] themselves. Therefore it is said in the *Commentary Vimalaprabhā*:[842]

> Therefore the beginner should not perform the activities of a yogi, the yogi should not perform the activities of an adept, and the adept should not perform the activities of an Omniscient One.

Therefore, the controlling of appearances and revealing of many means of training living beings by a person who has obtained firmness, is not prohibited even in the Vinaya. In the *Avadāna of Sumagadha*,[843] the Tathāgata's direct command to the arhats [was such that] intending to tame the householder Sthapati in the town Bu-ram-shing-'phel (Skt. Puṇḍravardhana, *Mvyt.* 4113), [Buddha's] son Rāhulabhadra magically manifested himself in the dress of a universal emperor whereby the benefitting of immeasurable beings came to pass.

In the Mantra, too, someone like the king Indrabodhi, in the outfit of a king, [with] the retinue of queens and ornaments, etc., was an expert with regard to skill in means for training living beings, and consequently [everyone] in [his kingdom] Uḍḍiyāna, including the dogs, was led to the celestial realms.[844]

For the Perfections Tradition within the Non-Tantric doctrinal systems, too, it is said in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā (Prajñāpāramitā)* [that] even though the bodhisattva Dharmodgata was a full monk, he amused himself with the sense-objects remaining in the midst of eighty-thousand ladies, and he benefitted immeasurable sentient beings.[845]

---

[841] Read *gnod*.

[842] A large commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, the *bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od (Vimalaprabhānāmamūlatantrānusāriṇīdvādaśasāhasrikālaghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā), P* vol. 46. no. 2064. The same passage is also quoted by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī.

[843] *Sumagadhāvadāna*, *P* vol. 40, no. 1015. See for this story also rDo-rje-shes-rab, vol. 2, pp. 353 ff.

[844] See for this story rDo-rje-shes-rab, vol. 2, pp. 346 ff.

[845] See for example Conze (1958: 204-205): "The bodhisattva Dharmodgata, however, with his retinue, diverts, enjoys and amuses himself only for a certain time, and thereafter he always demonstrates the perfection of wisdom (...). Many hundreds of thousands of living beings, Gods and men, assemble there to listen."

'dul ba'i nyan thos 'phags pa dgra bcom pa rnams kyi mdzad pa dang / theg chen gyi de lta bu dang / sngags kyi slob dpon rgyal po indra bo dhi dang / bir wa pa la sogs pa grub thob rnams kyi mdzad pa de dag ni khyad par med par mtshungs pa yin pas rang nyid 'dod yon la zhe 'dod kyi dgur khrid mi bya/ <330>

gzhan yang 'dul bar gang zag gi rigs kyis 'dod yon gyis mi gnod pa yang yod de/ bcom ldan 'das kyis nga'i nyan thos rnams kyis mi sdug pa bsgoms pa la brten nas rnam par grol ba thob pa la/ dge slong seng ge ni sdug pas rnam par grol ba thob bo zhes gsungs pa yin la/ sngags su yang / rgyal po indra bo dhi lta bu mtshan nyid [phar phyin?] du yang byang chub sems dpa' dga' byed lta bu yin/

'dul ba nas rab tu byung ba'i lag len gso sbyong byed par gsungs la sngags nas kyang / dang por gso sbyong sbyin par bya// ces pa yod pas/ de ltar sngags kyis[846] *sbas pa'i don rnams la dgongs pa len dgos pa yin/*

'o na sgra gcan 'dzin bzang po'i[847] *de lta bu de sprul pa yin ce na/*

slob dpon rgyal po'i[848] *de lta bu yang rdo rje 'chang gi sprul pa yin la/ de tsam du chos thams cad kyang / sprul pa yin par yum rgyas pa las gsungs pas/ 'dir dgongs pa tshad mar gyur ba sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis gnas dang gnas ma yin pa mkhyen pa'i ye shes dang mthun pa 'di'i rjes su 'brang ste/ bcom ldan 'das kyis des bar du gcod par gsungs pa'i chos rnams kyis bar du gcod par mi 'gyur ro// zhes lha dang bcas pa'i 'jig rten na sus kyang chos dang 'thun par rgol bar nus pa med ces mi 'jigs pa bzhi'i spangs pa la dam bcas pa las gsungs pas/*

---

[846] Read: *kyi*.

[847] Better to om. the genitive?

[848] Better om. the genitive?

Therefore, since the deeds of the auditors, saints, [and] arhats of the Vinaya and such [deeds] of the Mahāyāna, and those deeds of the adepts such as the master of the Mantra [practices] king Indrabodhi and Virūpa are the same without any difference, do not mislead yourself with[849] desire for sense-objects.

<330> Furthermore in the Vinaya there also exist [persons who] through their [being a specific] type of person are not harmed by the sense-objects; thus the Exalted One said: "My auditors obtain complete liberation through meditating on disgusting things, but the monk Siṃha obtained complete liberation through beautiful things." And in the Mantra, too, it is like king Indrabodhi, [and] in the Non-Tantric doctrines [of the Perfections] it is like the bodhisattva *dGa'-byed*.[850]

In the Vinaya it is taught [by the Buddha] that to perform the public confession (*poṣadha*) [is] a limb of ordination, and in the Mantra too, it is said [in the *Hevajratantra*, ch. IX, vv. 9-10]:[851]

In the beginning one should offer public confession ...

Therefore, one must thus extract the intention regarding those hidden meanings of the Mantra.

[Objection:] "Is not such a one as Rāhulabhadra a magical emanation?"

[Answer:] That sort of king, the master [Indrabodhi], too, is a magical emanation of Vajradhara. And it has been taught in the large *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* that to that extent all phenomena, too, are magical emanations. Therefore, here [we] follow the genuine intention, which is in agreement with the Buddha's[852] gnosis that perceives what is and what is not possible. Because it is taught by the Exalted One in the assertion with regard to the "abandoning" [as a part] of the four kinds of fearlessness that no one at all in this entire world including the gods has the power to assert in accordance with the religious principle that those factors that were taught by the lord Buddha to be impediments will not be impediments.

---

[849] Reading *kyis*.

[850] Vehicle, and Mantra as in the beginning of vajra utterance 5.23 (p. 367).

The bodhisattva dGa'-byed is unidentified. According to rDo-rje-shes-rab, vol. 2, pp. 358 f., the daughter of a merchant saw dGa'-byed and was attached to his voice and beauty. She was so much tormented by desire that she passed away.In dGa'-byed's mind, too, attachment arose, but in the very same moment he became aware of it, understood emptiness and obtained tolerance of the unborn Dharmas (*mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob*). Later the Buddha said: "The bodhisattva dGa'-byed fully realized all Dharmas through the thought of desire" (*'dod chags kyi sems las chos thams cad yongs su rtogs so*).

[851] Snellgrove (1959: vol. 2, p. 91).

[852] Read *kyi*.

mdor na rgyu nyon mongs pa dug gsum dang 'brel ba'i sgo gsum gyi las mi dge ba de dag sngags su yang mi dge la/ rgyu nyon mongs pa dug gsum med pa las byung ba'i sgo gsum gyi las rnams 'dul bar yang dag la sngags su yang dge gsung //

Thus in short, those non-virtuous deeds of the three venues [body, speech, and mind] which are connected with the three defilements [or] poisons as the cause, are non-virtuous also in the Mantra, and those deeds of the three venues which come into existence through an absence of the three defilements [or] poisons as the cause are completely pure in the Vinaya, and [they are] also virtuous in Mantra. [Thus] taught ['Jig-rten-mgon-po].

The Three-Vow Doctrines of the rNying-ma-pas

As in the previous chapter, I would like to widen the scope of this study a bit further by describing the teachings on the three vows as found within yet another tradition, here that of the rNying-ma-pas as represented by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa (1308-1363), mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542), and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī (1654-1718). Since I have already discussed in previous chapters the most important terms and concepts with some remarks about their historical development, I shall restrict myself in the translations of this chapter to just a few additional remarks in the footnotes. Klong-chen-pa's doctrine of the three vows is, in essence, not different from that of Go-rams-pa and 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, for example, in that he teaches that the defilements are to be prevented, and so forth, but his way of explaining that and his willingness to plunge deep into details of Tantric practice stand in obvious contrast to those two masters.

15.1. Biographical Notes on mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal

We will begin with mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal-rdo-rje, a rNying-ma master, who was born in 1487 in the Ma-thang village of Glo-bo (in present-day Mustang, Nepal).[853] His father was 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan, a great learned and accomplished master of the rNying-ma who was descended from the Gung-thang royalty, and his mother was 'Bro-lcam Khrom-pa-rgyan. In his eighth year he received the vows of a householder. From his father he obtained the bodhisattva vows, as well as cycles of instructions of the Ancient Translation School (otherwise referred to as rNying-ma-pa tantras).[854] From the master Nor-bstan-bzang-

---

[853] These biographical notes are based on Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 805-808). This is a translation of fols. 297r-299v of bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral-ye-shes-rdo-rje (1904-1987), *History of the Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, by Gyurme Dorje, with the collaboration of Matthew Kapstein. See also Khetsun Sangpo (1973 ff., vol. 3, pp. 632-663), which is based on a work referred to as the *'Dus pa mdo dbang* history.

[854] The text mentions mainly three works: *mDo sgyu sems gsum gtso bor gyur pa'i snga 'gyur bka' ma'i skor.* According to Ehrhard (1990: 3) *mDo* is short for *mDo dgongs 'dus* (*bShad rgyud*: *P.* 452 = *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* 160; *rTsa rgyud*: *P.* 454 = *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* 162); *sGyu* is short for *sGyu 'phrul drwa ba,* a group of tantras with the *Guhyagarbhatantra* as the central one (*P.* 445 = *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* 187); *Sems* is short for a work that represents in this transmission the *rDzogs-chen* teachings, i.e. the *Chos thams cad rdzogs pa chen po byang chub kyi sems kun byed rgyal po* (*P.* 451 = *rNying ma rgyud*
(continued...)

po he heard instructions on Vinaya, Sūtra, and the cycle of the bKa'-gdams-pa's teachings, etc. In his twentieth year, he began with Madhyamaka, epistemology (*pramāṇa*), and Perfections Vehicle (*prajñāpāramitā*) studies, and eventually, after years of further studies, is said to have mastered "a hundred great scriptural traditions" (*gzhung lugs chen po*). In his twenty-first year he received the initiation and instructions for *Red Yamāri*, etc., from 'Jam-dbyangs Chos-skyong, Tshul-khrims-dpal, and others. In the next year he is said to have resolved all his doubts regarding the Word and Treasure Teachings of the Ancient Translation School (*snga 'gyur bka' gter*) under the spiritual guidance of his father. He especially practiced successfully the *Eight Instructions*, i.e. the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*.[855] In his twenty-third year he received twice the *Path with its Fruit* (*lam 'bras*) from Glo-bo-[mkhan-chen],[856] and two years later he also received full ordination from him. He received further instructions on grammar and epistemology, as well as on the tantras and initiations of the New Translation School from Glo-bo-mkhan-chen, the great scholar of Gu-ge, rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang, and 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gros-dpal. He also studied many northern treasures (*byang gter*) under *gTer-ston* Shākya-bzang-po of Drang-po.

From his thirty-eighth year onward, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen began to teach according to both the Old and New Tradition. He especially intended to restore the deteriorated teaching lineages of dBus and gTsang, so he went there to teach and live. In his forty-sixth year he discovered in Samye the treasure of the *Later Gathering of the Instructions*.[857] He passed away in his fifty-sixth year in 'On sMon-thang. Dudjom Rinpoche mentions specifically "his inconceivably great kindness alone through his composing the treatise *The Ascertaining the Three Vows* (*sDom gsum rnam par nges pa'i bstan bcos*)," which—though tersely expressed—conveyed exceedingly much meaning. The work remains, he says, down to the present day,

---

[854](...continued)
'bum 1). See also Ehrhard (1990: 84, n. 9) with further references.

[855] *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, vols. 31-32, nos. 375-388. The revealing of the *Eight Instructions-Treasure* is attributed to Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (Meisezahl 1985: 10).

[856] I.e. Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532), on whom see the introduction by E. Gene Smith, pp. 1-12, to Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*: A commentary on the *Tshad ma rigs gter* of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, S.T. Kazi (publ.), Gangtok, 1970. See also Jackson (1984) and (1987), both with numerous references to Glo-bo mKhan-chen.

[857] The *bKa' 'dus phyi ma rig 'dzin yongs 'dus kyi chos skor*. In: *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Ngodrub and Sherap Drimey, Paro, 1976, vol. 6, pp. 123-149; vol. 11, pp. 1-112; and vol. 30, pp. 61-227.

a "throat ornament" for those who maintain the teachings of the Ancient Tradition.[858] He also mentions an autobiographical work of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen in verses, which I have been otherwise unable to identify or locate.[859]

15.2. mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*

The *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows* is a short versified text of nineteen folios (in the *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* edition).[860] Neither its colophon, fol. 19r, nor its introduction mention the date, place, or any other circumstance of its composition. On fol. 2v the nine vehicles (*yānas*) of the Great-Perfection Tradition are introduced. As the author mNga-ris Paṇ-chen explains, even though there are many "Dharma doors" [approaches to the doctrine], here they are not to be explained in detail. Instead, the three teachings for those with highest, medium, and lowest capacity will be explained in short. The highest is for such masters as Indrabhūti, who produced the three vows simultaneously (*gcig car skyes*) through obtaining initiation, and who realized (the highest supramundane achievement) and attained liberation at the same time. The medium type is for such masters as Nāgārjuna, who successively obtained (*rim thob*) the three vows on the basis of the respective rituals of the three vows. The lowest is for persons of little fortune (*skal dman*) who are very difficult to discipline spiritually (*shin tu gdul dka'*). They start with the "public confession" (i.e. the *poṣadha* ritual). Then they should be taught the following disciplines: the four tenets (i.e. of the Vaibhāṣikas, the Sautrāntikas, the Yogācāras and the Mādhyamikas), the three lower tantras, and finally the tantras of the highest yoga (*niruttara*) such as *Hevajra*.[861] In the present treatise, the author mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen intends to explain such points as the obtaining, maintaining, etc., of the three vows by the medium type of person.

mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows* has five main parts: (1) The introduction, (2-4) the teaching of the respective three vows, which is the main body of the treatise, and (5) the teaching of the three vows possessed together, which is a sort of a supplement. Part 2 starts on fol. 3r with the teaching

---

[858] bDud-'joms-rin-po-che, *History of the Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, fol. 299r: *gzhan yang tshig nyung la don shin tu mang ba sdom gsum rnam par nges pa'i bstan bcos mdzad pa gcig pu'i bka' drin kyang bsam gyis mi khyab pas deng sang gi bar du snga 'gyur bstan 'dzin rnams kyi mgrin pa'i rgyan du gyur pas mtshon.*

[859] *Ibid. spyir skyes bu dam pa 'di mkhas btsun grub gsum gyi rnam thar bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i tshul rje rang gi zhal gsung rnam thar tshigs bcad mar gsal ba ltar.*

[860] See my remarks on a recent English translation of this work in the "Previous Research" section of the introduction.

[861] This, of course, alludes to the famous quote from the *Hevajratantra* already quoted by Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 72r, l. 5. See Snellgrove (1959: II, 116).

of the Vinaya-prātimokṣa. Then follows part 3, the explanation of the bodhisattva's training in the production of the resolve for awakening (fol. 10r), and part 4, of the vows of the Tantric adepts (fol. 14v). Part 5, which concerns us most, explains in two pages, namely fol. 17v-18v, how the three vows are possessed together.[862] The exposition is extremely terse, and thus a translation must yield an unwieldy result with many square brackets and very little aesthetic value. The problem, however, is not only an aesthetic one, but also one of meaning. For if, as in the case of the fifth part of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's teaching, a large number of lines from the text consists of hardly more than certain key words strung together, interpretation becomes crucial. Therefore, for reaching my understanding I have had to rely on the largest and most widely accepted commentarial source, namely Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's *Commentary to the Clear Comprehension* written in the early eighteenth century. I have also briefly consulted two further commentaries, i.e. Karma-nges-don's *sDom gsum rnam nges tshig don legs 'grel*[863] and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's *sDom gsum rnam nges 'bru 'grel.*[864] Neither of the latter two works, however, goes beyond the explanations of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, at least not in the fifth part that I have consulted. In fact, bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's commentary in particular appears to be little more than an abridgment of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's text.

The Tibetan text of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows* will be presented later in this chapter in section 6. Since the six verses[865] dealing with the simultaneous possession of the three vows appear as citations at the beginning of each of the respective six parts in Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's final chapter, which is translated below in section 5, the reader should refer to those passages for a translation of the relevant parts of mNga-ris Paṇ-chen's text.

---

[862] The colophon, containing only some verses that explain the necessity of composing such a work, a dedication, and the statement that this treatise was written by the great scholar of mNga-ris, Padma-dbang-gi-rgyal-po, covers six lines on fols. 40v and 41r.

[863] The fifth part begins in Karma-nges-don's text on p. 163. His full name is given in that text as Karma-nges-don-snying-po gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-dbang-phyug of dPal-spungs. The colophon states that he incorporated the instructions of the "two 'Jam-mgon Lamas" into the text. The "two 'Jam-mgon Lamas" may be 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820-1892) and Kong-sprul. Is Karma-nges-don-snying-po therefore the same as Karma-nges-don bsTan-pa-rab-rgyas (1808-1864 or 7), who requested, together with mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po, Kong-sprul to compose his *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge*? Cf. chapter 12, section 5 of this book.

[864] The relevant part, which is in this commentary the third, begins here on fol. 191r.

[865] These "six verses" contain between two and nine lines each.

The Six Topics of Klong-chen-pa

The six parts of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's final chapter reflect the "six verses" of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, and these, again, reflect the "six topics" connected with the three vows that were introduced into the discussion by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa (1308-1364). These "six topics" appear, as far as I know, for the first time in Klong-chen-pa's *rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta rnam par dag pa*. After refuting some other doctrines of the three vows, Klong-chen-pa replies to the question how the vows are maintained in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person as three:[866]

(1) [The three vows are] unmixed [with respect to their] distinctive aspects,
(2) [their practice] is perfectly complete [through that which is to be] prevented [and through] the purpose,
(3) the nature is transformed,
(4) the qualities are possessed "upwardly,"
(5) [they] are not incompatible through the vital points of the three vows [and]
(6) one practices whatever is preeminent according to occasion.

These topics are then explained in the following four folios. This explanation, however, appears not be as systematized as in the later tradition; there is, for example, no strict order for the six topics; instead he deals at first with the first two points, then mentions briefly the sixth point, then the fourth, the fifth, the third, and again the first and the fourth, before finally explaining the last point. Some of his explanations are also very brief, while others are presented in a little more detail. I shall refer to Klong-chen-pa's explanations of these six topics in his *Ngal gso skor gsum* in the translation of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's commentary.[867]

15.3. Biographical Notes on Lo-chen Dharma-shrī

The following biographical notes are again based on Dorje and Kapstein's translation of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's *History of the Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, fols. 247r-249v.[868] Lo-chen Dharma-shrī was born in 1654 as the younger brother of the great treasure-finder (*gter ston*) 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje.[869] From him he also

[866] Klong-chen-pa, *rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta rnam par dag pa*, fol. 137v: *rang ldog ma 'dres dgag dgos yongs rdzogs/ ngo bo gnas 'gyur/ yon tan yar ldan/ sdom gsum gnad kyis mi 'gal/ dus skabs kyi gtso bor gang 'gyur bar bya ba dang drug go.*

[867] For an introduction to the *Ngal gso skor gsum*, see Guenther (1975: XIII-XXV).

[868] For the translation by Dorje and Kapstein, see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 728-732).

[869] On 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje sMin-gling-gter-chen, a.k.a. gTer-bdag-gling-pa (1646-1714),
(continued...)

received the householder vows as a child. In his fifteenth and twentieth year he received the novice and full monk vows from the fifth Dalai Lama. Later in his life he again received full ordination from Kha-rab dKon-mchog-bstan-'dzin according to the pure lineage of the Lower Vinaya.[870] From his elder brother he also received the bodhisattva vows of the three traditions (*bka' srol gsum*).[871] Since he had received also from that same master the Tantric initiation of the *Rig 'dzin thugs thig*[872] already in his twelfth year, the vows of prātimokṣa and of the bodhisattvas, which he received later, are said to have arisen for him "as a section of the morality of Mantra" (*sngags kyi tshul khrims las phye ba*) and "as the nature of the Mantra vows" (*sngags kyi ... sdom pa'i ngo bor skyes pa*).

From his sixteenth year onward, Dharma-śrī thoroughly studied such minor subjects as grammar, poetics, astrology, divination and dance, under such teachers as Gung-thang Paṇ-chen bShes-gnyen-rnam-rgyal, lDum-pa Don-grub-dbang-rgyal, sTag-lung sKra-pa, and his elder brother 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje. Under another elder brother, namely rGyal-sras-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma, he studied Vinaya, under Sangs-rgyas-chos-dar, Vinaya, Abhidharma, and the Perfections Vehicle (*prajñāpāramitā*), and again under Gung-thang Paṇ-chen, Vinaya and Madhyamaka. From mKhas-grub Chos-skyong-rgyal-mtshan he learned the *Zab mo nang don* of the third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje. From his brother 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje, he learned a great number of works of Klong-chen-pa, of the masters of the Zur lineage, and of the great Rong-zom. He also studied, in particular, under his brother the tantras of the Ancient Tradition, though he studied, in general, under some twenty masters of all traditions.

---

[869](...continued)
see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 825-834), for the Tibetan text, fols. 310v-318v.

[870] It is not clear from the text whether the fifth Dalai Lama conferred ordination in any tradition other than that of the "Lower Vinaya Lineage" (*smad 'dul*, "Lower" = "Eastern," as opposed to "Upper" = "Western"). According to Tulku Thondub (in the foreword to Ngari Panchen, 1996: XII), the "Lower Vinaya Lineage" was brought to Tibet by Śāntarakṣita in the ninth century. The "Upper Vinaya Lineage" (*stod 'dul*) was brought to Tibet by the Indian master Dharmapāla, but it no longer exists. The other major lineage still existing is the "Middle [or Central] Vinaya Lineage" (*'bar 'dul*) that was brought to Tibet by Śākyaśrībhadra. After the "Upper Lineage" ceased to exist in Tibet, the "Middle Lineage" was sometimes referred to as "Upper." This reconstruction, however, raises some doubts and the matter needs a thorough investigation on the basis of earlier records (such as *gSan yigs*).

[871] I do not know what these "three traditions" (*bka' srol gsum*) might be. They do not appear to be connected to the two well-known bodhisattva-vow traditions of the Mādhyamikas and the followers of Cittamātra, on which see my remarks on p. 49.

[872] Discovered by 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje a.k.a. gTer-bdag Gling-pa, see *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 13, pp. 61-197.

Lo-chen Dharma-shrī is said to have spent his whole life engaged in the three activities of the wise, i.e. in teaching, debating, and composing. In many cases he taught or gave to others up to eight times the teachings and initiations that he had received. His collected works consist of eighteen volumes, beginning with his writings on the intentional meaning of the *'Dus pa'i mdo* and the *sGyu 'phrul drwa ba*,[873] and continuing through to his works on the traditional "sciences" (*rig gnas*). Lo-chen Dharma-shrī passed away in 1718.

15.4. Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's *Commentary on the "Clear Comprehension"*

Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's commentary on mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows* is a huge work, consisting of 317 folios in the accessible edition. As Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein have remarked in a footnote to their translation of Dudjom Rinpoche's *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* (n. 948), it is "doubtlessly the most influential [commentary on mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's work] among the modern rNying-ma-pas." In the colophon (fol. 314v), the author states that being glad to have received the order (to compose this work) from the Tantric adept of rDo-rje-brag (i.e. Padma-phrin-las, 1640?-1718), and positively influenced by the secretary dGe-slong O-ḍyan-dpal-'byor,[874] he, the "deluded full monk from gNyos," has composed this work in his fifty-fifth year [in 1708], at the great temple of O-ḍyan-smin-grol-gling.[875] 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje states in the xylographer's colophon (*par byang*, fol. 316v) that since mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen did not compose a commentary himself, his terse teachings are difficult to understand (*rtogs dka'*). Therefore, in order to assist the intelligent ones who make endeavours, requested by the younger brother mKhan-chen Lo-tsā-ba (i.e. by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, the author himself), and because the Tantric adept of rDo-rje-brag [Padma-'phrin-las] said that it would be very necessary for the adherents to the rNying-ma-pa doctrine (*rang lugs 'dzin pa rnams la*), the work was printed through the great efforts of his [other] younger brother Kun-dga'-tshul-khrims-rgya-mtsho in 1709.

The work is structured according to mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's basic text, and thus I do not need to comment about that here. The last part, which deals with the possession of the three vows in the mental stream of a single person and which thus concerns us most, begins on fol. 296r.

---

[873] See ftn. 854.

[874] The very elaborate Tibetan construction in the colophon suggests that Oḍyan-dpal-'byor provided some encouragement through giving a mat or paper, and perhaps also some sort of assistance as secretary or scribe: "who brought together the contributing factor of the writing basis of the composition" (*rtsom gdan gyi bri gzhi'i rkyen sbyar ba*).

[875] sMin-grol-gling is the monastery that was founded by gTer-bdag Gling-pa in 1670 in South-Central Tibet. See Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 468, and map 6, J16).

Transmissions of "The Three Vows Transformed, of the Same Nature, and Having Distinctive Aspects" Proposed by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī and Kong-sprul

Two authors, namely Lo-chen Dharma-shrī and Kong-sprul, have provided lineages for their own transmission and for the general transmission of three-vow teachings. Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, fol. 300r, describes his own transmission in the following way:

The Masters of the Early Spreading [of the Teachings]

Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (11th C.)
:
"most of the gurus of the system of Zur"
:
sNar-ston Seng-ge-'od
:
Klong-chen-pa Kun-mkhyen Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363)
:
gTer-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po ['Gyur-med-rdo-rje] (1646-1714)
:
Lo-chen Dharma-shrī (1654-1718)

It is strange that mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen, author of the root text that was commented on by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī is not mentioned. No rNying-ma-pa treatise before Klong-chen-pa is known to me to treat the six points altogether. My colleague Dorji Wangchuk, however, pointed out to me several passages in Rong-zom's collected works that deal with some aspects of the later rNying-ma-pa three-vow theory such as transformation, perfection of the lower in the higher vows, and non-contradiction of their vital points. Unfortunately I can not include any of this certainly interesting material in the present work, but perhaps will be later able to do so in a seperate article.

gTer-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po is 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje sMin-gling-gter-chen, a.k.a. gTer-bdag Gling-pa, the elder brother of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī.

Another "transmission" of the same teaching is mentioned by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī on the same folio:

[Masters] of the Later Spreading [of the Teachings]

Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055)

:

Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251)

Here "same teaching" refers to "the three vows transformed, of the same nature, and having distinctive aspects." If Rin-chen-bzang-po was part of a transmission of teachings on the three vows, it might have been an oral transmission. As is shown in chapters 3-5, it is very doubtful whether Sa-paṇ ever used such terminology in his writings. He certainly did not mention a "transformation," "same nature," or "distinctive aspect" in his *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*. Kong-sprul, *Pervading All Objects of Knowledge* 6, too, describes Sa-paṇ's lineage of the three-vow teachings as going back to Rin-chen-bzang-po, and Klong-chen-pa's as going back to Rong-zom. Future investigations will hopefully shed more light on pre-twelfth century three-vow doctrines than I have been able to do.

gsum pa sdom pa gsum gang zag gcig gi rgyud la 'gal med du nyams su len tshul gyis [gyi?] mtha' dpyad pas don bsdu ba la gsum ste/

(1) brjod bya'i lus ngos bzung ba'i sgo nas mdor bstan/

(2) yan lag rgyas par bshad pa'i sgo nas mtha' dpyad/

(3) sdom gsum nyams su len tshul bsdus te bstan pa'i sgo nas mjug bsdu ba'o//

dang po ni/

de lta'i sdom gsum gang zag rgyud gcig la//
(1) rang ldog ma 'dres (2) dgag dgos yongs su rdzogs//
(3) ngo bo gnas 'gyur (4) yon tan yar ldan pas//
(5) gnad kyis mi 'gal (6) dus skabs gang gtsor spyad//

ces pa ste/

15.5. Text and Translation of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's *sDom gsum rnam nges 'grel pa* (Chapter 3)

Third [chapter]. To summarize through an exhaustive investigation how the three vows are practiced in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person without incompatibility, [the exposition] has three sections:

3.1. A short explanation through identifying the [main] body of the subject to be expressed [i.e. the main topics];
3.2. An exhaustive investigation through explaining the limbs in detail; and
3.3. Concluding by briefly teaching how to practice the three vows.

3.1. Short Explanation Through Identifying the [Main] Body of the Subject to be Expressed

[In mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 17v, line 6, it is said]:

> The three vows which are such [as explained before,[876] are maintained] in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person [in the following way]:
>
> (1) [They are] unmixed [with respect to their] distinctive aspects, (2) [their practice] is perfectly complete [through that which is to be] prevented [and through] the purpose,
>
> (3) the nature is transformed [and] (4) the qualities are possessed "upwardly." Therefore
>
> (5) [they] are not incompatible through the vital points, [and] (6) one practices whatever is preeminent according to occasion.

[876] That is, as they are explained separately as vow systems in their own right in chapters 2-4 in mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*. See also section 2 of the present chapter.

de ltar so byang sngags kyi sdom pa gsum po de rim par nod pa'i gang zag gi rgyud la ji ltar ldan zhe na/ de gtan la 'bebs par byed pa la 'dir don drug tu bsdus nas gsungs pas kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po dri med 'od zer dang yang dgongs pa gcig tu 'bab ste/ bsam gtan ngal bso las/

nyan thos byang chub sems dang rig pa 'dzin// <297r>
sdom pa gsum po dag dang ma 'gal bar//
rang rgyud sdom zhing gzhan phan ci 'grub dang //
cir snang dag pa'i lam du bsgyur bar bya//

How are [the vows] possessed in the mental stream of consciousness of a person who has successively received[877] the three vows of prātimokṣa, the bodhisattvas, and the Tantric adepts in such [a way as explained before]? In order to ascertain that, it was taught here [in mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*] summarizing it into six topics. Therefore it has the same intended meaning as that of the omniscient king of the doctrine, [Klong-chen-pa] Dri-med-'od-zer, for [the latter] said [in his] *bSam gtan ngal bso*:[878]

> [The possessor of the three vows] has to control his mental stream of consciousness, to establish all possible benefit for others,
> and to transform all possible appearances into the pure path [Klong-chen-pa: path of liberation],
> without conflicting with the three vows
> of the auditors, bodhisattvas, and Tantric adepts;

[877] This statement, i.e. "received [the three vows] successively" (*rim par nod pa*), is not as strong as for example what we find in Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin, who uses in his introduction (fol. 4r f.)—in a different context—the term "three links which are obtained successively" (*tshigs gsum rim nod*) for the immediate taking of householder, auditor, and full monk vows one after the other. There the term implies that it is necessary that these prātimokṣa vows are to be obtained successively. Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 72r f., also discusses the possibility of taking up the three vows of prātimokṣa, the bodhisattvas and the Tantric adepts in different successions, and we know from the biographical notes on Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, section 3 of the present chapter, that he himself received Tantric initiation first, and that the vows of prātimokṣa and of the bodhisattvas are thus said to have arisen as a section of the morality of Mantra and as the nature of the Mantra vows. In the beginning of the *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 2v, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen points out that he is going to explain the taking up of the vows as being successively obtained (*rim thob*) on the basis of the respective rituals of the three vows. This is called the taking up of vows for "persons with medium capacity" The highest type, like Indrabhūti, produces the three vows simultaneously (*gcig car skyes*) through obtaining initiation, i.e. like Lo-chen Dharma-shrī. In general, however, all the three vow doctrines dealt with in this book take the obtaining of the vows in succession as the norm and teach accordingly.

[878] Klong-chen-pa, *rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 114v, and also *rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta rnam par dag pa*, fol. 136: *nyan thos byang chub sems dang rig pa 'dzin// sdom pa gsum po dag dang ma 'gal bar [bas]// rang rgyud sdom zhing gzhan phan ci 'grub dang // cir [ci] snang dag [thar] pa'i lam du bsgyur bar bya/ /* (text according to Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, text variations in square brackets according to Klong-chen-pa). See also Guenther (1976: 58-59, 104, ftn. 10).

zhes pa'i don 'grel pa shing rta rnam dag tu 'chad pa na/ ji skad du/

> *'o na gang zhe na/ gang zag gcig gi rgyud la gsum ldan du bsrung ba la/ rang ldog ma 'dres/ dgag dgos yongs rdzogs/ ngo bo gnas 'gyur/ yon tan yar ldan/ sdom pa gsum gnad kyis mi 'gal ba/ dus skabs kyis gtso bor gang 'gyur bya ba dang drug go//*

zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro//

gnyis pa la don drug las/ dang po rang ldog ma 'dres pa ni/

> *de yang blang yul bsam pa cho ga rnams//*
> *so sor nges phyir rang ldog ma 'dres yin//*

zhes pa ste/ de yang sdom pa gsum po de rang gang las blang ba'i yul/ gang gis len pa'i bsam pa/ ji ltar len pa'i cho ga tha dad pa'i sgo nas/ ji srid blangs pa'i dus kyang so sor nges pa'i phyir/ ngo bo gnas gyur kyang ldog pa la gzhi mthun mi srid pas rang rang gi ldog cha ma 'dres par yod de/ thob la ma nyams par so sor gnas pa'i phyir/

[and because] the meaning of that is explained [by the same author] in the [auto]-commentary *Shing rta rnam dag*:[879]

> How is this? For observing [the three vows] as a threefold possession in the mental stream of consciousness of a single person, [there are] six [topics]: [They are] unmixed [with respect to their] distinctive aspects, [their practice] is perfectly complete [through that which is to be] prevented [and through] the purpose, the nature [of the lower vows] is transformed [so that] qualities are possessed "upwardly," there is no incompatibility through the vital points [of] the three vows, [and] practicing whatever is preeminent according to the occasion.

[Part 1: Unmixed with Respect to Their Distinctive Aspects]

[3.2. Exhaustive investigation through explaining the limbs in detail.] The second section entails six topics [parts 1-6], the first of which is "unmixed [with respect to their] distinctive aspects." [It is said in the *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 18r]:

> Since the object [i.e. person] from which they are taken,
> the volitional impulses, [and] rituals [through which they are taken] are ascertained as separate, the distinctive aspects [of the three vows] are not mixed.

Now, since the three vows are ascertained as separate regarding their object [i.e. person] from which one takes them, the volitional impulse through which one takes them, [and] the duration for which they are taken, too, through the different rituals for taking them, even though the nature [of the vows] are transformed, the distinctive aspects of each [vow] continue to exist unmixed, because there is no possibility for these distinctive aspects to have a common basis, for after they are obtained, they continue to exist individually without decay.[880]

---

[879] Klong-chen-pa, *'Grel pa shing rta rnam par dag pa*, fol. 137v. This appears to be the *locus classicus* for the "six topics."

[880] Note that the same argumentation is used by sGam-po-pa and his successors for determining the *natures* of the vows as different. See, for example, sGam-po-pa, *Work A* 5, and Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 14. See also chapter 5, section 2.1. of this book for Go-rams-pa's explanation of the transformation of the nature of the vows, according to which the prātimokṣa vows are to be continued as Mahāyāna prātimokṣa. Although Go-rams-pa did not use the term "distinctive aspects" (*rang ldog*, *ldog pa* or *ldog cha*), he also quotes Sa-paṇ's *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, ch. I, v. 40 (in *General Topics*, fol. 78v), where the term *ldog pa*, here perhaps best rendered as "part," points in the same direction as the term "distinctive aspects" used by the rNying-ma-pas.

(continued...)

de yang yin te/ so thar ni ji srid 'tsho'i bar dang / byang sdom ni snying po <297v> byang chub kyi bar du khas blang kyi/ sngags sdom thob dus de dang de nyams rkyen dang gtong rgyur ma bshad pa'i phyir/

dper na bsam pa sems bskyed kyis zin pas cho ga nyan thos kyi lugs ltar blangs pa'i theg chen so thar ram/ nyan thos kyi dge slong gi sdom pa nyid slar sems bskyed blangs pas der gnas gyur pa'i rgyud kyi so thar gyi sdom pa gang yin kyang rung ste/ de la kun slong byang chub kyi sems kyi ldog pa dang / sdom pa'i ldog pa gnyis yod pa las/ snga ma tshe 'phos pa'i dus su mi gtong ste/ de byang sems kyi sdom pa'i gtong rgyu ma yin pa'i phyir/ phyi ma sdom pa khas blangs pa'i dus kyi ldog cha ni tshe 'phos pa'i dbang gis gtong ste/ dge slong gi sdom pa de ji srid 'tsho'i mtha' can gyi sdom pa yin pa'i phyir/ de ltar yang rab dbye las/

theg chen so so thar yin yang //
dge slong la sogs sdom pa yi//
ldog pa shi ba'i tshe na gtong //
byang chub sems kyi ldog pa dang //
de yi 'bras bu shi yang 'byung //

zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro//

gnyis pa dgag dgos yongs rdzogs ni/

dgag bya nyon mongs dgos pa mi 'ching bar//
rang rang lam gyi ngos nas yongs su rdzogs//
spong bsgyur lam du byed pa so so yang //
nyon mongs <298r> rang mtshan spong bar mkhas rnams mthun//

zhes pa ste/ sdom pa gsum kas rang rgyud kyi mi dge ba sdom par gcig ste/ 'dul ba lung las/

---

[880](...continued)

Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 140v f., explains that the "parts are unmixed" (*ldog pa ma 'dres par yod de*), because, in general terms, the obtaining of the higher vow does not constitute a cause for the loss of the lower vow. As long as there does not arise the condition for a loss from those parts which were accepted, i.e. the individual unmixed distinctive aspects (*ldog cha so sor ma 'dres*) of the vows, they continue to exist individually (*so sor gnas pa*). It is interesting to note here that Klong-chen-pa also uses the term "entity" (*rdzas*): "Since the nature is in the Mantra the same entity, the other two [entities of the lower vows have been] transformed" (*ngo bo sngags su rdzas gcig pas gzhan gnyis gnas 'gyur yin*). The term does not appear in mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, but Lo-chen Dharma-shrī employs it in part 3 in the same sense, delimiting it, however, from Vibhūticandra's and the bKa'-gdams-pas' usage.

That is the case, because one accepts the prātimokṣa for as long as one lives, and the bodhisattva vows until one fully awakes [to buddhahood on] the seat [of awakening (Skt. *bodhimaṇḍa*)], but at the time [of] obtaining the Mantra vows, the conditions for damaging or the causes for losing [the two above-mentioned vows] are not taught.

For example, whether it is a Mahāyāna prātimokṣa taken according to the system of the auditor ritual endowed with the volitional impulse of the production of the resolve [for awakening], or [whether it is] the prātimokṣa vows in a mental stream of consciousness where just the full-monk vow of the auditors has afterwards been transformed into that [Mahāyāna prātimokṣa] by formally accepting the production of the resolve [for awakening], in either case that [Mahāyāna prātimokṣa] has both a distinctive aspect of the resolve for awakening, which is the volitional impulse, and a distinctive aspect of the [prātimokṣa] vow. And from among these two [distinctive aspects], the first is not lost at the time of death, since [death] is not a cause for the loss of the bodhisattva vows. For the second, [i.e. the full monk vows of the prātimokṣa] the distinctive aspect of the duration for which one has taken the vow, is lost through death, since the vows of the full monk are vows which possesses the limit of "until death."

For as it is said in the same vein in [Sa-paṇ's] *Clear Differentiation [of the Three Vows]* [ch. I, v. 40]:

> Even in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa,
> that part which consists of the vows such as the monk [vows]
> will be lost at death,
> whereas that part which consists of resolve for awakening and its fruit
> will arise even after death.

[Part 2: Perfectly Complete Through What is to be Prevented and Through the Purpose]

With regard to "perfectly complete [through what is to be] prevented [and through the] purpose" it is said [in the *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 18r]:

> Each is perfectly complete with respect to its own path as that which is to be prevented, [namely] the defilements,
> [and] the purpose, [i.e.] not to be bound [by the defilements].
> Though [the antidotes of these paths] are specific—[i.e.] abandoning, transforming, and taking [the defilements] as the path—
> the wise agree that the defilements as such are abandoned [in all three paths].

[The vows are] the same in that the non-virtuous [elements] as such are controlled through [each of] the three vows [similarly]. Thus it is said in the *'Dul ba lung*:

> *chos gang zhig dngos dang brgyud nas kun tu 'dod chags pa'i rgyur 'gyur gyi/ kun tu 'dod chags dang bral bar mi 'gyur ba* (? read: *bral ba'i rgyu mi 'gyur ba*) *'di ni chos ma yin/ 'dul ba ma yin/ ston pa'i bstan pa ma yin par shes par byos shig/ chos gang zhig dngos dang brgyud nas kun tu 'dod chags dang bral ba'i rgyur 'gyur gyi/ kun tu 'dod chags pa'i rgyur mi 'gyur ba 'di ni chos yin/ 'dul ba yin/ ston pa'i bstan pa yin par shes par byos shig/*

ces zhe sdang la sogs pa'i bar du rgyas par gsungs so//

de yang mi tshangs spyod lta bu nyan thos pas spyod pa'i nus pa yod bzhin du mi spyod pa dang / sdom pa gong ma gnyis kyi thabs kyis zin pas spyad [spyod] pa gnyis dgag bya nyon mongs pa spong ba dang / dgos pa nyon mongs pa des mi 'ching bar gnad gcig ste/ de gnyis ka la 'dod pa'i dri mas ma gos par mtshungs pa'i phyir ro//

des na rang rang gi lam rnam pa mi 'dra ba ltar snang yang don gnad gcig pa'i ngos nas dgag dgos yongs su rdzogs pa yin te/ 'di ltar nyan thos pa <298v> bden pa gnyis ka rdzas yod du blta bas so thar gyis nyon mongs pa spong ba dang / byang chub sems dpas kun rdzob rdzas yod du bltas te nyon mongs pa chos nyid du bsgyur ba dang / gsang sngags pas nyon mongs pa lnga'i rang bzhin ye shes lngar bltas te lam du byed pas na/ de gsum gnyen po'i rnam pa so so ba ltar snang yang / don nyon mongs pa rang mtshan pa spong bar gcig pa yin no//

> Know that any factor which either directly or indirectly becomes the cause of passion (Skt. *saṃrāga*), but which is not the cause of separation from passion is not the Dharma, is not the discipline (*vinaya*), and is not the doctrine of the teacher [i.e. the Buddha]. Know that any factor which either directly or indirectly becomes the cause of separation from passion, but which is not the cause of passion is the Dharma, is the discipline, and is the doctrine of the teacher.[881]

This was taught in detail [regarding the main defilements] up to "hatred" and so forth. Both [activities, i.e.] non-performance [of] such acts as unchastity by an auditor while [in principle he is] able to perform [it], and the performance [of such acts] through [being] endowed with the special means of the two higher vows [have] the same vital point, [i.e.] that they abandon the defilements, which are that which is to be prevented, and that they are not bound by these defilements, which is the purpose, since both are alike in that they are unsullied by the stains of desire.[882]

Thus although the individual paths [of the three vows] may seem to be dissimilar forms, in fact[883] with respect to their same vital point, they are perfectly complete [through] that which is to be prevented [and] the purpose. Accordingly, the auditor abandons the defilements through [the practice of] the prātimokṣa [vows] because he views both [relative and absolute] truths as an existing substance. The bodhisattva transforms the defilements into *dharmatā*, viewing the relative truth as an existing substance.[884] The Tantric adept takes the defilements as the path, viewing the own nature of the five defilements as the five gnoses.[885] Therefore the three [vows] may seem [to consist of] separate forms of antidotes, but in fact [they are] the same in that [they] abandon the actual defilements.

---

[881] The same quote appears in Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 137v f.

[882] Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 138r, adds that if it were the case that "absolute non-performance [of sexual union] would be the main [thing]" (*rnam pa thams cad du mi spyod pa nyid gtso bo yin na*), then it would be justified to say that the vow especially arises in eunuchs and little children. And furthermore, if prātimokṣa and the third initiation (involving sexual union) would be "mutually utterly incompatible" (*dngos 'gal du gnas pa*), it would be justified to say that a householder alone may become the basis of Mantra. In the *Kālacakratantra*, however, it was taught that "among the three bases the full monk is the highest" (*rten gsum las ni dge slong mchog*).

[883] "In fact" = *don [la]*. See below for another parallel use of *ltar snang yang / don la*.

[884] Karma-nges-don, *sDom gsum rnam nges tshig don legs 'grel*, p. 167, is a little bit more explicit on this point: "The bodhisattvas transform (*bsgyur ba*) the defilements into the *dharmatā* by understanding them as being not established through their own nature, and they perform them for the benefit of others."

[885] See my discussion of these concepts of transformation, etc., in chapter 14, section 5, vajra utterance no. 23 of ch. V.

dper na/ dug spong ba dang / sman gyis sbyong ba dang / sngags kyis btab ste za ba gsum kas kyang dug gis mi 'chi ba'i dgos pa sgrub par gcig pa bzhin no//

gsum pa ngo bo gnas 'gyur ni/
so thar kun slong sems bskyed kyis zin na//
nyes spyod sdom pa zhes bya'i tshul khrims yin//
dbang thob rdo rje 'dzin pa'i sdom par 'gyur//
de phyir ngo bo gnas 'gyur yin no zhes//
'bum phrag lnga pa'i lung gis gsal bar grub//
ces pa ste/ de la spyir snga phyir byon pa'i chen po dag/ sdom pa gsum ngo bo tha dad du 'dod pa dang / gnas 'gyur ngo bo gcig tu 'dod pa'i lugs gnyis/ tha dad du 'dod pa la'ang / gong mas 'og ma zil gnon du 'dod pa dang / 'og ma gong ma'i rten du byas te rten brten par 'dod pa'i lugs gnyis/ <299r>

dang po ni/ skar zla nyi gsum gyi dpes gong mas 'og ma zil gyis mnan nas kun gzhi la bag la nyal gyi tshul du gnas kyi/ 'og ma mngon gyur du mi gnas par bzhed pa yin no//

de mi thad de/ byang sems sdom ldan gyi rgyud la dge slong gi sdom pa mngon gyur med kyang kun gzhi la de'i bag la nyal yod pa tsam gyis dge slong gi go chod dam mi chod/

For example, it is like abandoning poison, purifying [it] through medicine,[886] or eating [it] after reciting a spell—they are all the same in that through all three of them one achieves the purpose of not dying from poison.

[Part 3: Transformation of the Nature]

With regard to the transformation [of] the nature [of the vows] it is said [in the *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 18r]:

> If prātimokṣa is endowed with the production of the resolve [for awakening], [as] the volitional impulse,
> it is the moral discipline which is called "controlling [morally] wrong behaviour."[887]
> [If] initiation is obtained, [the vows] become the vows of the Tantric adept.
> Therefore it is said that the nature is transformed.
> This is clearly established through the quote from the *Fivehundred Thousand* (*'Bum phrag lnga pa*).[888]

Regarding this, in general, the great ones who appeared during the Ancient and Later [Translation Schools maintained] two systems, one of which maintained the three vows as [being of] different natures, [whereas the other] maintained them to be transformed [and of] the same nature. The position maintaining [the three vows] to be different had two traditions, of which [one] maintained that [the moral faults of] the lower vows were outshone by the higher ones, and [the other] maintained that the lower [vows] formed the support of the higher ones as "the support and the supported."[889]

<299r> The first one[890] [argues] through the example of the sun, moon, and stars that the lower [vows] remain in the basic consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) in a dormant way after the lower vows were outshone by the higher ones, but that the lower ones do not remain [there] in a manifested way.

That is not acceptable! Does the mere dormant existence of the full monk vows in the basic consciousness even though they are unmanifested in [his] mental stream of consciousness which possesses the bodhisattva vows, suffice to make one a monk?

---

[886] *Ibid.*, p. 168: transforming it into medicine (*sman du bsgyur ba*).

[887] For the three moral disciplines, see p. 10.

[888] For the problem of the *[Five or One?]-Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra [or Tantras?]*, see p. 237.

[889] The vows are maintained as different in Vibhūticandra's and the bKa'-gdams-pa's doctrine. The position of sGam-po-pa and his successors is, for reasons unknown, not discussed by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī.

[890] The following refers to Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 27 ff.

chod na sems can thams cad chos can/ dge slong du thal/ kun gzhi la dge slong gi bag chags yod dgos pa'i phyir/ der ma zad dge slong gi sdom pa phul ba'i gang zag chos can/ khyod kyi rgyud la dge slong gi sdom pa yod par thal/ de'i shes rgyud la sdom pa'i bag chags 'brang ba yod pa'i phyir/

dpe yang mi thad de/ nyi ma'i 'od zer gyi 'og tu zla ba dang skar ma'i 'od sgrib byed kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i mun pa srid par thal/ sdom pa gsum nang ma 'dom pa'i tshe gong ma'i bcas pa las gzhan pa'i 'og ma'i bcas 'gal gyi ltung ba thun mong ma yin pa du ma zhig srid pa'i phyir ro//

gnyis pa ni/ snod dvangs par chu rnyog med blugs pa'i nang du margad lta bu bcug pa na/ snod dang chu gnyis ka rin po che'i kha dog tu 'gyur bas rin po che'i yan lag tu gyur <299v> kyang / de gsum rten brten pa'i tshul du rdzas tha dad pa bzhin du gong mas zin pa na 'og ma yan lag tu 'gyur ba las rdzas tha dad pa'o zhes bzhed/ de yang mi 'thad de/ snod de chu dang nor bu gnyis ka'i rten du med mi rung ba bzhin du sdom pa gong ma gnyis kyi rten du so thar nges par dgos par 'gyur la/

If it did suffice, then it would follow that all sentient beings would be full monks, because the propensities of the full monk [vows] must exist on [their] mental stream of consciousness.[891] And that is not all! It would also follow for a person who has surrendered his full monk vows that the full monk vows would exist in his mental stream of consciousness, because the propensities of the vows accompany [him] in his mental stream of consciousness.

The example [of the sun, moon, and stars] is also not acceptable. It would follow that there would exist under the light of the sun a specific, uncommon darkness which obscures the light of the moon and stars, because when there is no internal contradiction between the three vows, there are possible a great number of specific, uncommon transgressions against the rules of the lower vows, as distinct from the rules of the higher vows.[892]

The second [system] maintains[893] that when the higher one is present, the lower ones become branches, yet are different substances, as when one puts an emerald (Skt. *marakata*) into a pure receptacle which is filled with undefiled water: Both the receptacle and the water are branches of the jewel since they have turned into the colour of the jewel, but those three are different substances, in the manner of support and supported.[894] This, too, is not acceptable. Just as the receptacle is an indispensable support of *both* the water *and* the jewel, the prātimokṣa would be necessary as the support of the two higher vows.

---

[891] The argument seems to presuppose that all beings obtained the propensities of a full monk in one of their former lives.

[892] "Internal contradiction" refers to a case that is also considered by Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, namely that in cases of internal contradiction one considers that which is to be prevented and the purpose. That is to say, the skill in means of the higher vow allows it to be preeminent without damage to the lower ones. See below, part 6 of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's explanation. But when there is no such internal contradiction, namely when there occurred a transgression that is common with a lower vow, but uncommon with the higher, such as any of the two-hundred odd full-monk vows that are not held in common with the Mantra vows, and when the Mantra vows would outshine these, too, then the light of the stars (= prātimokṣa vows in Vibhūticandra's example) would be obscured by the light of the sun. This would attribute a quality to the sunlight which is able to produce an obscuring darkness.

[893] The use of the honorific term *bzhed* indicates Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's reverence for Atiśa's lineage.

[894] Such a system of different substances of the vows, of the lower vows being the support and the highest vow being the supported, and of the lower vows becoming branches of the higher is usually ascribed to the bKa'-gdams-pas or dGe-ldan-pas. See for example Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 31-33, and Karma-'phrin-las-pa, *Replies to Ngo-gro* 8, where such a system is also criticized. A similar example can be found in the "own-tradition" (*rang lugs*) section of mKhas-grub-rje dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po, *sDom gsum rnam gzhag*, fol. 95r.

de ltar na gong ma gnyis kyang rten gling gsum gyi skyes pa bud med kho na las gzhan la skye ba med par thal zhing / der ma zad/ dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pas gzhan don du 'gyur nges par mthong nas dge slong gi bslab pa phul pa'i tshe/ de'i rgyud kyi dge slong gi sdom pa chos can/ khyod phul bas sdom pa gong ma gnyis kyang gtong bar thal/ khyod sdom pa gong ma gnyis kyi skye ba dang gnas pa'i rten yin pa gang zhig/ rten btang na brten pa gtong ba'i phyir te/ rten snod med na de la brten pa'i chu dang nor bu'ang med dgos pa'i phyir ro//

zil gnon dang rten brten par 'dod pa gnyis ka'i skyon thun mong ba ni/ sdom pa gsum ngo bo rdzas tha dad du 'dod pa de ltar na/ gtso sems gcig gi 'khor du sems byung sems pa rigs mthun ngo bo tha dad pa gsum gcig car yod par thal ba'i phyir mi 'thad do//

des na rang lugs gzhung 'di'i dgongs pa ni/ sdom <300r> pa gsum gnas gyur ngo bo gcig la ldog pa tha dad du bzhed pa yin cing / lugs 'di ni snga 'gyur gyi rgyud sgyu 'phrul drwa ba la sogs pa nas gsal bar bstan pa ltar/ lo tswa ba rong zom chos kyi bzang po/ zur lugs kyi bla ma phal che ba dang / de'i bshad bgros [sgros?] rtsal 'don gyis 'chad pa po snar ston seng ge 'od/ khyad par kun mkhyen chen po dri med 'od zer/ bdag cag gi rtsa ba'i bla ma rje gter chen chos kyi rgyal po sogs snga 'gyur gyi mkhas grub rnams dang /

And in that case, it would follow that the two higher vows, too, could not arise in anyone else than men and women of the three continents [as the existential] support. Moreover, let us take as our subject the full-monk vows of a Tantric adept monk when he returns the full-monk vows after seeing that it would definitely be for the benefit of others. It would follow that the two higher vows, too, would be lost through returning the full monk vows, because the [full monk vows] are the support of the arising and continuing of the two higher vows, and if he loses the support, the supported would [also] be lost, since if there is no supporting receptacle, the water and jewel that rest upon that could also not exist.

To hold the outshining [of the lower vows] and the support and the supported also has a common fault: According to the position holding the nature [of] the three vows as distinct entities, it would follow that there would exist simultaneously three different mental factors of the same class as attendants of the main factor, a single mind. Therefore [this] is not acceptable.[895]

Therefore the intention of this treatise [of] our own system is that we maintain the three vows transformed [and] to be of the same nature and to have distinctive aspects. And this system is worthy of being praised by the learned ones since it is the unimpaired intention of the unrivalled masters of the New and Old [Traditions], namely, of the masters of the Early Spreading [of the teachings] such as Lo-tsā-ba Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (11th C.),[896] of most of the gurus of the system of Zur,[897] of the main expounders of their system such as sNar-ston Seng-ge-'od,[898] especially Kun-mkhyen Dri-med-'od-zer [i.e. Klong-chen-pa], and my fundamental guru gTer-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po[899] in accord with what was clearly taught in Tantras of the Ancient Tradition such as the *sGyu 'phrul drwa ba*,[900]

---

[895] See my discussion of Vibhūticandra, *Garland of Rays* 23.

[896] My colleague, Ms. Orna Almogi, pointed out some interesting passages in the collected works of Rong-zom to me (see her M.A.-Thesis, Hamburg University, 1997). Mainly bodhisattva and Mantra vows are discussed in vol. 2, fols. 241-245, and vol. 3, fols. 153-161, and 274-286. At least in these passages, however, none of the vocabulary of the "six topics" is employed as in Klong-chen-pa's, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's, and Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's works on the three vows. Thus, at present, Klong-chen-pa's *bSam gtan ngal gso* appears to be the *locus classicus* for our "six topics." But see also p. 398.

[897] The Zur-family, see Ehrhard (1990: 3, n. 8); see also Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: 617 ff.).

[898] He is mentioned briefly as belonging to the Zur and Khams tradition, *ibid.*, p. 702.

[899] This must be his elder brother, gTer-bdag Gling-pa 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje. See section 3 of the present chapter.

[900] See ftn. 854.

gsar ma'i lo chen rin chen bzang po/ 'jam pa'i dbyangs bdag nyid chen po sa skya paṇḍi ta rjes 'brangs dang bcas pa rnams te/ gsar rnying gi mkhas grub 'gran zla bral ba rnams kyi dgongs pa rma med pa yin pas mkhas pa'i skyes bus bsngags par 'os pa'o//

de la gnas 'gyur tshul ni/ snga ma snga ma phyi ma phyi mar gnas gyur pa'i tshul gyis so// ji ltar zhe na/ nyon mongs pa rang ga mas spyad pa'i sgo gsum gyi las kyis 'khor bar 'ching mod/ de nyid shes rab dang snying rje phyogs gcig gis bzung nas nyes spyod spong ba'i sdom pa la zhugs pa na ngan 'gro las thar nas mtho ris dang thar pa'i rgyur 'gyur ba ni nyan thos kyi so thar/ de nyid <300v> thabs dang shes rab chen po'i bsam pas zin nas gzhan don gyi bya ba la zhugs pa na byang chub chen por grol ba'i rgyur 'gyur ba ni byang sdom/ de nyid kyang thabs shes chen po'i yang chen pos yongs su zin par spyad pa na bla na med pa'i byang chub chen por 'bad rtsol med par lhun gyis grub pa'i rgyur 'gyur ba ni sngags sdom mo// de bas na/ rgyud 'bum pa las/

rdo yi rigs kyi bye brag cig//
bzhu bas lcags dang zangs dngul 'byung //

zhes sogs sngar drangs pa ltar rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa sngags sdom du 'gyur tshul gsungs pa ltar ram/ yang na gsang ba spyod pa'i rgyud las/

dper na rdo las zangs su 'gyur//
zangs las gser gyi rnam pa ste//
zangs kyi dus na rdo med la//
gser du gyur pas zangs mi snang //

and [of the masters] of the Later Spreading [of the teachings] such as Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po[901] and the great Mañjuśrī himself, Sa-skya Paṇḍita, together with his followers.

The way of transformation is a way in which the earlier [vows] are transformed into the later ones. How is that? To be sure, the deeds of the three venues [body, speech, and mind,] performed through the ordinary defilements, bind one to saṃsāra. Yet when these [deeds] follow the vows of giving up [morally] wrong behaviour through partial possession of insight and compassion, this becomes the cause that being liberated from the lower realms of life, [one obtains] higher realms and liberation—[this is] the prātimokṣa of the auditors. When these [deeds], endowed with the mentality of [skill in] means and great insight, follow the work for the welfare of others, [this] becomes the cause for "liberation into the great awakening"—[this is] the bodhisattva vow. When these [deeds], again, are practiced while being perfectly endowed with still greater means and insight, [this] becomes the cause for effortless spontaneous manifestation of the unsurpassed great awakening—[this is] the Mantra vow. Thus it is as quoted before in the *"Hundred-Thousand [Verse?] Tantra[s?]" [Treatise]*:

> Through [the process of] smelting, iron, copper and silver appears,
> because of the particularities of the ores (...)

where it is explained how the vows of the three families become Mantra vows. Or, it should be explained as quoted from the *gSang ba spyod pa'i rgyud*[902] by the great translator Rin-chen-bzang-po in his *General Exposition(?)* (*sPyi rnam*) and by the great omniscient one [Klong-chen-pa] in his *Shing rta rnam dag*:

> For example, ore turns into copper,
> from copper, the form of gold.
> But at the time of [being] copper, the ore does not exist.
> And through transformation into gold, copper is not seen [any more].

[901] I do not know of any work of Rin-chen-bzang-po on the three vows or related topics. Skorupski and Snellgrove (1980: 84), mention some "religious chants for use in Tibetan ceremonial," but their translation of Rin-chen-bzang-po's biography does not mention these or any other works outside of his translations. There is mention in Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's work below of a quote from the (unidentified) *gSang ba spyod pa'i rgyud* by Rin-chen-bzang-po in his "*sPyi rnam.*" This might be a so-called "outer biography" (*spyi'i rnam thar*), but such a title does not appear in rDo-rje-tshe-brtan, *Collected Biographical Material About Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po*. It could also be a "General Exposition" (*spyi rnam*), but again, such a work is otherwise not identified.

[902] Unidentified. Cf. Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 140v, where the title is rendered as "*gSang ba cod pan* ."

rig 'dzin nang gi dge slong la//
so so thar dang byang chub sems//
gnyis po gnas pa nyid du ni//
sangs rgyas nyid kyis ma gsungs so//

zhes lo chen rin chen bzang gi spyi rnam dang / kun mkhyen chen pos shing rta rnam dag tu drangs pa ltar 'chad de/ dper na zangs rdo bzhu bas zangs su 'gyur la/ de la gser 'gyur gyi rtsis btab pas gser du 'gyur ba bzhin du/ nyan thos ltar dman <*301r*> *sems kyis blangs pa'i so thar gyi sdom pa de'ang / byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pas zin pa na dman sems btang yang rang gi ngo bo gzhan gnod gzhi bcas spong ba'i ldog cha de byang chub sems dpa'i nyes spyod sdom pa'i tshul khrims su gnas gyur la/ de gnyis kas dbang thob pa na mnyam pa chen po'i thabs kyis ma zin pa'i tha mal snang zhen gyi ldog cha re yod pa de btang nas/ so thar gyi gzhan gnod gzhi bcas spong ba dang byang sdom gyi gzhan la phan 'dogs pa'i ldog cha gnyis po de rdzas gong 'phel gyi tshul gyis mnyam pa chen po'i thabs khyad par can gyis zin pa'i sngags kyi nyes spyod sdom pa dang rigs lnga spyi'am rnam snang gi dam tshig tu gnas gyur pa yin no//*

des na go gsum gyi bya ba gzhi gcig la'ang thabs che chung gis gong ma gong mar gnas gyur te/ rig 'dzin sngags kyi rang dus na so byang zhes rdzas gzhan tha dad pa med de/ sngags kyi sdom rdzas su ngo bo gnas gyur du yod pa'i phyir/

de yang gzhi gcig la dper mtshon na/ so byang sngags kyi dus su thob pa'i srog gcod spong ba'i sems pa gsum po de snga ma phyi mar gnas gyur te ngo bo gcig pa bzhin dang / gzhan don du bskal pa grangs med gsum na rdzogs byang tsam <*301v*> *thob 'dod kyi sems pa dang / sngags kyi rdzogs byang tshe gcig gis thob par 'dod pa'i sems pa gnyis snga ma phyi mar gnas gyur te ngo bo gcig pa bzhin no//*

That prātimokṣa and bodhisattva [vows]
remain for the monk within a Tantric adept
was not taught by the Buddha himself.[903]

For example, just as copper-ore turns into copper by smelting, and that copper turns into gold by applying a magical elixir which turns [substances] into gold, so, too, [for] that prātimokṣa vow that has been taken with an inferior volitional impulse like an auditor [does], the nature [of the vow]—that aspect which consists in abandoning harm for others together with the [mental] basis [for that]—is transformed into the bodhisattva's moral discipline which restrains one from wrong behaviour, when it becomes endowed with the bodhisattva vow, even though the inferior volitional impulse is abandoned. And when [someone] obtains initiation while possessing both of the [vows], having abandoned the respective aspects consisting of attachment [to] ordinary appearances that does not [yet] possess the [special Tantric] means of "great sameness," the two aspects "avoiding harm for others together with its [mental] basis" of the prātimokṣa and "the benefitting of others" of the bodhisattva vows are transformed by way of an improvement of the substance [of the vows] into the vows of controlling [morally] wrong behaviour of the Mantra that are endowed with the special means of "great sameness" and [into the] general pledges of the five families or that of Vairocana.

Therefore, even for one item from among the activities of the three venues [body, speech, and mind], there is transformation higher and higher through the greater or smaller means.[904] On the level of Tantric practice proper, there do not exist any "prātimokṣa" or "bodhisattva [vows]" [as] other, distinct entities, because their nature has been transformed into the entity of the Mantra vows.

To exemplify this regarding a single case, it is like the three resolutions to abandon killing which are obtained on the respective occasions of prātimokṣa, bodhisattva, and Mantra [vows, which] are successively transformed from one into the other [while retaining] the same nature. And it is like the wish to obtain "mere" perfect awakening in the three immeasurable aeons for the sake of others and the wish to obtain the perfect awakening of the Mantra [vehicle] within one life, [which] are successively transformed one into the other [while retaining] the same nature.

---

[903] Cf. Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 140v, where Klong-chen-pa comments on this quote with the words: "At the time of [being a] Tantric adept, there do not exist distinct entities of their own called 'prātimokṣa' and 'bodhisattva [vows].'" (*rigs 'dzin sngags kyi rang dus na so thar dang byang sems zhes rdzas gzhan tha dad pa med do*).

[904] See the example in the next paragraph.

de lta na'ang sdom pa gsum gyi sems pa ldog pa tha dad pa gsum po de rnams skye 'jig gnas gsum du gcig pa ma yin te/ dang po ji ltar blangs pa ltar gnas 'jig byed pa'i rang ldog ma 'dres pa'i phyir dang / gsum ldan gyi rgyud kyi sdom pa snga ma rnams phyi ma dang ngo bo gcig kyang / phyi ma snga ma dang gnas gyur ngo bo gcig pa ma yin te/ snga ma snga ma las phyi ma phyi ma rgya che ba'i phyir dang / phyi ma blangs tshe sngar gyi sdom pa'i rdzas rgyun ma yin pa'i sdom rdzas gsar pa du ma zhig skye ba yod dgos pa'i phyir ro//

de la kha cig na re/ gsum ldan rdo rje 'dzin pa'i rgyud kyi dge slong gi sdom pa chos can/ de'i rgyud kyi byang sdom dang sngags sdom du thal/ de dang der gnas gyur pa'i phyir zer na/ de'i lan la khyab pa ma nges pa dang / 'gal ba'i lan gnyis/

dang po ni/ khyod kyi de la khyab pa ma nges pa yin te/ snga ma phyi mar gnas gyur kyang de de yin mi dgos pa'i phyir/ kun gzhi dang nyon yid sangs rgyas kyi ye shes su gnas gyur kyang de de ma yin pa bzhin no//

And similarly those three different distinctive mental aspects of the three vows are not the same in their arising, decaying and continuing, because their distinctive aspects which determine their [separate] continuation and decay are unmixed according to how they were first taken [through their respective rituals]. And, even though the earlier vows of a mental stream of consciousness that possesses three [vows] are of the same nature as the later one, this is not a sameness of nature through transformation of the later and earlier, because each later [vow] is [in its substance] vaster than the earlier one, and because when later [vows] are taken, numerous new vow entities must arise that are not a continuation [of the] entities of earlier vows.[905]

About this, some say that it would follow that the full monk vows of the mental stream of consciousness of a Tantric adept who is in possession of three [vows] would be the bodhisattva [vows] and the Mantra vows of that mental stream of consciousness, because it is transformed into these two. There are two [parts] to [my] reply to this: (1) The answer that the pervasion is uncertain, and (2) the answer that [the pervasion] is incompatible.

The first. There is an uncertain pervasion in that [argument] of yours, because even though something earlier is transformed into something later, it is not necessary that [after the transformation] the one is the other, as in the case where basic consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) and *kliṣṭamanas* are not the gnosis of the Buddha even though they are transformed into that.[906]

---

[905] In short, the nature of the lower vows transforms into the one entity that is the nature of the higher vow. That entity increases, thus is more vast than the previous one, because more new vow-entities have also been added through taking a higher vow. The distinctive aspects that are only obtained through the respective rituals of the vows determine the arising, continuing, and decaying of the respective vows. Thus the full monk vows, for example, are lost at death, because of their distinctive aspect of their duration, while the nature of prātimokṣa, which has been transformed, remains in the mental stream of consciousness of that person.—The following four short paragraphs contain objections and their respective replies. Thereafter follow two paragraphs at the end of part three that summarize the meaning of the above teaching.

[906] Uncertain pervasion (*khyab pa ma nges pa*) means that only a part of the set which represents the logical sign (*liṅga*) is present in the predicate (*sādhyadharma*). For a syllogism to be sound, all members of the set which represents the logical sign must occur in the predicate, as in the following example:

The subject "sound"
is an impermanent phenomena
because of its being a product.

Since all products are impermanent, the subject "sound" as a member of that set must be

(continued...)

gnyis pa ni/ <302r> dngos po gzhir byas kyi steng du khyod kyi khyab pa de 'gal ba yin te/ gzhon nu rgan por gnas gyur kyang de dang de 'gal ba bzhin no//

gzhan yang gnas gyur pa'i tshe de der ston pa yin na/ rigs can gsum gyi sdom pa sngags sdom du gnas gyur pa'i tshe/ nyan rang gnyis kyi sdom pa chos can/ theg chen gyi sdom par thal/ rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa yin pa'i phyir/ zhes pa la lan med do//

dpes kyang de gsum gzhi mthun pa mi srid par ston te/ lcags zangs dngul gsum 'gyur rtsis gser du gyur pa'i tshe de gsum der gnas gyur kyang / de gsum de yin pa mi srid pa'i phyir ro//

---

[906](...continued)
impermanent, too. An example for an "uncertain pervasion" is this:

The subject "sound"
is an impermanent phenomena
because of its being an object of knowledge.

Here, only some of all objects of knowledge are impermanent phenomena, and thus the pervasion is uncertain. Cf. Perdue (1992: 33 ff.); see also *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* under *"khyab pa ma nges pa."*

In Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's work the opponent says:

The full monk vows of a Tantric adept who possesses the three vows
are the bodhisattva vows and the Mantra vows
because they are transformed into these two.

If that were a logical pervasion, then the basic consciousness and the *kliṣṭamanas*, too, would be the gnosis of the Buddha into which they are transformed. But they "are not the gnosis of the Buddha, although they are transformed into that," presumably because the arising of gnosis (*jñāna*) entails the extinction of the *ālayavijñāna*. This appears also to be the sense of the above quoted passage from the *gSang ba spyod pa'i rgyud* in Klong-chen-pa's *Shing rta rnam dag*. For *jñāna* entailing the extinction of the *ālayavijñāna*, see Schmithausen (1987: 473, n. 1167).

[My] second [reply]. Regarding the entity [i.e. the monk vows] that is the basis, your pervasion is [actually] incompatible, as [in the case where] a young person and an old person are incompatible, even though the one has been transformed into the other.[907]

Furthermore, if [you try] to demonstrate that this [beginning state] is that [final state] when a transformation [occurs], it would follow that when the vows of the three families are transformed into the Mantra vows, the vows of auditors and solitary Buddhas would be Mahāyāna vows because they are vows of a Tantric adept. To this you have no reply.[908]

It can also be shown through an example that these three do not have a common basis, because when iron, copper, and silver are transformed into gold by the transforming elixir, it is not so that these three [metals] are that [resultant gold], even though these three are transformed into that.[909]

---

[907] As for Lo-chen Dharma-shrī's second point, in general, incompatible pervasion (*khyab pa 'gal ba*) means that the logical sign and the predicate do not correlate (*mi mthun pa*). An example (Perdue, 1991: 33 ff.; *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*: *"khyab pa 'gal ba"*) for incompatible pervasion is this:

The subject "sound"
is a permanent phenomena
because of its being a product.

Here, being a product (the logical sign) and being permanent (the predicate) are actually incompatible, i.e. there is nothing that is both a product and permanent. With regard to the opponent's syllogism, according to the rule of positive pervasion (*anvayavyāpti*) everything that is transformed must be such that afterwards the beginning state is the final state, i.e. in this case the full monk vows are the bodhisattva vows and the Mantra vows (after the transformation), because of the transformation. According to Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, here the logical sign ("because of transformation") and the predicate ("are the bodhisattva vows and the Mantra vows") are incompatible, i.e. it is never the case that in a transformation the source is (afterwards) the target. His example is the case where youth and old age are incompatible even though the one has been transformed into the other.—"Transformation" is thus used in a very conventional way: It is like saying "Dorje has become old." He is still the same Dorje, son of so-and-so, but one would not say "that young Dorje that we used to know is this old man," because he is not young any more.

[908] With this argument, Lo-chen Dharma-shrī simply turns the opponent's objection back at him, based on the twofold argumentation above.

[909] What "common basis" (*gzhi mthun*) means is something that is both of the two things. For example, a golden vase is a vase as well as gold. Thus the "golden vase" is the common basis for "vase" and "gold." Similarly, there is nothing, according to Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, which is all three vows, i.e. the prātimokṣa vows, the bodhisattva vows, and the Mantra vows. According to him, the distinctive aspects of the vows remain unmixed (*ldog pa ma*

(continued...)

gzhan yang gsum ldan gyi rgyud kyi so byang gnyis de'i rgyud la yod cing der gnas gyur pas sngags sdom yin no snyam na/ dge slong gi rgyud kyi dge bsnyen dang dge tshul/ sngags pa'i rgyud kyi bskyed rdzogs kyi sdom pa rnams kyang de der 'dod dgos par thal ba bzlog tu med do//

de ltar bshad pa'i grub don la gnyis te/ gnas gyur tshul dang / ngo bo gcig pa'o// dang po ni/ snga ma snga ma phyi ma phyi mar gnas gyur pa ste/ nyes spyod sdom pa'i spong sems snga ma rnams phyi mar dang / dge ba chos sdud dang <302v> sems can don byed kyi tshul khrims sngar byang sems kyi theg pa thob pa de dag / phyis sngags kyi theg par thob pa de dang der gnas gyur pa yin no//

gnyis pa ni/ gsum ldan rdo rje 'dzin pa'i rgyud kyi gzhan gnod gzhi bcas spong ba'i sems pa dang / gzhan don sems can la phan bde sgrub pa'i sems pa dang / rig pa 'dzin pa'i dam tshig mtha' dag la slob pa'i sems pa gsum po de ngo bo gcig pa yin te/ de'i rgyud kyi gzhan la phan pa sgrub pa'i sems pa de ka gnod pa spong ba'i sems pa dang sngags kyi dam tshig la slob pa'i sems pa yang yin pa'i phyir dang / de bzhin du cig shos gnyis kyang phan tshun du gcig la gcig yin pas/ de gsum gyi ldog pa la gzhi mthun mi srid kyang / ngo bo la gzhi mthun srid pa yin no//

bzhi pa yon tan yar ldan ni/
'jig rten rnal 'byor rnal 'byor blo khyad kyis//
gong ma gong mas gnod phyir 'og ma yi//
yon tan yar ldan 'og ma zil gyis gnon//
zhes pa ste/ ji skad du/
rnal 'byor pa dang 'jig rten rtsod//
ces pa dang /

---

[909](...continued)
'dres), i.e. they are not transformed into the higher vow—(see the first of the "six topics"). In other words, the Mantra vows without the distinctive aspects of all the vows which remain unmixed even after transformation are not the common basis for all the vows, i.e. the Mantra vows are not the prātimokṣa vows in the same way as a golden vase is a vase.

This, Lo-chen Dharma-shrī says, is also the intention of the example of the metals turned into gold—there exists nothing which is iron, copper, and silver, particularly not the gold into which they have been transformed. What he has in mind is perhaps that as in the case of the vows, where certain distinctive aspects remain unchanged, here, too, certain aspects, such as the shape of the thing-to-be-transformed, remain the same even after their transformation into gold.

Furthermore, someone may have the doubt: "Both prātimokṣa and bodhisattva [vows] of the mental stream of consciousness [of a person who] possesses the three [vows] exist in his mental stream of consciousness, and by being transformed they are the Mantra vows." [We answer]: [In that case], you could not refute the logical entailment that it would be necessary to hold that the householder and novice vows of the mental stream of consciousness of a full monk [and] the vows of the production and perfection [stages of meditation] of the mental stream of consciousness of a Mantra [vow holder], too, are that [i.e. identical with the Mantra vows].

The established sense of what has thus been explained has two sections: 1) the way of transformation, and 2) same nature. [Regarding] the first, [the way of transformation]: The respective earlier [vows] are transformed into the respective later ones. The earlier resolution to abandon controls wrong behaviour [which is transformed] into [the respective] later [resolves], and the moral disciplines of gathering virtuous factors and of performing the benefit of beings that were previously obtained [in] the vehicle of the bodhisattvas, are later transformed into the respective things obtained in the Mantra Vehicle.

Regarding the second topic, [the same nature]: The three resolutions of the mental stream of consciousness of a Tantric adept who possesses the three [vows]—i.e. the resolution to abandon harm for others together with its [mental] basis, the resolution to achieve benefits and happiness for other sentient beings, and the resolution to train in all pledges of the Tantric adept—are of the same nature. [This is so] because that very thought in that person's resolution to achieve benefit for others is also the resolution to abandon harm and the resolution to train in all the pledges of Mantra and similarly, since both of the other ones are also mutually the same, even though it is impossible for the distinctive aspects of the three vows to have a common basis, it *is* possible for the nature to have a common basis.

[Part 4: Possession of Qualities "Upwardly"]

With regard to the "possession of [lower] qualities 'upwardly'" it is said [in the *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 18r]:

> [Between] worldly [people] and meditators, [and between] meditators,
> the respectively higher refute the lower through their superior understanding, and thus
> the qualities of the lower [vows] are possessed "upwardly," [and the defects of?] the lower ones are outshone.

As it said [in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ch. IX, v. 5d]:

> Yogis and worldly [people] dispute (...)

and [furthermore, ch. IX, v. 4ab]:

rnal 'byor pa yang blo khyad kyis//
gong ma gong ma rnams kyis gnod//

ces gsungs pa ltar rten gyi gang zag blo na 'phar ba'i stobs kyis 'og ma'i yon tan rnams <303r> gong mar 'dus shing rnam par dag pas na/ sngags kyi dam tshig ma nyams par thub na/ so byang gi bsrung bya rnams zhar la thub pas logs su bsrung mi dgos te/ ci'i phyir na/ so byang gi bslab bya mtha' dag sngags kyi spyi'i dam tshig dang / khyad par rigs lnga'i dam tshig las rnam snang dang don grub kyi dam tshig tu 'dus pa gang zhig/ rtsa ltung gnyis pa'i nang du'ang 'du ba'i phyir te/ bre gsum gyi nang du bre do 'du ba bzhin no// de ltar yang gsal bkra las/

theg chen dam tshig la gnas na[910]*//*
'og ma'i 'dul sdom dam tshig kun[911]*//*
bsrung ba[912] *med par thub pas na//*

---

[910] *P: shing.*
[911] *P: gsum.*
[912] *P: bsrungs pa.*

And the yogis, too, [are such that one] is disproven by the respective higher one by means of superior understanding.

Accordingly, because of the fact that the qualities of the lower [vows] are included and completely pure within the higher ones by virtue of [their] increase within the mind [of] the person who is the basis [of the vows], it is not necessary [for such a person] to observe separately that which is to be observed in the prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva [vows], because he is able [to observe them] incidentally if he is capable of keeping the Mantra pledges intact. Why is that so? Because all the rules of training of the prātimokṣa and of the bodhisattvas are such that they are included within the pledges of the general Mantra [pledges] and especially within the pledges of Vairocana and Amoghasiddhi from among the five [Buddha]-families, and because they are included also in the [pledge of guarding against] the second fundamental transgression, as two pounds are included within three pounds.[913] Thus it is said in the *[Dam tshig] gsal bkra*:[914]

If one observes the pledges of Mahāyāna,
then one is able to keep the pledges of the lower Vinaya [and][915] all the pledges,[916]
without [consciously] observing [them].

---

[913] This is also the main point expressed in Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 141r, when dealing with this topic: "The two other [vows] are included within Mantra, as two pounds are included in three" (*sngags su gzhan gnyis 'du ba ste/ bre gsum du do 'du ba bzhin no*). He also quotes the *Great Magical Net* (for which see ftn. 854), which says: "The morality empowered by the Vinaya and all the trainings of the bodhisattvas are all without exception included [and] summarized pure within the vow of the highest supreme" (*bla med mchog gi sdom pa ru// 'dul ba'i dbang gis tshul khrims dang // byang chub sems dpa'i bslab pa kun// ma lus kun 'dus rnam par dag//*); and the *Padma cod pan*: "The yogi who has gone through the three initiations is taught as [being] the great full monk; by him everything can be done" (*dbang gsum bgrod pa'i rnal 'byor pa// de ni dge slong chen por gsungs// de yis thams cad bya ba nyid*).

[914] Vilāsavajra (Tib.: sGeg-pa'i-rdo-rje), *Dam tshig gsal bkra*, *P* no. 4744, vol. 83, p. 147-9 (in square brackets the variants of Lo-chen Dharma-shrī): *theg chen dam tshig la gnas shing [na]// 'og ma'i 'dul sdom dam tshig gsum [kun]// bsrungs pa [bsrung ba] med par thub pas na// dge slong byang chub sems dpa' dang // de ni [rnal 'byor] rnal 'byor chen po yin.*

[915] Or: "up to ..."

[916] My colleague Dorji Wangchuk pointed out to me that the *Dam tshig gsal bkra* explains the pledges according to the mahāyoga tantras and that "the pledges of Mahāyāna" may need to be interpreted accordingly. This certainly needs to be investigated in the furure.

dge slong byang chub sems dpa' dang //
rnal 'byor[917] *rnal 'byor chen po yin//*

zhes so// de yang so thar gyis gzhan gnod gzhi bcas spong ba de nyid byang sdom gyis gzhan la phan 'dogs pa'i nang du tshang zhing / de gnyis ka'ang sngags kyis sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa bsgrubs te mnyam pa chen po'i ngang nas gzhan don rtsol med du mdzad pa'i thabs mkhas kyi nang du yon tan yar ldan gyi sgo nas tshang zhing 'dus la rnam par dag pa yin te/ gsang snying las/

bla med mchog gi dam tshig tu//
'dul ba'i dbang gis <303v> *tshul khrims dang //*
ji snyed sdom pa bsam yas pa//
ma lus kun 'dus rnam par dag //

ces pa dang /

ji bzhin nyid dang 'dul ba'i thabs//
ji snyed sdom pa bsam yas pa//
ma lus rnam dag lhun gyis grub//

ces so// mdor na sngags kyi sdom pa gtso bor nyams su blangs pas 'og ma gnyis kyi dgag bya dang dgos pa'ang yar ldan gyi tshul du rdzogs pa yin te/ dper na sngags kyi dbang gsum pa'i nyams len sbyor ba'i dam tshig lta bu la'ang rang rgyud kyi chags pa dang ma bral na sngags kyi lam du mi 'gro mod/ rtogs goms kyi gdengs kyis tha mal gyi 'dzin pa dang bral zhing thig le 'dzag med du brtan na mi tshangs spyod kyi pham pas gos par mi 'gyur te/ dgag bya nyon mongs pa zil gyis non pas 'dod chags rang mtshan pa las log pa gang zhig / dgos pa nyon mongs pa'i bag chags mi gsog gi steng du bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs rdzogs par 'gyur ba'i phyir

---

[917] *P: de ni.*

And therefore a great yogi
is a monk, a bodhisattva, and a yogi.[918]

Moreover, that very abandoning through the prātimokṣa vows of harm for others, together with the [mental] basis [for that], is completely included within benefitting others through the bodhisattva vows, and both of these, too, accomplish the deeds of the Buddha through the Mantra [vows], and they are complete and included within the skill in means of the effortless activities [of] benefitting others from the state of great equanimity by way of the possession of the [lower] qualities "upwardly," and [they are] completely pure. In the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (19.2.)[919] it is said:

Within the highest unsurpassable pledges
all the morality and the inconceivably many vows
are included without exception and [are] completely pure,
by virtue of the disciplining [of morally wrong behaviour].[920]

And [in the same text] (19.24.):

The state of being truly actualized as the thing is,[921] the means of disciplining,
[and] the inconceivably many vows
are all, without exception, completely pure and spontaneously manifest.[922]

In short, by practicing the vow of Mantra as the principle one, that which is to be prevented and the purpose, too, of both lower [vows] are complete in the manner of the [lower] qualities being possessed "upwardly." For example, if the practice of the third initiation of Mantra such as the pledge of sexual union is not free from desire as such,[923] it will not become the [actual] path of Mantra. Yet, if through the assurance of realization and internalization one is free from ordinary perception[924] and if the semen remains stable without its dripping, then [even a monk] is not sullied by the infraction of "unchastity" that entails expulsion, since someone who has turned away from concrete desire by outshining the defilements, [which are] that which is to be abandoned, will not only avoid the accumulation of the propensities of defilements, which is the purpose, but will also bring the accumulations of merit and gnosis to perfection,

---

918 According to P.: "... full monks, bodhisattvas, and those (i.e. yogis?) are great yogis."

919 Chapter and verse numbers are given here according to Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*.

920 See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 628.1.

921 Skt. *yathāvadbhāvikatā*, see Edgerton, p. 443, col. 1.

922 See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 647.3.

923 Or: "desire as independently existing ..."

924 Or, "free from grasping the ordinary three doors," see Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 139r.

dang / so byang gi tshul khrims dang sdom pa thams cad phun sum tshogs pas yon tan yar ldan du 'gyur ba'i phyir te/ de nyid las/

bla med theg par rab nges na//
nyon mongs las rnams kun spyad kyang //
byas la mi gsog tshogs 'gyur te// <304r>
tshul khrims sdom pa phun sum tshogs//

zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro//

lnga pa sdom pa gsum gnad kyis mi 'gal ba ni/

'du shes gsum gyis 'khrig na rnal 'byor de//
yul bsam sbyor ba mthar thug ma tshang bas//
rmi lam ji bzhin gnad kyis 'gal mi srid//

ces pa ste/ de yang 'di snyam du/ sdom pa 'og ma gnyis gong mar 'dus pa mi 'thad de/ ci'i phyir zhe na/ so thar gyi pham pa bzhi chab bcas spong ba dang / byang sdom gyis sems can la 'tshe ba chab bcas las ldog nas gzhan la phan 'dogs pa'i ldog cha gnyis po de/ 'dir sngags sdom gyi spyad par bya ba'i dam tshig lnga dang dngos su 'gal bar snang ba'i phyir snyam na/

de ltar 'og ma dang rnam pa 'gal ba ltar snang yang lta ba rtogs shing ting nge 'dzin goms pa dang thabs mkhas kyi spyod pas zin pa'i gnad kyis mi 'gal bar 'og ma'i sdom pa yar ldan du rdzogs pa yin te/ rgyu mtshan nyan thos kyi dge slong la pham pa bzhi 'chab bcas byung na so thar gyi sdom pa zhig par gsungs pa las/ 'dir mi tshangs spyod la/

and because [such a person] will possess in perfect completeness all moral disciplines and all vows of prātimokṣa and of the bodhisattvas, the qualities will be possessed "upwardly." In the same [source, i.e. *Guhyagarbhatantra* 19.1.[925]] it is said:

When [someone attains] ascertainment in the unsurpassable vehicle,
even though [he] engages [in] all the deeds of defilements,[926]
[he appears] to have done [that], but [while he does] not accumulate [obscurations, etc., it] becomes the accumulation [of merit and gnosis],
[because] the morality [and] vows are possessed in perfect completeness. <304r>

[Part 5: Lack of Incompatibility through the Vital Points of the Vows]

The three vows are not incompatible through their vital points:

If one [performs] intercourse while [maintaining] the three apperceptions,
that yoga is not incompatible with the vital points [of the three vows],
because object, volitional impulse, preparation, and [post]-completion are incomplete like a dream.[927]

[Doubt]: "It is not acceptable that the two lower vows are included in the higher vow. Why? Because it seems that the two distinctive aspects, i.e. abandoning the four infractions entailing expulsion [that are endowed] with the intention of concealment of the prātimokṣa, and benefitting others through the bodhisattva vows after turning away from harming sentient beings with the intention to conceal [that harming], are here directly incompatible with the five pledges that are the practice of the Mantra vows."[928]

[Answer]: It may seem that [the pledges] are utterly incompatible with the lower [vows] like that, but through the vital point of understanding the theory, having internalized *samādhi*, and the possession of conduct that is skilled in means, the lower vows are complete in [the way of their qualities being] possessed "upwardly," without being incompatible [with the higher vows]. The reason is [this]: If the four infractions entailing expulsion together with [the intention] to conceal [these infractions] arise in a full monk of the auditors, it is said [by the Buddha] that the prātimokṣa vows are destroyed. From [these four] here, [for example,] unchastity:

---

[925] My understanding of this verse is based on Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 627.

[926] *nyon mongs las rnams*, *D* reads: *nyon mongs 'dod lnga*.

[927] See Appendix C, "Object, Volitional Impulse, Preparation, and [Post]-Completion."

[928] That is, when one understands the five pledges of "killing," etc., literally, and is without understanding, *samādhi*, and skill in means. For these five pledges, see for example the *Guhyasamājatantra* as quoted in chapter 14, section 6 of this book, vajra utterance 5.24.

bdag dang yul lha yab yum du gsal ba lha'i 'du shes dang / mkha' gsang rdo rje <304v> dang padmar shes pa sngags kyi 'du shes kyis gzhi'i yan lag ma tshang / thabs 'dis bde ba chen po'i ye shes bsgrub par bya'o snyam pa chos kyi 'du shes kyis bsam pa'i yan lag ma tshang / byed pa sdom pa'i thabs mkhas kyi spyod pas zin cing chags pa'i ro ye shes su gsal bas sbyor ba dang mthar thug gi yan lag ma tshang ba'i phyir dang / chos thams cad sems nyid kyi rang snang du shes pas rmi lam du spyad pa ltar nyes pas mi gos shing 'dzag med kyi ye shes 'grub pa sogs kyi don du 'gyur bas dgag dgos gnad gcig pa'i phyir mi 'gal te/ de las/

ma chags pa la chags pa dang //
chags pa nyid na chags pa med//
de ni tshangs mchog rgyal po ste//
shin tu chags pa chen po yin//

zhes gsungs pa'i phyir/ de la kha cig na re/ spyir de ltar yin kyang / mi tshangs spyod la ni dngos po gtso bas lpags rim las 'das pa'i phyir pham pa byung ngo zhe na/

Through the notion of the deity, [i.e.] the manifestation [of] oneself and the object [=the female Tantric consort] as the male and female deity, and through the notion of Mantra, [i.e.] the knowledge [of] the secret spaces [=the male and female organs][929] as vajra and lotus, the element of the object is incomplete. Through the notion of the Dharma, [i.e.] the thought "through these means I will manifest the gnosis of great bliss," the element of the volitional impulse is incomplete. By being endowed with a behaviour which is skilful in controlling the act and through the manifestation [of] the taste of desire as gnosis the elements of preparation and [post]-completion are incomplete. And because one knows all phenomena as the self-appearance of the ultimate nature of the mind, it is unsullied by moral fault just like a behaviour in a dream. And because the vital points [of] that which is to be prevented and the purpose are the same[930] this becomes [a practice] of the gnosis of not dripping [the semen]. There is no incompatibility because of [the incompleteness of these four elements as just explained]. In the same text [*Guhyagharbhatantra* 19.6,[931] it is said]:

> [One] is attached to [that which is by nature] unattached, and
> if [there is] attachment [to that], there is no [ordinary] desire.
> This is the king of highest desire,[932]
> the great, very [pure] attachment.

[Objection]: "Though in general, it may be so, but since with regard to unchastity, the entity is most important,[933] an infraction entailing expulsion has occurred because [one went] beyond the skin-level."[934]

---

[929] Cf. Rong-zom, who clearly uses the term in this sense in the passage (*gSung 'bum, dKon mchog 'grel*, p. 222): *mkha' gsang rnam gnyis dam tshig dang chos kyi phyag rgya gnyis su bying gyis rlabs*.

[930] The vital point of that which is to be prevented is to prevent the arising of a defilement, the vital point of the purpose is not to be bound by a defilement. In the practice of the deity that includes the notions of the deity and the Dharma as well as skill in means, the above mentioned vital points are the same, namely that no defilement is involved in this practice.

[931] See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 632.5.

[932] Judging from the commentary it appears that Klong-chen-pa's version must have read *de ni chags mchog rgyal po ste*, which seems to be correct. This is also how Vilāsavajra, *P* vol. 82, p. 276-2-4, reads the passage. But the present text reads *tshangs mchog* (also in bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's commentary and Rong-zom, *brDa dgrol gser gyi me long*, p. 716).

[933] *dngos po* as opposed to *'du shes*, see for example Padma-dkar-po, *sDom gsum gyi rgyan*, vol. 5, p. 117.

[934] bDud-'joms Rinpoche, *sDom gsum rnam nges 'bru 'grel*, p. 115: *pags rim gyi mtshams*.

de ni thabs la mi mkhas shing shes rab med pa'i dbang du byas pa ste/ yang dag par na sngags med pa'i (! read: *pa*) *dug gis 'chi yang sngags dang ldan pa la nyes pa med pa bzhin du thabs shes khyad par can gyis zin pa la nyes pa med de/ <305r> 'dir mkha' gsang sngags kyi 'du shes kyis byin gyis brlabs pas 'da' bya'i dngos po ma grub pa'i phyir dang / sgyu ma'i skyes bus mig yor du snang ba'i bud med la sbyor ba brtsams pa bzhin bdag gzhan yang ma grub pa'i phyir ro//*
de ltar yang de nyid las/

ye nas skye med de bzhin nyid//
sgyu mar snang ba mig yor tshul//
sbyor sgrol bya ba kun byas kyang //
rdul cha tsam yang byas pa med//

ces pa dang / ye shes rgyas pa'i mdo las kyang /

ji ltar sgyu ma'i mkhan po dag //
rang gis sprul pa'i sgyu ma la//
dge dang mi dge 'du byed pa//
nyes pa gang gis mi gos ltar//
thabs la mkhas pas rnam par spyod//

ces so// der ma zad dge slong ma ser skya bzang mo la rgyal po ma skyes dgras 'dod pa lan mang du spyad kyang dge slong ma la 'dod chags kyi sems med pa'i phyir/ las des pham pa bskyed mi nus par nyan thos kyi theg par yang gsungs na theg chen du lta smos kyang ci dgos so//

de bzhin du srog gcod la'ang / bsgral bya mig yor lta bur shes pas gzhi ma tshang / de'i sdug bsngal bral 'dod kyi snying rjes bslangs pas bsam pa ma tshang / gsod par byed pa po bdag sgyu ma'i skyes bu lta bus bsad bya mig yor <305v> ltar srog dang skyes bur 'dzin pa med pas de bcad pa'ang med pa'i phyir sbyor ba ma tshang / rjes mnar sems kyi yi rang med pas mthar thug ma tshang ba'i phyir/

Answer: That has to do with the unskilful and those lacking in insight. In reality, however, there is no fault for someone who is endowed with the special means [and] insight—just as there is no harm for someone who possesses [the means of] magic spells, even though one who is without [the means] of magic spells [for neutralizing poison] dies through poison—because here [in the case of unchastity] the entity which might be passed is not established, since the "secret spaces" [i.e. the male and female organs] are blessed [i.e. controlled] through the notion of Mantra, and since [furthermore] the self and the other, too, are not established, as [in the example of] an illusory man who undertakes copulation with a woman that appears as an optical illusion. It is said in the same vein in the same text [*Guhyagharbhatantra* 11.13.[935]]:

> Even though one has performed all [Tantric] activities [such as] sexual union and liberation [through killing]
> in the way "from the beginning unborn,"[936] "ultimate reality,"
> "appearing as an illusion" [and] "optical illusion,"
> not even as much as a dust particle has been performed.

And in the *Ye shes rgyas pa'i mdo* it is said:

> Just as an illusory magician,
> who commits deeds of virtue and non-virtue
> with regard to the magical illusion which he himself has manifested,
> is unsullied by any fault,
> [one] conducts oneself through skill in means.

Not only that, but the king Ajātaśatru had many times intercourse with the nun Bhadrā, but since the nun had no thought of desire, an infraction entailing expulsion could not be produced through that deed.[937] If [this] is taught even in the vehicle of auditors, it goes without saying that it is so for the Mahāyāna.

Likewise for [the case of] killing, too, because of one's realization of the [person] to be 'liberated' as like an optical illusion, the object [of the killing] is incomplete. Because of being motivated by compassion which desires [that the victim] may be freed from his suffering, the volitional impulse [of killing] is incomplete. Since I, the killer, who am like an illusory person have no apprehension of the victim, who is like an optical illusion, as a living [being] or as a person, there is no [real] killing him either, and hence the preparation is incomplete. And finally since there is no rejoicing of a malicious mind, the [post]-completion is incomplete.

---

[935] See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 628.

[936] *ye nas skye med*, *D* reads: *ye shes*.

[937] This is a story from the *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga*, see Panglung (1981: 162 f.).

nyes pas mi gos shing bsgral bya'i las ngan rgyun gcod pa'i thabs mkhas kyis tshogs rdzogs par 'gyur bas dgag dgos gnad gcig pa ste/ gsang snying las/

yod med dbu ma mi dmigs shing //
sgyu ma mig yor lta bu'i tshul//
srog med srog kyang bcad du med//
srog dang skyes bu log rtog tsam//

zhes so// ma byin par len pa la'ang / bdag gzhan gnyis med du rtogs te rang snang gi rdzas 'phrul dga'i longs spyod ltar len pas don la blangs pa med pa'i phyir gzhi bsam sbyor ba ma tshang la/ thob bya thob byed kyi zhen pa las grol bas mthar thug thob blo yang ma grub pa'i phyir dgag dgos gnad gcig pa ste/ de las/

bden pa gnyis ka dbyer med pas//
'phrul dga'i tshul te tha dad min//
gzhan dang ma byin med pa'i phyir//
blangs med thams cad nyid kyi dbyings//

zhes so// rdzun smra ba'i tshe yang chos thams cad bden par ma grub pas/

Therefore, [that person] is not sullied by moral fault, and since [at the same time through his perfect practice] through the skill in means of cutting off the stream of bad karma of the [person] to be liberated-by-killing his accumulations are completed, [that which is to be] prevented and the purpose are the same vital point. In the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (19.3.)[938] it is said:

[On the absolute level[939]] existence, non-existence, and anything in between are not apprehended [as objects], and
[on the relative level] [things are] like an illusion or an optical illusion; [thus],
there is no life and there is no life to be taken.
Life and people are mere erroneous notions.

Concerning the taking of something which has not been given [i.e. stealing]: Because one has "self" and "other" as non-dual and one partakes of things like the enjoyment of the self-illuminating substances of the *nirmāṇarati* deities,[940] therefore in truth one has not taken something. And for that reason neither object, nor volitional impulse, nor preparation are complete. And since one is devoid of clinging to [the notion of] object and subject of obtaining [i.e. the thing taken and the taker], the [post]-completion of the deed—namely the mental realization of having obtained something—is not established, and therefore [the pledges have] the same vital point [of that to be] prevented and the purpose. The same text [*Guhyagarbhatantra* 19.4.[941]] states:

Because both [the relative and absolute[942]] truths are inseparable,
there is no difference [between the thing taken and the taker], as with *nirmāṇarati*-[deities].
Since [both] "other [beings]" and "an object that was not given" do not exist,
there is no taking, [and thus] everything is the sphere of ultimate reality.

And concerning an occasion of telling lies: Since all phenomena are not established as true, a lie which depends on that is also not established,

---

938 See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 628.

939 This and the following paraphrases in square brackets are taken from Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, pp. 628.8 f.

940 Pāli: *nimmānarati*, lit. "enjoying magical creations (of their own)," n. of a class of *kāmāvacara* gods. See Edgerton (1985: 302).

941 See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 630.

942 This and the following paraphrases in square brackets are taken from Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, pp. 630.2. f.

de la ltos pa'i rdzun pa'ang ma grub pa'i phyir na gzhi pha rol po la rdzun pa'i <306r> 'du shes kyis smras shing des go ba'ang ma dmigs pa'i phyir/ smras kyang nyes pas mi gos shing ji ltar phan pa ltar smras pas dgag dgos gnad gcig pa ste/ de las/

chos rnams sgyu ma lta bu la//
ming dang tshig tu btags pa rdzun//
rdzun nyid la ni rdzun spyod pas//
rdzun zhes btags tsam yod ma yin//

zhes so// mdor na/ de thams cad kyi skabs su/ bdag nyid sdom ldan yin pa/ yul de yin la yin par ma 'khrul ba/ sbyor ba brtsams shing mthar thug grub pa zhig dgos pa las/ 'dir rtogs goms kyi thabs kyis thams cad lhar shes pa'i phyir nyan thos kyi sdom pa dang 'gal ba med do// de bzhin du gzhan la phan 'dogs kyi snying rje dang thabs khyad par can gyis zin pas byang sdom dang yang 'gal ba med de/ de gnyis dang ldan pa ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams la'ang gnang ba'i phyir/ nyes pas mi gos kyi steng du phan yon tshad med pa thob pas dgag dgos gnad gcig pa yin te/ phal po che las/

gang dag sems can don 'gyur ba'i//
thabs de rgyal sras bslab pa'i mchog //
sprin las char chen babs pa <306v> yis//
lo tog phun sum tshogs par byed//

ces gsungs pa'i phyir/

and therefore since one does not apprehend either having spoken with the awareness of lying to the other person or his understanding [that lie], even though one has told [a lie] one is without moral fault, and one has spoken as if benefitting [the others]. Through that, [that which is to be] prevented and the purpose are the same vital point. Thus in the same text [*Guhyagarbhatantra* 19.5.[943]] it is said:

It is a falsehood to designate as names and words
[all] phenomena, [which are] like illusion.[944]
By speaking lies about what is by nature false,
not even the designation "lie"[945] does exist.

In short, on all these occasions [of killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, and lying] there must be (1) an [apprehension of a] self that possesses the vows, (2) an object which is that and no mistake about what it is, (3) a preparation [of the actual deed], and (4) a [post]-completion of the action[946] [for the vows to be broken], while here there is no conflict with the vows of the auditors, since everything has been understood to be the deity through the means of realization and internalization. Similarly they are also not incompatible with the bodhisattva vows, because [such activities] are endowed with loving kindness that wishes to benefit others and with special means, for [activities] possessing these two [i.e. loving kindness and special means] are allowed for bodhisattvas. Because in addition to not being sullied by a moral fault, one obtains limitless benefit, [that which is to be] prevented [and] the purpose are the same vital point. For as it is said in the *[Sangs rgyas] phal po che*-[sūtra collection]:

Whatever is a means for benefitting beings
[is] the unsurpassable training of the bodhisattvas.
A great rainfall from the clouds
makes the harvest rich.

---

[943] See Klong-chen-pa, *dPal gsang ba'i snying po*, p. 631.

[944] *btags pa rdzun*, *D* reads: *brtags pa brdzun*.

[945] *rdzun zhes btags*, *P* reads: *brdzun zhes brtags*.

[946] Usually the four elements ("*las kyi yan lag bzhi*") would include volitional impulse (*bsam pa*), object (*yul* or *gzhi*), preparation (*sbyor ba*), and [post]-completion (*mthar thug pa*), see Appendix III. Why *bsam pa* was dropped here and replaced(?) by "a self that possesses the vows" is unclear. Most likely a later scribe wanted to reduce the elements back to the usual number of four elements and then dropped the wrong one. A more correct version of this might thus read: "For(?) a person who possesses the vows," and then would have listed the four elements, thus for the unskilled reader seeming to contain five elements.

mdor na sdom pa gsum ka la skyon dang nyes pa bskyed na 'gog cing / yon tan dang dge ba bskyed na bya bar gnang ba'i phyir/ don gcig pas gnad kyis mi 'gal ba yin no//

drug pa dus skabs kyis gtso bor gang 'gyur spyad pa ni/
sdig to mi dge'i phyogs dang tshogs pa'i gseb//
'og ma gtsor byed 'dod pas dben pa dang //
spyod pa'i dus dang dben par gsang sngags spyad//
nang ma 'dom na ma 'dres yongs rdzogs bsrung //
'dom na dgag dgos brtsi zhes mkhas rnams bzhed//
las dang po dang rnal 'byor grub thob dang //
thams cad mkhyen pa'i spyod pa gang yin pa//
dus tshod 'brel bar dgos zhes dus 'khor bshad//

ces pa ste/ sdig to mi dge'i phyogs rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba rnams dang / tshogs pa'i gseb tu sdom pa 'og ma nyan thos kyi lugs bzhin du gtso bor bsrung dgos te/ gsang 'dus las/

<306v> In short, there is no incompatibility in the vital points [of the vows], because they have the same aim, since for all three vows a thing is prohibited if it produces a [moral] defect or fault and it is allowed to be performed if it produces an excellent quality and virtue.[947]

[Part 6: Practicing Whatever is Preeminent According to Occasion]

The practice of that which is preeminent according to the occasion. [It is said in the *Clear Comprehension of the Three Vows*, fol. 18r]:

> One follows as preeminent the lower [vows with regard to] sins, i.e. non-virtue,
> and [when] in the midst of an assembly. [If] one is free from desire, and
> at the time of [Tantric] practice, and in solitude, one practices Mantra.
> Wise men hold that when [the vows] do not contradict internally, one observes them unmixed and perfectly complete [according to each system], and
> if they contradict, to consider [that which is to be] prevented [and] the purpose.
> It is taught in the *Kālacakra* that practices of beginners, yogis, adepts, and omniscient ones,
> each must be connected with its [respective] time.

[With regard to] sins, non-virtue, natural sins, and [when] in the midst of an assembly, one must observe as the main thing the lower vows according to the tradition of the auditors. For as it is said in the *Guhyasamājatantra*:[948]

---

[947] Klong-chen-pa, *bSam gtan ngal gso*, fol. 140r, remarks: "If one practices something like the path of the third [initiation], the absorption of body and mind is enhanced through that experience of bliss, the desire of one's mental stream of consciousness is purified, and the semen is stable without its dripping. If no desire arises even though one perceives a woman, the prātimokṣa vow is perfected "upwardly," even though one cultivates the path of the third [initiation]" (*gsum pa'i lam lta bu dang sbyar na/ lus sems zhu bde'i nyams kyis rgyas/ rang rgyud kyi chags pa dag/ thig le 'dzag med du brtan/ bud med mthong yang chags pa mi skye na gsum pa'i lam bsgom yang / so thar gyi sdom pa yar ldan du rdzogs te/*). And: "Furthermore, when the enjoyments of the objects of the senses, such as alcohol, after-noon meals, songs, and dances are the perfection of the two accumulations and the supreme means of abandoning the two obscurations, their performance in the Mantra and their abandoning elsewhere [i.e. in the Vinaya] have the same aim" (*gzhan yang chang dang phyi dro'i kha zas glu gar la sogs 'dod yon spyod pa rnams/ tshogs gnyis rdzogs shing sgrib gnyis spong ba'i thabs mchog tu gyur dus sngags su spyod la/ gzhan du 'dor b8as don gcig ste/*).

[948] See Go-rams-pa, *General Topics*, fol. 79v (*rang lugs* section), who correctly specifies (continued...)

phyi ru nyan thos spyod pa skyong //
nang du 'dus pa'i don la dga'//
zhes dang / sangs rgyas gnyis pa <307r> slob dpon chen po padma'i zhal nas/
phyi ltar lag len mdo sde'i lugs su spyad//
rgyu 'bras spang blang zhib pa'i dgos pa yod//
ces dang / byang sa'i tshul khrims le'ur yang / 'dul ba'i nang khrims bsrung na nyes pa med do// zhes pa yang yang gsungs pa'i phyir ro//

yang theg pa chen por gzhan don du 'byung nges na gnang ba rang 'dod kyis dben pa'i ltung ba lus ngag gi bcas pa rnams dang / gsang spyod kyi dus dang dben pa'i gnas su gsang sngags gtso bor bsrung ste/ de'i tshe 'og ma nyams pa snyam byed kyang de ni ltung ba'i gzugs brnyan yin pa'i phyir ro// de ltar yang spyod 'jug las/

thugs rje mnga' bas ring gzigs pas//
bkag pa rnams kyang de la gnang //
zhes pa dang / sems kyi sgrib sbyong las/
rnam shes ngan pas brten byas na//
'dod pas[949] *'ching ba nyid du 'gyur//*
de nyid mkhas pas brten[950] *byas na*[951]*//*
'dod pas thar pa[952] *rab tu sgrub//*
ces pa dang /
rang lhar sbyor ba'i bdag nyid kyis//
'gro ba'i[953] *don*[954] *byed brtson ldan*[955] *pas//*
rnal 'byor 'dod yon[956] *longs spyod kyang //*

---

[948](...continued)
the quote to be from the *gSang ba 'dus pa'i bshad rgyud*, and reads *bsrung* instead of *skyong*. See the *Śrīvajramālaabhidhānamahāyogatantrasarvatantrahṛdayarahasyavibhaṅga*, *P* vol. 3, no. 82, 203-2-1, this quote on 229-1-8: *nang gi gsang 'dus la rab dga'// phyi rol nyan thos la spyod pa//.*

[949] *P*: *pa.*

[950] *P*: *bstan.*

[951] *P*: *nas.*

[952] *P*: *par.*

[953] *P*: *ba'o.*

[954] *P*: *don ni.*

[955] *P*: om.

[956] *P*: *yul.*

Maintain the conduct of the auditors outwardly,
rejoice inwardly on the meaning of *samāja*;

and since the second Buddha, the great master Padmasambhava, said <307r>:

Outwardly one should behave according to the system of the Sūtra practice;
There is a need for detailed attention to moral cause and result, and to the abandoning and committing [of actions];

and since the chapter on morality of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, too, repeatedly says: "One is without moral faults if one observes the internal discipline of the Vinaya."[957]

Also, in the Mahāyāna there are [certain things] permitted if it is certain that benefits will arise for others, [namely] transgressions devoid of selfishness, [i.e.] acts [classified in the Vehicle of Auditors as] "prohibited for body and speech." And at times of secret practice and in places of solitude one mainly observes [the vows of] Mantra, because even though one is led to think that the lower [vows] have been damaged at that time, it is [only] the semblance of a transgression entailing expulsion. For it is said in the same vein in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. V, v. 84):[958]

The Merciful-One through far-sightedness
allowed them [i.e. the bodhisattvas] even these [activities] which were prohibited [for others];

and in the *Cittāvaraṇaviśodhananāmaprakaraṇa*:[959]

When people with inferior perception rely on [desire],
they will be bound by desire.
[And] the same, when it is resorted to by those who know,
will bring abour liberation through desire.[960]

and [in the same text (1-1-8)]:

By exerting himself in benefiting living beings through self-identification with his own deity
the yogin, even though he partakes of the sense objects,

---

[957] I have not found these exact words in the *śīla*-chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, but Lo-chen Dharma-shrī perhaps refers to passages such as the following, which was pointed out to me by Dr. Maithrimurthi (Wogihara, 1930: 182, lines 19-21): "When the bodhisattva maintains his morality uninterruptedly, his activities of body, speech, and mind are pure, and he will not transgress and be exposed to sin as quickly" (*yathā 'pi tad bodhisattvaḥ śīleṣv a-khaṇḍa-kārī bhavati pariśuddha-kāya-vāṅ-manaḥ-samudācāro nābhīkṣṇ'āpattiko vivṛta-pāpaś ca bhavati*).

[958] *P* vol. 99, 250-1-5.

[959] *Sems kyi sgrib pa rnam par sbyong ba zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa* (*Cittāvaraṇa-viśodhananāmaprakaraṇa*), *P* no. 2669, vol. 62, 1-4-8; Cf. Patel v. 42, read v 42d: *kāmamokṣa* ... as a *tatpuruṣa* with an instrumental relation (as in the Tibetan *'dod pas* ...).

[960] Read *bsten byas* for *brten byas*.

grol 'gyur gos par <307v> mi 'gyur ro//

zhes pa dang / slob dpon chen pos/

nang ltar gsang sngags thun mong lugs su spyad//
bskyed rdzogs don dang 'brel ba'i dgos pa yod//
gsang bar gsang chen a ti'i lugs su spyad//
tshe gcig 'od skur grol ba'i dgos pa yod//

ces gsungs pa'i phyir/ gzhan yang spyod 'jug las/

'jig rten ma dad gyur pa'i cha//
mthong dang dris te spang bar bya//

zhes pas gzhan ma dad par 'gyur ba'i cha sdom pa gsum ka mthun pa rnams 'bad pas bsrung zhing // gal te gzhan 'jug pa'i rgyur 'gyur na theg pa chen po las gnang bas dgag dgos shes par bya'o//

de dag kyang rab dbye'i theg chen so thar gyi skabs su/

'di la sdig to mi dge'i phyogs//
phal cher nyan thos lugs bzhin bsrung //
'dod pas dben pa'i ltung ba 'ga'//
byang chub sems dpa'i lugs bzhin bsrung //
'jig rten ma dad gyur pa'i cha//
gnyis ka mthun rnams 'bad pas bsrung //
'jig rten 'jug pa'i rgyur gyur na//
theg chen so sor thar la gnang //

zhes gsungs pa ltar ro// tshogs dben gang yin kyang rung ste/ sdom pa gsum gyi <308r> ltung ba nang ma 'dom pa'i dus su ni rang rang so so'i lugs ltar ma 'dres yongs rdzogs su bsrung bar bya zhing / gal te 'dom na dgag dgos brtsi ste/ gang gi lugs la'ang nyes pa bskyed pa'i cha thams cad dgag bya yin pas dgog cing /

will be liberated, and will not be sullied [by moral fault],[961]

<307v> and as the great master [Padmasambhava] said:

[You should] inwardly perform Mantra Vehicle practices according to the common system.

This is needed for becoming connected with the sense of [the stages of] production and perfection.

Secretly [you should] perform the Great Secret according to the *ati-[yoga]* system.

This is needed for being liberated in the luminous body during a single lifetime.

Furthermore it is said in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. V, v. 93cd):[962]

[Having] seen and inquired into everything causing the loss of faith
among ordinary people, I should give it up.

Therefore, things that cause others to lose faith, [and] about which all three vow-systems agree, should be energetically guarded against, but if [something] causes others to enter [the path], it is allowed according to the Mahāyāna, and therefore one should understand [that which is to be] prevented and the purpose. These [vital points] were also taught in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa section of the *Clear Differentiation [of the Three Vows]*:[963]

With regard to this, sins and non-virtuous [activities]
are mainly guarded against according to the system of the auditors.
Some transgressions which are devoid of [selfish] desire
are guarded against according to the system of the bodhisattvas.
That which would cause the loss of faith among ordinary beings
is guarded against through efforts in both [systems] alike.
If something causes ordinary beings to enter [the path],
it is permitted in the Mahāyāna prātimokṣa.

Whether in a group or in solitude, when transgressions [against] the three vows are <308r> not internally conflicting,[964] the [vows] have to be observed unmixed [and] perfectly complete according to their respective systems, and if they are conflicting, one should consider [what is to be] prevented and the purpose. That is, since in any system whatsoever everything that produces moral faults is the thing to be prevented, one should prevent it,

---

[961] *P*: *'gro ba'o don ni*; om. *ldan*.

[962] *P* vol. 99, p. 250-2-3.

[963] Sa-paṇ, *Clear Differentiation of the Three Vows*, p. 298, fol. 4r.

[964] I.e. when there is no conflict between the rules of the different sets of vows. bDud-'joms Rinpoche, *sDom gsum rnam nges 'bru 'grel*, fol. 196v, glosses *ma 'doms pa* with *mthun par gyur* and *'doms pa* with *'gal bar gyur*.

yon tan nam dge ba'i cha bskyed na bslabs pa'i dgos pa yin pas spyad par bya ste/ gnang bkag dang spyir btang dmigs bsal gyi gnad rnams ma 'dres par shes pa gal che'o//

de yang gsum ldan rdo rje 'dzin pas spyod pa kha na ma tho ba med cing dus tshod dang 'brel bar spyod dgos pas gnas skabs so so'i blang dor kyang shes par bya ste/

las dang po pas so thar gyi dgag bya gtso bor bsrung zhing / brtan pa thob nas bzung blo na 'phar ba'i rim pa ltar gong ma gong ma'i dgos pa gtso bor bsgrub ste/

'di ltar rnal 'byor pa dang grub thob dang / thams cad mkhyen pa'i gnas skabs kyi spyod pa rnams ma 'dres par blang dor bya'o//

de ltar yang 'dus 'khor 'grel chen las/

> *de'i phyir las dang po pas rnal 'byor pa'i bya ba mi bya'o// rnal 'byor pas grub pa'i bya ba mi bya'o// grub pas <308v> thams cad mkhyen pa'i bya ba mi bya'o//*

zhes so//

and since if [a certain action] produces a good quality or anything virtuous, one should practice it because that is the purpose of the training. And thus, it is very important to know without confusion the vital points of what is permitted and prohibited, and what is the general case and what is a special exception.

Furthermore, the Tantric adept who possesses three [vows] should be free from natural sins and has to practice in connection with special occasions, and therefore he should know what is to be accepted or rejected on individual occasions. The beginner mainly guards against that which is to be prevented in the prātimokṣa, and after he has obtained stability, from that point on he mainly achieves the purpose of each higher [vow] according to the level of the increasing [realization] in his mind. In this way one should take up or desist from the conducts of the levels of the yogis, the adepts and the omniscient ones without mixing them up. In the same vein it is said in the large commentary on the *Kālacakra*:[965]

> "Therefore the beginner should not perform the activities of a yogi, the yogi should not perform the activities of an adept, and the adept should not perform the activities of the Omniscient One."

---

[965] A large commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, the *bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od (Vimalaprabhānāmamūlatantrānusāriṇī dvādaśasāhasrikālaghukālacakratantra-rājaṭīkā), P* vol. 46. no. 2064. The same passage is also quoted by rDo-rje-shes-rab, *dGongs gcig*, vol. 2, fol. 329. For a Sanskrit edition, see Śrīpuṇḍarīka, p. 75, l. 25-26: *tasmādādikarmikeṇa yogikṛtyaṃ na kartavyam, yoginā siddhakṛtyaṃ na kartavyam, siddhena sarvajñakṛtyaṃ na kartavyam.*

Appendix A

Outline of Go-rams-pa's *General Topics*

1. bstan bcos 'di gang zag gis brtsams pa - **1v**
2. dgos pa ci'i phyir brtsams pa - **2v**
3. de ltar brtsams pa'i brjod bya gtan la dbab pa - **3v**

3. de ltar brtsams pa'i brjod bya gtan la dbab pa - **3v**
3.1. bstan pa'i nyams len thams cad sdom gsum gyi nyams len du 'dus par bstan pa - **4r**
3.2. de gzhung gis ji ltar bstan pa'i tshul - **4v**
3.3. bstan bya sdom gsum gyi mtha' dpyad pa - **11r**

3.2. gzhung 'dir ji ltar bstan pa'i tshul - **4v**
3.2.1. skabs dang po so sor thar pa bstan tshul - **4v**
3.2.2. skabs gnyis par byang sems kyi sdom pa'i nyams len ston tshul - **5v**
3.2.3. skabs gsum par sngags sdom gyi nyams len bstan pa'i tshul - **6r**

3.3. bstan bya sdom gsum gyi mtha' dpyad pa - **11r**
3.3.1. sdom pa spyi'i rnam bzhag - **11r**
3.3.2. skabs su babs pa'i sdom gsum ngos bzung pa - **13v**
3.3.3. [gsum pa] de nyid kyi don gtan la dbab pa -**14v**

3.3.1. sdom pa spyi'i rnam bzhag - **11r**
3.3.1.1. sdom pa gsum gyi rnam grangs - **11r**
3.3.1.2. sdom pa gnyis kyi rnam grangs - **12v**
3.3.1.3. sdom pa gcig tu thams cad 'dus pa'i tshul - **13r**

3.3.1.1. sdom pa gsum gyi rnam grangs - **11r**
3.3.1.1.1. sde snod spyi la grags pa'i sdom gsum - **11r**

(*so thar bsam gtan zag med kyi sdom pa*)
3.3.1.1.2. nyan thos kyi sde snod la grags pa'i sdom gsum - **11v**
(*bslab tshigs gsum, lus ngag yid gsum gyis sdom pa*)
3.3.1.1.3. theg chen gyi sde snod la grags pa'i sdom gsum - **11v**
(*nyes spyod spong ba'i - dge ba chos sdud kyi - sems can don byed kyi tshul khrims*)
3.3.1.1.4. gsang sngags kyi rgyud sde la grags pa'i sdom gsum - **12r**
(*sems bskyed kyi sdom pa, bskyed rim gyi sdom pa, rdzogs rim gyi sdom pa; sku gsung thugs kyi sdom pa; so thar byang sems rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa*)

3.3.1.2. sdom pa gnyis kyi rnam grangs - **12v**
(*thun mong dang thun mong ma yin, bskyed rim dang rdzogs rim, phyi dang nang gi sdom pa*)

3.3.1.3. sdom pa gcig tu thams cad 'dus pa'i tshul - **13r**[966]
(*sher phyin gyi bslab par bslab pa thams cad 'dus pa*)

3.3.2. skabs su babs pa'i sdom gsum ngos bzung pa - **13v**
(*so thar byang sems rig pa 'dzin pa'i sdom pa gsum; bla na med pa'i byang chub sgrub pa la gtso bor sngags sdom dgos kyang de'i rten du yang byang sems dang so thar gnyis nges par dgos;*

3.3.3. gsum pa de nyid kyi don gtan la dbab pa - **14v**
3.3.3.1. sdom pa gsum gyi ngo bo ngos bzung ba - **14v**
3.3.3.2. ma thob pa thob par byed pa'i cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.3. thob pa mi nyams par bsrung ba'i bslab bya - **40v**
3.3.3.4. nyams na phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **54 r**
3.3.3.5. sdom pa gnas gtong gi tshul dpyad pa - **57r**
3.3.3.6. gsum ldan gyi gang zag gis sdom gsum nyams su len pa'i tshul

3.3.3.1. sdom pa gsum gyi ngo bo ngos bzung ba - **14v**
3.3.3.1.1. sdom gsum so so'i ngo bo - **14v**
3.3.3.1.2. re re yang lnga lngas gtan la dbab pa'i tshul - **22r**

3.3.3.1.1. sdom gsum so so'i ngo bo - **14v**
3.3.3.1.1.1. so thar - **14v**
3.3.3.1.1.2. [byang sems kyi sdom pa'i ngo bo] - **19r**
3.3.3.1.1.3. [rig 'dzin gyi sdom pa'i ngo bo] - **20r**

---

[966] The text has mistakenly *gnyis pa ni*, read: *gsum pa ni*.

3.3.3.1.1.1. so thar - **14v**
3.3.3.1.1.1.1. gzhan lugs dgag pa - **15r**
(bye brag tu smra ba'i lugs; bod kha cig [dGa'-gdong-pa] theg pa chen po'i skabs su yang bye brag smra ba'i bzhin du ... 'di ni yang dag pa ma yin te ...)
3.3.3.1.1.1.2. rang lugs gzhag pa - **16v**
(so sor thar pa'i sdom pa'i ngo bo ni nges 'byung gi bsam pas kun nas blangs te/ gzhan gnod gzhir bcas spong ba'i sems pa mtshungs ldan dang bcas pa'o/ ...)
1. *so thar la dbye na nyan thos kyi so thar dang* - **18r**
2. *theg chen gyi so thar gnyis* - **18r**
2.1. *cho ga nyan thos dang thun mong ba'i theg chen gyi so thar* - **18v**
2.2. *cho ga thun mong ma yin pa'i theg chen gyi so thar* - **18v**
2.2.1. *sngon gyi cho ga las thob pa* - **18v**
2.2.2. *da ltar gyi cho ga las thob pa* - **18v**
2.3. *cho ga gong ma dang thun mong ba'i theg chen gyi so thar* -**18v**

3.3.3.1.1.1.3. rtsod pa spong - **18v**
(shi 'phos nas kyang rjes su 'brang ba?)

3.3.3.1.1.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa'i ngo bo - **19r**
(spyi'i mtshan nyid/ rab tu dbye ba/ bslab par bya ba/; smon 'jug gnyis; so thar dang cho ga thun mong pa'i byang sems kyi sdom pa/ cho ga thun mong ma yin pa'i byang sems kyi sdom pa/ dbang bskur dang cho ga thun mong pa'i byang sems kyi sdom pa/; dbu sems kyi cho ga...; dbang bskur sta gon...;)

3.3.3.1.1.3. rig 'dzin gyi sdom pa'i ngo bo - **20r**
(sdom pa'i ngo bo; rgyud sde 'og ma gsum la mtshan bcas kyi rnal 'byor ni lha'i rnam pas byin gyis brlab pa dang / mtshan med kyi rnal 'byor ni ye shes kyis byin gyis brlab pa; bla med bskyed rim ni lha'i rnam pas ... rdzogs rim ni ye shes kyis byin gyis brlab pa)
3.3.3.1.1.3.1. sngags sdom gyi mtshan nyid - **20v**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2. sngags sdom gyi dbye ba - **21r**

3.3.3.1.1.3.1. sngags sdom gyi mtshan nyid - **20v**
(yid mtshan rtog las skyob pa'i thabs khyad par can gang zhig mi mthun phyogs spong ba'i sems pa mtshungs ldan dang bcas pa)
3.3.3.1.1.3.1.1. gang skyob pa - **21r**
3.3.3.1.1.3.1.2. gang las skyob pa - **21r**
3.3.3.1.1.3.1.3. gang gis skyob pa - **21r**

3.3.3.1.1.3.2. sngags sdom gyi dbye ba - **21r**

3.3.3.1.1.3.2.1. brjod bya don gyi rgyud kyi sgo nas dbye ba - **21r**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.2. brjod byed rgyud sde bzhi'i sgo nas dbye ba - **21v**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.3. gang las thob pa'i cho ga'i sgo nas dbye ba - **21v**

3.3.3.1.1.3.2.1. brjod bya don gyi rgyud kyi sgo nas dbye ba - **21r**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.1.1. rgyu rgyud kyi sngags sdom - **21v**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.1.2. thabs rgyud kyi sngags sdom - **21v**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.1.3. 'bras rgyud kyi sngags sdom - **21v**

3.3.3.1.1.3.2.2. rjod byed rgyud sde bzhi'i sgo nas dbye ba - **21v**
(*bya rgyud kyi/ spyod rgyud kyi/ rnal 'byor rgyud kyi/ bla med kyi sngags sdom*)

3.3.3.1.1.3.2.3. gang las thob pa'i cho ga'i sgo nas dbye ba - **21v**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.3.1. sta gon gyi skabs su thob pa - **22r**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.3.2. 'jug pa'i skabs su thob pa - **22r**
3.3.3.1.1.3.2.3.3. dngos gzhi'i skabs su thob pa - **22r**

3.3.3.1.2. re re yang lnga lngas gtan la dbab pa'i tshul - **22r**
(*re re yang = so thar/ byang sems/ bskyed rim/ rdzogs rim gyi sdom pa; lnga lngas = sdom pa'i gnas/ grangs ji snyed cig sdom pa/ spang bya gang sdom pa/ thabs gang gis sdom pa/ sdom pa rang gi ngo bo*)

3.3.3.2. ma thob pa thob par byed pa'i cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1. len pa'i cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.2.2. blang ba'i yul - **37r**
3.3.3.2.3. rten gyi gang zag - **38v**

3.3.3.2.1. len pa'i cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1.1. [so thar] - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1.2. [byang sems] - **26r**
3.3.3.2.1.3. [sngags sdom] **28r**

3.3.3.2.1.1. so thar - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1.1.1. nyan thos kyi so thar gyi cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1.1.2. theg chen gyi so thar gyi cho ga - **25v**

3.3.3.2.1.1.1. nyan thos kyi so thar gyi cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1.1.1.1. bsnyen gnas len pa'i cho ga - **23r**
3.3.3.2.1.1.1.2. skyes pa'i bslab tshigs gsum len pa'i cho ga - **23v**
3.3.3.2.1.1.1.3. de bud med kyi bslab tshigs bzhi la sbyar ba - **25r**

3.3.3.2.1.1.2. theg chen gyi so thar gyi cho ga - **25v**

3.3.3.2.1.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa len pa'i cho ga - **26r**
3.3.3.2.1.2.1. dbu ma lugs - **26r**
3.3.3.2.1.2.1. sems tsam lugs - **26r**

3.3.3.2.1.2.1. dbu ma lugs - **26r**
('jam pa'i dbyangs, klu sgrub, zhi ba lha, puṇya śrī, sa skya pa yab sras)
3.3.3.2.1.2.1. sems tsam lugs - **26r**
(byams pa, thogs med, tsantra go mi, a ti sha)
(lugs gnyis po la khyad par ci yod ce na ...) - **26r**

3.3.3.2.1.3. sngags sdom len pa'i dbang bskur gyi cho ga **28r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.1. gang du bskur ba'i dkyil 'khor - **28r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2. ji ltar bskur ba'i cho ga - **29v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.3. de ltar bskur ba'i dgos pa - **32r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.4. de las sngags sdom thob pa'i dus - **34v**

3.3.3.2.1.3.1. gang du bskur ba'i dkyil 'khor - **28r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.1.1. ye shes kyi dkyil 'khor - **28r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.1.2. sprul pa'i dkyil 'khor - **28r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.1.3. ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor - **28r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.1.4. rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor - **29r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.1.5. ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor - **29r**

3.3.3.2.1.3.2. ji ltar bskur ba'i cho ga - **29v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.1. nub dang po'i sa'i cho ga(?) - **29v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.2. sta gon gyi cho ga - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3. dngos gzhi'i cho ga - **30r**

3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3. dngos gzhi'i cho ga - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.1. dkyil 'khor bri zhing rgyan dkram pa - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.2. sgrub cing mchod pa - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.3. bdag nyid 'jug cing dbang blang ba - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.4. slob ma 'jug cing dbang bskur ba - **30v**

3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.1. dkyil 'khor bri zhing rgyan dkram pa - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.1.1. thig gis bri ba - **30r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.1.2. tshon gyis bri ba - **30r**

3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.2. sgrub cing mchod pa - **30r**

(*sgrub pa'i tshul gnyis, phyi nang gsang de kho na nyid*)

3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.3. bdag nyid 'jug cing dbang blang ba - **30r**

3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.4. slob ma 'jug cing dbang bskur ba - **30v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.4.1. dbang bcu bzhir sbye ba - **30v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.4.2. de bcu gcig tu bsdus pa - **31r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.3.4.3. de bzhir bsdu ba - **32r**

3.3.3.2.1.3.3. de ltar bskur ba'i dgos pa - **32r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.3.1. dbang ma bskur ba'i nyes dmigs - **32r**
3.3.3.2.1.3.3.2. dbang bskur ba'i phan yon - **33r**

3.3.3.2.1.3.4. de las sngags sdom thob pa'i dus - **34v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.4.1. mi 'thad pa'i phyogs dgag pa - **34v**
(*sta gon 'am 'jug pa'i chos kyi gnas skabs su thob pa, de ni mi 'thad, dngos gzhi'i cho ga la dgos pa med par thal ba'i phyir ro*)
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.2. 'thad pa'i phyogs rnam par bzhag pa - **34v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.2.1. sngags sdom la khas blangs kyis thob pa - **34v**
3.3.3.2.1.3.2.2.2. cho gas thob pa - **35r**

3.3.3.2.2. blang ba'i yul - **37r**
3.3.3.2.2.1. so thar blang ba'i yul - **37r**
3.3.3.2.2.2. theg chen so thar [blang ba'i yul] - **37v**
3.3.3.2.2.3. sngags sdom blang ba'i yul - **38r**

3.3.3.2.2.2. theg chen so thar [blan ba'i yul] - **37v**
3.3.3.2.2.2.1. cho ga thun mong ba blang ba'i yul - **37v**
3.3.3.2.2.2.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa blang ba'i yul -**37v**
(*dbu ma ltar, sems tsam pa pa ltar; blang ba'i yul gyi mtshan nyid*)

3.3.3.2.2.3. sngags sdom blang ba'i yul - **38r**

3.3.3.2.3. gang gis blang ba'i rten [rten gyi gang zag] - **38v**

3.3.3.2.3.1. so thar gyi rten -**38v**
3.3.3.2.3.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa'i rten - **39r**
3.3.3.2.3.3. sngags sdom gyi rten - **40r**

3.3.3.2.3.1. so thar gyi rten -**38v**

3.3.3.2.3.1.1. nyan thos so thar gyi rten - **38v**
(*bye brag smra ba, mdo sde pa*)
3.3.3.2.3.1.2. theg chen so thar gyi rten - **39r**

3.3.3.2.3.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa'i rten - **39r**
3.3.3.2.3.2.1. dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed - **39r**
3.3.3.2.3.2.2. sems tsam lugs kyi sems bskyed skye ba'i rten - **39v**

3.3.3.2.3.3. sngags sdom gyi rten - **40r**
3.3.3.2.3.3.1. skal dman rim 'jug pa - **40r**
3.3.3.2.3.3.2. skal ldan gcig char ba - **40v**

3.3.3.3. thob pa mi nyams par bsrung ba'i bslab bya - **40v**
3.3.3.3.1. bslab bya so sor bshad pa - **41r**
3.3.3.3.2. [bslab bya] phan tshun [nang] 'gal na ji ltar bsgrub pa['i tshul] - **53v**

3.3.3.3.1. bslab bya so sor bshad pa - **41r**
3.3.3.3.1.1. so thar gyi bslab bya - **41r**
3.3.3.3.1.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa'i bslab bya - **42v**
3.3.3.3.1.3. sngags sdom gyi bslab bya - **48v**

3.3.3.3.1.1. so thar gyi bslab bya - **41r**
3.3.3.3.1.1.1. nyan thos so thar gyi bslab bya - **41r**
(*bsnyen gnas, dge bsnyen, dge tshul, dge slong*)
3.3.3.3.1.1.2. theg chen so thar gyi bslab bya - **42v**

3.3.3.3.1.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa'i bslab bya - **42v**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1. dbu sems kyi bslab bya so sor bshad pa - **43r**
3.3.3.3.1.2.2. rtsa ltung byung bas sdom pa gtong mi gtong dpyad pa - **46v**

3.3.3.3.1.2.1. dbu sems kyi bslab bya so sor bshad pa - **43r**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1.1. dbu ma'i lugs kyi bslab bya - **43r**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1.2. sems tsam lugd kyi bslab bya - **44v**

3.3.3.3.1.2.1.1. dbu ma'i lugs kyi bslab bya - **43r**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1.1.1. dbang rnon la bcu bzhir dbye ba - **43r**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1.1.2. dbang 'bring la bzhir bstan pa - **44r**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1.1.3. dbang rtul la gcig tu bstan pa - **44r**

3.3.3.3.1.2.1.2. sems tsam lugs kyi bslab bya - **44v**

3.3.3.3.1.2.1.2.1. pham 'dra'i nyes byas bzhi spong ba - **44v**
3.3.3.3.1.2.1.2.2. yan lag gi nyes byas bzhi bcu zhe drug spong ba - **45r**

3.3.3.3.1.2.2. rtsa ltung byung bas sdom pa gtong mi gtong dpyad pa - **46v**
(*chags lo tsā ba'i dris len la lugs gnyis; theg chen la'ang gnyis, sems tsam dang dbu ma'i lugs*)

3.3.3.3.1.3. sngags sdom gyi bslab bya - **48v**
3.3.3.3.1.3.1. bya rgyud kyi bslab bya - **48v**
3.3.3.3.1.3.2. spyod rgyud kyi bslab bya - **49v**
3.3.3.3.1.3.3. rnal 'byor rgyud kyi bslab bya - **49v**
(*yo ga'i dam tshig la khas blangs kyis thob pa dang / cho gas thob pa; rigs lnga spyi'i dam tshig dang [- 50r]/ so so'i dam tshig dang [- 50v]/ sdom pa mdor bsdus [- 50v]; cho gas thob pa [- 50v]; rtsa ba'i ltung ba dang po ... bcu gcig pa [- 51v-52v]*)
3.3.3.3.1.3.4. bla med rgyud kyi bslab bya - **52v**
(*rtsa ltung bcu bzhi, yan lag brgyad*)

3.3.3.3.2. bslab bya phan tshun nang 'gal na ji ltar bsgrub pa'i tshul - **53v**

3.3.3.4. nyams na phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **54 r**
3.3.3.4.1. so thar gyi sdom pa phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **54r**
3.3.3.4.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **54v**
3.3.3.4.3. sngags kyi sdom [nyams] pa phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **56r**

3.3.3.4.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **54v**
3.3.3.4.2.1. dbu ma lugs kyi phyir bcos pa - **54v**
3.3.3.4.2.2. sems tsam lugs kyi phyir bcos pa - **55v**

3.3.3.4.2.1. dbu ma lugs kyi phyir bcos pa - **54v**
3.3.3.4.2.1.1. rtsa ba'i ltung ba phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **54v**
3.3.3.4.2.1.2. ltung ba'i lhag ma zhi bar byed pa'i thabs - **55v**

3.3.3.4.2.2. sems tsam lugs kyi phyir bcos pa - **55v**

3.3.3.4.3. sngags kyi sdom [nyams] pa phyir bcos pa'i tshul - **56r**
3.3.3.4.3.1. yan lag tshang ba'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba byung na sdom pa yang dag par blang ba - **56r**
3.3.3.4.3.2. yan lag ma tshang ba'i rtsa ltung byung na ltung ba las ldang ba'i thabs - **56v**

3.3.3.5. sdom pa gnas gtong gi tshul dpyad pa - **57r**
3.3.3.5.1. gnas pa'i tshe gcig dang tha dad gang du gna
3.3.3.5.2. gtong ba'i tshe rim dang gcig char gang du g

3.3.3.5.1. gnas pa'i tshe gcig dang tha dad gang du gna
3.3.3.5.1.1. [gnas pa'i tshe gcig dang tha dad gang du
3.3.3.5.1.2. [rang lugs] bzhag pa
3.3.3.5.1.3. [rtsod pa] spang ba

3.3.3.5.1.1. gnas pa'i tshe gcig dang tha dad gang du g
3.3.3.5.1.1.1. nyi zla skar gsum gyi dpes 'og ma bag la r
3.3.3.5.1.1.2. skyes bu'i rgyan gyi dpes dus mnyam rd
3.3.3.5.1.1.3. chu gzhong du nor bu bzhag pa'i dpes ri 'dod pa dgag - **67r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.4. gzhan lugs la rang lugs su 'khrul nas gnas pa

3.3.3.5.1.1.1. nyi zla skar gsum gyi dpes 'og ma bag la **57r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.1. gzhan gyi gzhung dgod pa - **57v** (*sdom pa gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*)
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2. de'i don bshad pa - **60v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.3. mi 'thad pa'i cha dgag pa - **62v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.1. gzhan gyi gzhung dgod pa - **57v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2. [de'i don bshad] - **60v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.1. rtsom pa la 'jug pa klad kyi don - **6(**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2. brtsam par bya ba gzhung gi don - **(**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.3. rtsom pa mthar phyin pa mjug gi do

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.1. rtsom pa la 'jug pa klad kyi don - **6(**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2. brtsam par bya ba gzhung gi don - **(**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.1. thob gnas gtong tshul gsum gyi sgo gtan la dbab pa - **61r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2. rgyud bzhi'i don bshad pa'i sgo nas
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.3. 'di phyi'i nyes dmigs gnyis kyi sg
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.4. gnas skabs dang mthar thug gi phan phan yon bstan pa - **62v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.1. thob gnas gtong tshul gsum gyi sgo nas sdom pa gsum gyi rang bzhin gtan la dbab pa - **61r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.1.1. so thar gyi thob gnas gtong tshul - **61r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.1.2. byang sems kyi sdom pa'i thob gnas gtong tshul - **61r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.1.3. sngags sdom gyi thob gnas gtong tshul - **61v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2. rgyud bzhi'i don bshad pa'i sgo nas gsum ldan gyi tshul dpyad pa - **61v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.1. rgyud bzhi las gsum ldan gsungs pa'i tshul - **61v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.2. gzhan gyi rgyud don 'chad pa dgag pa - **61v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.3. rang lugs kyi gsum ldan gyi tshul bshad pa - **61v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.4. gsum ldan gyi 'dod tshul gzhan dgag pa - **62r**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.4. gsum ldan gyi 'dod tshul gzhan dgag pa - **62r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.4.1. rten dang brten par 'dod pa'i 'khrul gzhi/ de dang 'gal bar bstan pa - **62r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.4.2. sngags sdom kho na la gsum ldan sbyor ba dgag pa - **62v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.2.4.3. sngags sdom kho na la gsum ldan bsngags pa'i dgongs pa bstan pa - **62v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.3. 'di phyi'i nyes dmigs gnyis kyi sgo nas nyes dmigs bstan pa - **62v**
3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.2.4. gnas skabs dang mthar thug gi phan yon gnyis kyi sgo nas bsrungs pa'i phan yon bstan pa - **62v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.2.3. rtsom pa mthar phyin pa mjug gi don - **62v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.1.3. mi 'thad pa'i cha dgag pa - **62v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.2. skyes bu'i rgyan gyi dpes dus mnyam rdzas tha dad du 'dod pa dgag - **66r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa - **66r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.2.2. de dgag pa - **66v**

3.3.3.5.1.1.3. chu gzhong du nor bu bzhag pa'i dpes rten dang brten pa rdzas tha dad du 'dod pa dgag **67r**

3.3.3.5.1.1.4. gzhan lugs la rang lugs su 'khrul nas gnas 'gyur rdzas gzhan du 'dod pa dgag pa - **68r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.4.1. 'dod pa brjod pa - **68r**
3.3.3.5.1.1.4.2. de dgag pa - **69r**

3.3.3.5.1.2. rang lugs bzhag pa - **70v**

3.3.3.5.1.2.1. bshad bya rdo rje'i tshig 'god pa - **70v**
3.3.3.5.1.2.2. de'i don tshul bzhin du bshad pa - **72r**

3.3.3.5.1.2.2. de'i don tshul bzhin du bshad pa - **72r**
3.3.3.5.1.2.2.1. rim gyis blangs pa'i tshe gnas 'gyur ba
3.3.3.5.1.2.2.2. gsum char ldan pa'i tshe ngo bo gcig p

3.3.3.5.1.3. rtsod pa spang ba - **75v**

3.3.3.5.2. gtong ba'i tshe rim dang gcig char gang du g
3.3.3.5.2.1. sdom pa gsum rim can du blangs pa'i dge sl
tshul - **77v**
3.3.3.5.2.2. dbang bskur gyi cho ga kho na las sdom pa
78v

3.3.3.5.2.1. sdom pa gsum rim can du blangs pa'i dge s
tshul - **77v**
3.3.3.5.2.1.1. dge slong gi sdom pa btang nas gong ma
3.3.3.5.2.1.2. gong ma gnyis btang nas dge slong gi sd
3.3.3.5.2.1.3. dge slong gi sdom pa dang sngags sdom gn
pa mi btang ba - **78r**
3.3.3.5.2.1.4. sngags sdom btang nas 'og ma gnyis mi
3.3.3.5.2.1.5. gsum char dus mnyam du btang ba - **78r**

3.3.3.5.2.2. dbang bskur gyi cho ga kho na las sdom pa
78v

3.3.3.6. gsum ldan gyi gang zag gis sdom gsum nyams
3.3.3.6.1. so so'i bslab bya la slob tshul - **79v**
3.3.3.6.2. re re yang gsum ldan du nyams su len pa'i t

Summary - **81v**
Prayer - **82r**
Colophon - **82r**

Outline of Go-rams-pa's *Detailed Exposition*

(Including a Verse-Concordance to the *sDom gsum rab dbye*)

1. bstan bcos brtsom pa po'i che ba'i yon tan **2r**
2. des bstan bcos ji ltar brtsams pa'i tshul **22r**
2.1./2.2. dngos dang zhar la gzhung ji ltar 'chad pa'i tshul **22r**
3. brtsam bya bstan bcos kyi brjod bya gtan la dbab pa **22v**
3.1. brjod bya bde blag tu rtogs pa'i ched du mtshan gyi don **23r**
3.2. bstan pa rnam dag tu bsgrub pa'i ched du gzhung gi don
3.2.1. bshad pa la 'jug pa'i yan lag
3.2.1.1. mchod par brjod pa **(1-3) 23r-v**
3.2.1.2. rtam par dam bca ba **23v**
3.2.2. bshad pa rang gi ngo bo
3.2.2.1. don la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.1. brjod bya'i gtso bo ngos bzung ba'i sgo nas lus mdor bstan **24r**
3.2.2.1.2. sdom gsum gyi nyams len zhib tu bstan pa'i sgo nas yan lag rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.1 dngos (2. de la rtsod pa spang ba[967])
3.2.2.1.2.1.1. so thar gyi nyams len bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1. brjod bya'i gtso bo so thar gyi rnam bzhag
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.1. dbye ba'i sgo nas mdor bstan **24r, 1.1.**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2. so so'i rang bzhin rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1. nyan thos kyi so thar
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1. ris bdun gyi dus kyi rnam bzhag
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.1. rnam bzhag spyir bstan
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.1. dam bca' 'god pa **24v, 1.2-3**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.2. sgrub byed bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.1. ris bdun 'chi 'pho ba'i tshe gtong ba'i sgrub byed **24v, 1.4-5**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2. de'i yan lag tu sde snod kyi rnam dbye bstan pa **25r, 1.6**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2. dus la log rtog dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.1. phyogs snga ma brjod pa **25v, 1.7**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.1. sgrub byed med pas mdor bstan **25v, 1.8**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2. gnod byed yod pas rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.1. gnod byed kyi rigs pa dngos **25v, 1.9-10**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2. de'i nyes spong gi lan dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.1. nyes spong brjod pa **25v, 1.11**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2. de dgag pa

---

[967] See below, p. 523, 3.2.2.1.2.2. (f. 142v).

3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.1. gtong rgyu gzhan yang mtshungs par thal ba **25v, 1.12**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2. 'dod pa la gnod pa bstan pa **25v, 1.13**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.3. rtsa ba'i nyes spang la gnod pa bstan pa **26r, 1.14-16**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.4. bsnyen gnas la'ang mtshungs par thal ba **26r, 1.17**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2.2.3. smad pa'i gnas su bstan pas mjug bsdu ba **26r, 1.18**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2. bsnyen gnas bye brag tu bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.1. rnam gzhag spyir bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.1.1. nyan thos sde gnyis kyi bsnyen gnas kyi khyad par **26r, 1.19-20**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.1.2. theg pa che chung gi bsnyen gnas kyi khyad par **26v, 1.21-22**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.2. log rtog bye brag tu dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.2.1. bsnyen gnas 'bul ba dgag pa **26v, 1.23**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.2.2. bcol pa dgag pa **27r, 1.25**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.2.3. lha sgom tha dad dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.2.3.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **27r, 1.26**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.2.2.3.2. de dgag pa **27r, 1.27-28**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2. theg chen gyi so thar
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.1. nyan par gdams pa **1.29**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2. don dngos
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1. len pa'i cho ga
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.1. cho ga mthun mong ma yin pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.1.1. da ltar gyi cho ga
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.1.1.1. cho ga nub pa **27v, 1.30**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.1.1.2. cho ga ma nub pa **27v, 1.31**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.1.2. sngon gyi cho ga **28r, 1.32**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.2. cho ga mthun mong ba **28r, 1.34**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2. bslab bya'i khyad par
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2.1. nyan par gdams pa **28r, 1.35**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2.2. khyad par so sor bshad pa **28r, 1.36-39**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.3. gtong ba'i tshul **29v, 1.40**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1.3. gdams pa'i sgo nas mjug bsdu ba **29r,**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.[968] bslab bya'i rang bzhin las 'bras kyi rnam bzhag
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1. las 'bras kyi rnam gzhag spyir bstan
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.1. nyan par gdams pa **29v, 1.41**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2. dbye ba dngos
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.1. gsum du dbye ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.1.1. dbye ba dngos **29v, 1.42-43**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.1.2. dbye ba'i dgos pa **29v, 1.44**

[968] Go-rams-pa's *rNam bshad*, fol. 29r *gsum pa*(!).

3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.2. gnyis su dbye ba **29v, 1.45**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.3. bzhir dbye ba **30r, 1.46-49**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.4. gnyis su dbye ba gzhan bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.5. gsum du dbye ba gzhan bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.3. mjug bsdu sba **30v, 1.58**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2. 'khrul pa dgag pa rgyas pa bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1. bsngo ba'i gnad la 'khrul pa dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1. bsngo rgyu'i dge rtsa la 'khrul p
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.1. phyogs snga ma brjod pa **30v,**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1. chos dbyings bsngo rgyu'i s
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1. lung rigs gnyis kyis dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.1. mdor bstan **31v, 1.62**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2. rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1. yid ches pa'i lung gis
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.1. chos dbyings bsngo drang ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.1.1. chos dbyings bsngo
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.1.2. chos dbyings la dg
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.1.3. zhar la snying po' dgag pa **33r, 1.72-74**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.2. de bzhin nyid la dge
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.1. lung las ji ltar bsh
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.2. de'i dgongs pa bsl
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.3. de nyid dpe'i sgo
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.4. gzhan du rtogs na
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.5. zhar la gshis kyi c
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3. 'khrul gzhi'i lung dc
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.1. 'chad tshul mdor l
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.2. gzhan gyi 'chad ts
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.2.1. mdor bstan pa 3
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.2.2. rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.2.2.1. ji snyed kyi sg
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.2.2.2. yod ces bya l **1.89-96**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.2.2.3. 'gro kun gyi s
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.2.1.3.3. rang nyid ji ltar 'c

---

[969] Here: *log rtog bye brag tu dgag pa.*

1.138-140

3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.1.2.5.2. shes byed kyi lung khungs 'god pa **45r, 1.141-142**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.2. bsngo tshul gyi lag len la 'khrul pa dgag pa **46r, 1.143**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.3. bsngo ba'i 'bras bu la 'khrul pa dgag pa **46r, 1.144-148**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.4. don bsdus te las 'bras kyi gnad bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.4.1. las 'bras spyi'i gnad bstan pa **46v, 1.149-150**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.4.2. theg pa che chung gi las 'bras kyi gnad bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.4.2.1. mdor bstan pa **46v, 1.151**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1.4.2.2. rgyas par bshad pa **46v, 1.152-155**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2. 'bras bu dkar nag zang thal dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **47v, 1.156**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.1. dkar nag zang thal drang don du bsgrub pa **47v, 1.157-160**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2. nges don yin pa la gnod byed bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.1. thal ba gsum dgod pa **51v, 1.161**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2. phyi ma rgyas par bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2.1. sbrul gzhi ngos bzung ba **51v, 1.162**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2.2. sbrul pa ngos bzung ba **52r, 1.163**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2.3. ji ltar sbrul ba'i tshul **52r, 1.164-166**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.2.2.4. skabs kyi don la sbyar ba **52v, 1.167-169**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2.2.3. shes byed kyi lung rigs dang sbyar ba **53r, 1.170**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3. nyams len ye bkag ye gnang dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **54r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1. gnang bkag tha dad du bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.1. dam bca'i sgo nas mdor bstan **54v, 1.171**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2. 'thad pa'i sgo nas rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.1. nyan thos nang phan tshun gnang bkag tha dad du bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.1.1. tha dad du bstan pa dngos **55r, 1.172-175**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.1.2. de'i nyes spong gi lan dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.1.2.1. gyis pa bco brgyad la bden brdzun gyi dbye ba yod pa'i lan dgag pa **55v, 1.176-177**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.1.2.2. bslab pa shes na gnang bkag gcig tu 'gyur ba'i lan dgag pa **57r, 1.178-183**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.1.3. gcig pa la gnod byed bstan pa **57v, 1.184-188**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.2. khyim pa dang rab byung gnang bkag tha dad du bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.1. khas blangs brjod pa **57v, 1.189**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.2. de dgag pa **58r, 1.190-192**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.3. theg pa che chung gnang bkag tha dad du bstan pa **58r, 1.193**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.2.4. theg chen nang phan tshun gnang bkag tha dad du bstan pa **61r,**

1.194
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.1.3. dpe'i sgo nas nas(?) don bsdu ba **61r, 1.195-198**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2. de la gnod pa spang ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1. thub pas rab byung la snying nad byas par thal ba spang ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.1. rtsod pa **61r, 1.199-200**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2. lan
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1. bcas ltung la rang bzhin gyi mi dge ba yod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.1. mgo mtshungs kyi rigs pas dgag pa **61v/62r, 1.201-203**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.2. dngos stobs kyi rigs pas dgag pa **62r, 1.204-205**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.3. ha cang thal bas dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1. rgyal ba sras bcas ltung ba can tu 'gyur ba **62r, 1.206-208**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2. grub thob brtul zhugs bor ba ltung ba can du thal ba **62r, 1.209**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.3.3. lhas lhas kyi dge slong ltung ba can du thal ba **62r, 1.210**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.3.4. dge bsnyen dge tshul ltung med mi srid par thal ba **62v, 1.211**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1.3.5. rtsa brgyud kyi bla ma smad par thal ba **62v, 1.212-213**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2. brtul zhugs la rang bhzin gyi dge ba yod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2.1. dngos kyi don **62v, 1.214-215**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2.2. shes byed kyi lung **63r, 1.216-218**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2.3. rigs pas grub pa'i tshul **64r, 1.219-220**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2. bde sdug gi byed po sangs rgyas yin par thal ba spong ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.1. phyogs snga ma brjod pa **64v, 1.221-222**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.2.1. mgo bsgre'i lan dang **64v, 1.223**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.2.2. rnal ma'i lan
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.2.2.1. spyir bslab pa 'cha' ba'i rgyu mtshan **64v, 1.224-226**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.2.2.2. bslab pa mi 'dra ba 'cha' ba'i rgyu mtshan **65r, 1.227**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.2.2.2.2.3. des grub pa'i don **65r, 1.228**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.3.2.3. ma 'khrul pa'i gnang bkag ji ltar bsgrub pa'i tshul **65r, 1.229-237**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4. 'phral gyi lag len 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.1. ma 'khrul ba'i lag len bsgrub par gdams pa **65v, 1.238ab**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.2. 'khrul pa'i lag len byung ba'i tshul **65v, 1.238cd**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.3. de la gnod byed bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.3.1. shes byed med par bstan pa **66r, 1.239a**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.3.2. nyes dmigs che bar bstan pa **66r, 1.239cd**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.3.3. smad pa'i gnas su bstan pa **66r, 1.240**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.4.3.4. 'khrul ba gzhan la'ang mtshungs par bstan pa **66r, 1.241-243**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.3. thos bsam sgom gsum ma nor bas mjug bsdu ba

3.2.2.1.2.1.1.3.1. nor ba spong bar gdams
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.3.1.1. spang bya ngos bzung **66r, 1.244-246**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.3.1.2. spang dgos pa'i 'thad pa **66v, 1.247**
3.2.2.1.2.1.1.3.2. ma nor ba bsgrub par gdams pa **66v, 1.248-250**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2. byang sems kyi nyams len bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.1. sems bskyed kyi dbye ba spyir bstan pa **67r/v, 2.1-3**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2. theg chen sems bskyed bye brag tu bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1. ma thob pa thob par byed pa'i cho ga
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1. kun rdzob sems bskyed skye ba'i cho ga bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.1. lugs gnyis rten gyi khyad par lung gis bsgrub
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.1.1. sems tsam lugs kyi sems bskyed skye ba'i yul nges par bstan
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.1.1.1. dngos kyi don **68v, 2.4**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.1.1.2. de la log par rtog pa'i tshul brjod **68v, 2.5**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.1.1.3. de nyid lung dang rigs pas dgag pa **69r, 2.6-9**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.1.2. dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kun la skye bar bstan pa **69r, 2.10-11**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.2. de nyid dpe yi sgo nas gsal bar bshad **70r, 2.12-13**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.3. lung gi don la log par rtog pa dgag **70r, 2.14-16**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.1.4. lugs gnyis cho ga'i khyad par so sor bshad pa **70r, 2.17-19**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2. don dam sems bskyed cho gas skye ba dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.1. mdor bstan **70v, 2.20**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.2. rgyas par bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.2.1. cho gas skye ba la gnod byed bstan **70v, 2.21**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.2.2. cho gas skye ba'i sgrub byed med **70v, 2.22**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.2.3. cho gas mi skye ba dpa'i sgo nas bsgrub **70v, 2.23-25**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.2.4. de la lung dang 'gal ba spang ba **71r, 2.26-28**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.1.2.3. don bsdu ba **71r, 2.29**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2. thob pa mi nyams par bsrung ba'i bslab bya
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1. ltung ba'i rnam bzhag mu bzhi bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.1. mu bzhir dbye ba **71v, 2.30-32**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2. bzhir 'gyur ba'i 'thad pa **71v, 2.33-35**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.2. bslab bya'i gtso bo la log rtog dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.1. bslab bya'i gtso bo 'gog pa'i log rtog brjod **72r, 2.36-38**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.2. de nyid rigs pas rnam par brtags nas dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.2.1. bsgrub bya la brtags nas dgag pa **72v, 2.39-40**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.2.2. sgrub byed la brtags nas dgag pa **72v, 2.41-43**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3. bslab bya'i gtso bo yin pa'i sgrub byed 'god pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.1. yid ches pa'i lung gis bsgrub
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.1.1. klu sgrub kyi lung gis bsgrub **74r, 2.44-47**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.1.2. zhi ba lha'i lung gis bsgrub **74r, 2.48**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.1.3. mdo dang bstan bcos gzhan gyi lung gis bsgrub pa **74r, 2.49**

3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.2. bsgom pa'i phan yon gyis bsgrub **74v, 2.50**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.3. ma bsgoms pa'i nyes dmigs kyis bsgrub **74v, 2.51-55**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.2.1.2.3.4. des grub pa'i don bstan pa **75r, 2.56**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3. de dag dang 'brel ba'i thabs lam rnam dag tu bsgrub pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1. spang bya ma dag pa'i lta spyod ngos bzung
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.1. bstan pa **75v, 2.57**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2. bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.1. ma dag pa'i sbyin pa **75v, 2.58**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.2. ma dag pa'i tshul khrims **76v, 2.59, 2.60**[970]
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.3. ma dag pa'i bzod pa **76v, 2.61**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.4. ma dag pa'i brtson 'grus **76v, 2.62**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.5. ma dag pa'i bsam gtan **77r, 2.63-64**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.6. ma dag pa'i shes rab **77r, 2.65**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.7. ma dag pa'i dad pa **77r, 2.66**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.8. ma dag pa'i snying rje **77r, 2.67-68**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.9. ma dag pa'i byams pa **77v, 2.69**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.10. ma dag pa'i thabs lam **77v, 2.70-71**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.1.2.11. ma dag pa'i smon lam **77v, 2.72-73**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2.3.2. de shes nas spong bar gdams pa **77v, 2.74**
3.2.2.1.2.1.2.3. bstan pa rnam par dag pas mjug bsdu ba **78r, 2.75**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3. sngags sdom gyi nyams len bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1. spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1. rjod byed rgyud sde'i rnam gzhag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.1. pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa las rdo rje theg pa khyad par du 'phags pa'i tshul **78v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.2. khyad par 'phags pa'i rgyud sde'i dbye ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.2.1. gnyis su dbye ba **79r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.2.2. gsum du dbye ba **79v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.2.3. bzhi ru dbye ba **79v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.2.4. lnga ru dbye ba **79v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.2.5. drug tu dbye ba **79v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.3. dbye ba de ldan gyi grangs dang go rim nges pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.3.1. grangs nges pa **80r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.3.2. de la rtsod pa spang ba **82r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.3.3. go rim nges pa **82v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.1.4. grangs nges pa'i rgyud kyi sgra bshad pa **82v**

---

[970] Verse 2.60 comes under the same heading, but is only mentioned two lines further down.

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2. brjod bya nyams len gyi rim pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1. bya rgyud kyi nyams len
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1.1. 'jug pa'i spyod pa **83r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1.2. sbyor ba'i spyod pa **83r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1.3. bsgrub pa'i spyod pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1.3.1. mi gnas kyi de nyid **83v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1.3.2. sgra gnas kyi de nyid **83v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.1.3.3. sgra mtha'i de nyid **83v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.2. spyod rgyud kyi nyams len **84r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.3. rnal 'byor rgyud kyi nyams len **84r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.1.2.4. bla med kyi nyams len **85r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2. gzhung gi don la 'jug pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.1. mdor bstan pa **87v, 3.1**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2. rgyas par bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1. smin byed nor be med pa'i dbang bzhi
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.1. ma 'khrul pa'i smin byed bsgrub par gdams **87v/88r, 3.2-3**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2. 'khrul pa'i smin byed dor bar gdams
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1. smin byed ma yin pa smin byed du 'dod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1. byin rlabs smin byed yin pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1. phyogs snga ma brjod pa **88r, 3.4**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1. byin rlabs smin byed yin pa la gnod byed bstan
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.1. shes byed med pa **88v, 3.5**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2. nyes dmigs che ba **88v, 3.6-8**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.3. phan yon med pa **89r, 3.9**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.1.4. lung dang 'gal ba **89r, 3.10**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2. byin rlabs smin byed yin pa'i sgrub byed dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.1. lag len gyi bsgrub byed dgag pa **89r, 3.11**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.2.2. rang bzo'i sgrub byed dgag pa **89v, 3.12-16**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2.3. byin rlabs chos skor byed na ha cang thal ba **89v, 3.17-18**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.2. grangs nges med pa'i dbang bskur smin byed yin pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.1. grangs nges med pa gsang sngags nub pa'i dper bstan pa **90r, 3.19-21**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2. de nyid rgyud las dkag pa'i tshul **90r, 3.22-25**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.3. rgyud de'i don bshad pa **91r, 3.26-27**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.4. gzhan gyi dogs pa spang ba **91v, 3.28-30**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.3. dkyil 'khor ma dag pa'i dbang bskur smin byed yin par dgag pa **90v, 3.31-33**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.4. cho ga ma dag pa'i dbang bskur smin byed yin pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.4.1. ma dag pa'i dbang bskur byung tshul brjod **90v, 3.34-35**

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.4.2. de yi byin rlabs bgegs kyis yin par bstan **90v, 3.36**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.1.4.3. cho ga dag pa'i byin rlabs rnam dag tu bstan pa **90v/91r, 3.37**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2. smin byed kyi dbang mi dgos par 'dod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.1. dbang bskur med par zab lam bsgom pa dgag **91r, 3.38-40**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.2. dbang bskur med par dbang rab smin pa dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **91r, 3.41**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.2.2. de dgag pa **91r, 3.42-44**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.3. sems bskyed tsam gyis gsang sngags sgom pa dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.3.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **91v, 3.45**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.3.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.3.2.1. bya rgyud la rnam par phye ste lan btab pa **91v, 3.46-49**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.3.2.2. lhag ma gsum la mgo gcig tu lan btab **92/93r,**[971] **3.50**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.3.2.3. sgrub byed kyi sgo nas mjug bsdu ba **92/93r, 3.51-52**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.2.4. zhar la smin byed nor ba gzhan yang dgag pa **92/93r, 3.53**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3. dgos kyang 'khrul par spyod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.1. dbang bskur ba'i dus la 'khrul pa dgag pa **92/93r, 3.54-55**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.2. slob ma'i rgyud la 'khrul pa dgag pa **92/93v, 3.56-60**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.3. skur byed kyi dkyil 'khor la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.3.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **92/93v, 3.61**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.3.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.3.2.1. cho ga med pa la gnod byed bstan **92/93v, 3.62-64**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.3.2.2. cho ga yod pa'i sgrub byed brjod **92/93v, 3.65-67**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.3.2.3. bden gnyis kyi sgo nas cho ga thams cad mtshungs par bstan pa **94r, 3.68-73**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.4. rgyud sde'i khyad par 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.4.1. phyogs snga ma brjod pa **94r, 3.74**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.4.2. de dgag pa **94r, 3.75-78**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5. chos sgo'i ming la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.1. mos pa chos sgo yin pa dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.1.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **94v, 3.79**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.1.2. de dgag pa **94v, 3.80-82**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.2. dbang las gsang sngags logs na yod pa dgag **94v, 3.83-86**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.3. dbang las gsang sngags logs na med pa'i rgyu mtshan
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.3.1. mdor bstan **94v, 3.87**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.3.2. rgyas par bshad **94v, 3.88-90**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.3.5.3.3. don bsdu ba **95v, 3.91**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4. dbang bsku mu bzhi 'dod pa dgag pa

[971] Two folio nos. on one page.

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **95v, 3.92**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4.2.1. mu bzhi sgrub byed kyi lung med pa **95v, 3.93**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4.2.2. rigs pas sgrub na kun la mtshungs pa **95v, 3.94-96**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4.2.3. mu bzhi yod kyang shes par mi nus pa **95v/96r, 3.97**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.2.4.2.4. nus na dbang bskur dgos par grub pa **96r, 3.98-100**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.3. dbang las thob pa'i dam tshig la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.3.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **96r, 3.101**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.1.3.2. de dgag pa **96r, 3.102-104**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2. grol byed 'khrul pa med pa'i rim pa gnyis
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1. lam gyi gtso bo mi dgos par 'dod pa dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **96v, 3.105-108**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.2.1. phyogs re'i thabs kyis grol ba dgag pa **96v, 3.109-110**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.2.2. rim gnyis thabs kyi gtso bor bstan pa **96v, 3.111**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.2.3. gtso bo yin pa'i sgrub byed dgod pa **97r, 3.112-115**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.2.4. phyogs re'i thabs kyi dgos pa bstan pa **97r, 3.116-118**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.1.2.5. sgro skur spangs nas gtso bor bsgrub par bstan pa **97r, 3.119**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.2. lam gyi gtso bo ngos bzung ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.2.1. dpe'i sgo nas 'bras bu 'grub pa'i dus bstan pa **97v, 3.120-121**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.2.2. nyams len gyi sgo nas lam bgrod tshul so sor bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.2.2.1. pha rol tu phyin pa'i lam gyi bgrod tshul **97v, 3.122-126**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.2.2.2. rdo rje theg pa'i lam gyi bgrod tshul **98r, 3.127-130**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.3. sangs rgyas thob par 'dod pas de la bslab par gdams pa **100r, 3.131-132**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4. de dag dang ma 'brel ba'i chos lugs dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.1. bstan pa dang ma 'brel ba'i chos pa dgag pa **100v, 3.133-136**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2. sdom pa dang ma 'brel ba'i thar lam dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.1.1. smad pa'i ched du mu stegs kyi dpe brjod pa **100v, 3.137-138**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.1.2. bod blun gyi 'dod pa'i don la sbyar ba **100v, 3.139-140**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.2.1. sdom gsum gyis dben pa'i dge bas sangs rgyas mi 'grub par bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.2.1.1. dpe bsgrub pa **101r, 3.141**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.2.1.2. don la sbyar ba **101r, 3.142-143**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.2.2.2. sdom gsum gyi dge bas sangs rgyas 'grub par bstan pa **101r, 3.144**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.3. nges 'byung dang ma 'brel ba'i so thar dgag pa **101v, 3.145**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.4. sde snod dang ma 'brel ba'i sems bskyed dgag pa **101v, 3.146**

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5. rgyud sde dang ma 'brel ba'i gsang sngag dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5.1. mdor bstan pa **101v, 3.147**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5.2. rgyas par bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5.2.1. rgyud sde dang ma 'brel be'i dbang bskur dgag pa **102r, 3.148**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5.2.2. sbyang gzhi mi sbyong ba'i bskyed rim dgag pa **102r, 3.149**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5.2.3. rten 'brel mi shes pa'i rdzogs rim dgag pa **102r, 3.150**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.5.2.4. spang bya dang mi phyed pa'i ye shes dgag pa **102v, 3.151**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.6. dbang bskur dang ma 'brel ba'i bla ma dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.6.1. dbang ma bskur ba la bla ma dam pa mi 'byung ba bstan **102r, 3.152-153**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.6.2. dam pa ma yin pas sangs rgyas sbyin mi nus par bstan **103r, 3.154-155**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.6.3. mdo sngags kyi bla ma'i khyad par bstan pa **103r, 3.156-157**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.2.4.7. dam chos dang ma 'brel ba'i chos pa dgag pa **103v, 3.158-159**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3. dbang dang rim gnyis las byung ba'i ye shes phyag rgya chen po
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1. rtogs byed phyag chen gyi ye shes 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1. mtshon byed dpe'i phyag chen la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1. stong rkyang du lta ba'i lhag mthong ltar snang la phyag chen du 'dod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.1. gzhan lugs kyi phyag chen dgag pa dngos **104r, 3.160-163**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.2. rang lugs kyi phyag chen ngos bzung ba **105r, 3.164-166**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.3. gzhan lugs kyi phyag chen rgya nag lugs su bstan pa **105v, 3.167-175**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.4. rang lugs kyi phyag chen rgya gar gyi lugs su bstan pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.4.1. nā ro dang mai tri pa'i lugs dang mthun pa **110v, 3.176-177**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.4.2. 'phags pa klu sgrubs kyi lugs dang mthun pa **111v, 3.178**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.4.3. rgyud dang bstan bcos gzhan dang mthun pa **111v, 3.179**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.1.4.4. de lta bu'i phyag chen rtogs pa'i phan yon **112r, 3.180**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.2. mos gus kyi sems bsgyur ba'i zhi gnas ltar snang la phyag chen du 'dod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **112v, 3.181**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.2.2. de dgag pa **112v, 3.182-184**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.3. zhar la phyag chen gyi rgyu la log rtog dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.3.1. khas blangs brjod pa **113r, 3.185-186**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.3.2. mgo mtshungs kyi dgag pa **113r, 3.187-188**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.1.3.3. smad pa'i gnas su bstan pa **113r, 3.189**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.2. mtshon bya don gyi phyag chen la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.2.1. yon tan med pa'i mthong lam dgag
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.2.1.1. phyogs snga ma brjod pa **113r, 3.190-191**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.1.2.1.2. de dgag pa **113v, 3.192**

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2. rtogs bya spros bral gyi lta ba la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1. dngos (la rgyud sde bzhi'i sgrub pa la 'khrul pa dgag pa)?
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.1. theg pa rim dgu la lta ba tha dad yod pa dgag pa **121v, 3.253-256**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2. rgyud sde bzhi la lta ba tha dad yod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **122v, 3.257-259**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.1. lta sgom gyi khyad par spyir bstan **123r, 3.260-261**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.2. bsgom pa'i khyad par bye brag tu bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.2.1. sgom tshul dmigs pa'i khyad par **123r, 3.262-266**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.2.2. bsgom gzhi kun rdzob kyi khyad par
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.2.2.1. rgyud sde 'og mar kun rdzob lhar mi bsgom pa **124a[972]r, 3.267-272**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.2.2.2. rnal 'byor chen por kun rdzob lhar bsgom pa **124av, 3.273**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.2.2.3. des kun rdzob lta bar mi 'thad pa **124br, 3.274**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.3. rnal 'byor bzhi theg pa'i rim par 'dod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.3.1. snga 'gyur gyi lugs brjod pa **124bv, 3.275-276**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.3.2. phyi 'gyur gyi lugs brjod pa **124bv, 3.277**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.3.3. phyi 'gyur ba'i lugs 'thad par sgrub pa **125r, 3.278-281**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.3.4.des snga 'gyur ba'i lugs mi 'thad par sgrub pa **125r, 3.282**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.1.4. des na dbu ma yan chad lta ba gcig tu bstan pa **125v, 3.283**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2. zhar la rgyud sde bzhi'i sgrub pa la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.1. 'khrul pa dgag pa mdor bstan pa **125v, 3.284**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2. ma 'khrul pa'i sgrub pa rgyas par bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1. bya ba'i rgyud kyi sgrub pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1. spyi'i don
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.1. rgyud las ji ltar gsungs pa'i tshul **125v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.2. de nyid grub chen rnams kyis bkral ba'i tshul
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.2.1. bya rgyud bla med ltar bkral ba **126r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.2.2. rnal 'byor rgyud ltar bkral ba **126v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.2.3. spyod rgyud ltar bkral ba **127r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.2.4. bya rgyud rang lugs ltar bkral ba **127v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.3. de las sa skya pa'i bzhed pa ngos bzung ba **127v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.4. rtog pas brtags pa'i lugs dgag pa **128v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.1.5. gnad kyi don bsdus te bstan pa **131v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.1.2. gzhung gi don **132r, 3.285-290**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.2. rgyud sde bar pa gnyis kyi sgrub pa **132r, 3.291-293**

---

[972] Two folios with the same number.

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.2.3. rnal 'byor chen po'i sgrub pa bshad pa **132v, 3.294-295**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.3.2.2.3. de dag dkrugs pa smad pas don bsdu ba **132v, 3.296**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4. phyag chen goms pa las 'khor 'das bsre ba'i spyod pa spyad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1. spyi'i don
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1. spyod pa'i sngon du 'gro ba drod
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1.1. ngo bo **132v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1.2. dbye ba **132v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1.3. so so'i mtshan nyid
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1.4. ma thob pa thob par byed pa'i thabs **133r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1.5 thob pa brtan par byed pa'i dus **133r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.1.6. drod dang spyod pa mtshams sbyor ba **133r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2. drod thob pas spyad pa'i spyod pa dngos
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2.1. ngo bo **133r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2.2. dbye ba **133r**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2.3. mtshan nyid **133v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2.4. spyad pa'i dus **133v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2.5. rten gyi gang zag **133v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.1.2.6. spyad pa'i dgos pa **133v**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2. gzhung gi don
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.1. spyod pa'i rnam gzhag spyir bstan pa **134r, 3.297-300**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2. log rtog dgag pa bye brag tu bshad pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.1. gang gis rgyu ba'i gang zag la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.1.1. mtshan nyid dang mi ldan pa'i gang zag spyod pa spyad pa dgag pa **135r, 3.301-305**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.1.2. mtshan nyid dang ldan pa'i gang zag spyod pa spyad pa'i dgos pa **135r, 3.306**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.1.3. de grub pa'i don bstan pa **135r, 3.307**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2. gang du rgyu ba'i gnas la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1. ti se gangs can du 'dod pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.1. dgag pa spyir bstan pa **135v, 3.308-310**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.2. lung 'gal bye brag tu bshad
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.2.1. dus kyi 'khor lo'i lung dang 'gal ba **135v, 3.311-315**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.2.2. mngon pa'i lung dang 'gal ba **136v, 3.316-318**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.2.3. mu stegs byed kyi lung dang 'gal ba **137r, 3.319-320**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.2.4. rma bya chen po'i lung dang 'gal ba **137r, 3.321**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.2.5. phal po che'i lung dang 'gal ba **137r, 3.322-328**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3. nyes spong gi lan dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3.1. nyes spong brjod pa **137v, 3.329**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3.2.1. 'chad tshul gnyis kyi rang bzhin bshad

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3.2.1.1. sgro skur skyon du 'gyur mi 'gyur dpyad **137v, 3.330-332**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3.2.1.2. de yi dper brjod so sor bshad pa **137v, 3.333-338**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.1.3.2.2. de nyid skabs kyi lan la sbyar ba **137v, 3.339-340**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.2.2. tsā ri gnas chen du 'dod pa dgag pa **138r, 3.341-344**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.4.2.2.3. de gnyis ka'i mjug bsdu **138v, 3.345-346**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5. de la brten nas sa lam bgrod de 'bras bu mngon du byed pa'i tshul
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1. mthar thug gi 'bras bu la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1. rgyu 'bras rigs mi mthun dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.1. chig thub las sku gsum 'byung ba dgag pa **138v, 3.347**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2. chig thub rang gi ngo bo dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.1. chig thub thabs dang bcas na khas blangs 'gal ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.1.1. dngos 'gal spong ba **138v, 3.348-349**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.1.2. lung 'gal spong ba **139r, 3.350-351**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.2. thabs dang bral na lung rigs gnyis dang 'gal ba
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.2.1. rigs pa dang 'gal ba **139v, 3.352-353**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.2.2. lung dang 'gal ba **139v, 3.354-362**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.3. des na thabs mkhas lam gyi gtso bor bsgrub pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.3.1. rnam grol bzang ngan thabs kyis byed par bstan **140r, 3.363-366**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.3.2. de la yid ches lung gi sgrub byed 'god
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.3.2.1. byams pa'i lung **140r, 3.367-368**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.3.2.2. dpa' bo'i lung **140v, 3.369**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.3.3. rnam grol bzang po 'dod pas thabs la 'bad par gdams pa **140v, 3.370-371**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.1.2.4. stong nyid kho naa bsgom pa'i nyes dmigs bstan pa **140v, 3.372-374**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.2. rgyu 'bras phyin ci log dgag pa **140v, 3.375**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.3. rgyu med par 'bras bu 'byung ba dgag pa **140v, 3.376-379**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.4. rgyu ma tshang bar 'bras bu 'byung ba dgag pa **141r, 3.380**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.1.5. 'bras bu'i ngo bo la 'khrul pa dgag pa **141r, 3.381-382**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2. gnas skabs kyi 'bras bu la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.1. grub thob las rtogs ldan bzang ba dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.1.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **141v, 3.383**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.1.2. de dgag pa **141v, 3.384-38**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.2. nyams las go rtogs bzang ba dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.2.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **141v, 3.389**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.2.2. de dgag pa **141v, 3.390-395**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.3. rnal 'byor bzhi po 'phags pa'i sa la sbyar ba dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.3.1. 'dod pa brjod pa **142r, 3.396**

3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.3.2. de dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.3.2.1. so skye la chos mthun brtsi na dpyad par bya **142r, 3.397-403**
3.2.2.1.2.1.3.2.2.5.2.3.2.2. 'phags pa'i sa la sbyar na mdo rgyud dang 'gal ba **142v, 3.404**
3.2.2.1.2.2. (dngos dang[973]) de la rtsod pa spang ba
3.2.2.1.2.2.1. rtsod pa **142v, 3.405**
3.2.2.1.2.2.2. lan
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.1. smras tshad bden pa dgag pa **142v, 3.406**
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.2. grub mtha' thams cad bden pa dgag pa **142v, 3.407-410**
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.3. grangs nges thams cad bden pa dgag pa
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.3.1. sangs rgays kyi gsung la gnyis su phye ba **143r, 3.411-414**
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.3.2. de dag ji ltar len pa'i tshul **143v, 3.415-417**
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.4. de la rtsod pa spong ba
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.4.1. rtsod pa **144r, 3.418-419**
3.2.2.1.2.2.2.4.2. lan **144r, 3.420-422**
3.2.2.1.3. gnad ma 'khrul par bsgrub par gdams pa'i sgo nas mjug bsdu ba
3.2.2.1.3.1. ma 'khrul pa'i gnad bsgrub par gdams pa
3.2.2.1.3.1.1. gnad bcos pa nyes dmigs che bas spang bar gdams pa
3.2.2.1.3.1.1.1. tshig gi gnad bcos pa la sngon byung gi dpe dang sbyar **144v, 3.423-430**
3.2.2.1.3.1.1.2. don gyi gnad bcos pa da ltar gyi grub mtha' dang sbyar
3.2.2.1.3.1.1.2.1. mdor bstan pa **145r, 3.431-434**
3.2.2.1.3.1.1.2.2. rgyas par bshad pa **145r, 3.435-447**
3.2.2.1.3.1.1.3. des na nyes dmigs che bas spang bar gdams pa **145v, 3.448-451**
3.2.2.1.3.1.2. gnad bcos pa'i bdud shas nas spang bar gdams pa
3.2.2.1.3.1.2.1. gnad 'chos pa'i bdud ji ltar byung ba'i tshul
3.2.2.1.3.1.2.1.1. rnam pa ji ltar ston pa **145v, 3.452-453**
3.2.2.1.3.1.2.1.2. thabs gang gis bslu ba **145v, 3.454-461**
3.2.2.1.3.1.2.1.3. sngon byung gi dpe dang sbyar ba **145v, 3.462-468**
3.2.2.1.3.1.2.2. des gnad ji ltar bcos pa'i tshul **146r, 3.469-474**
3.2.2.1.3.1.2.3. de shes nas spang bar gdams pa **146r, 3.475-478**
3.2.2.1.3.2. 'khrul pa'i grub mtha' sun dbyung gdams pa
3.2.2.1.3.2.1. sngon byung mkhas pas 'khrul ba'i grub mtha' sun 'byin pa'i tshul **146r, 3.479-486**
3.2.2.1.3.2.2. rjes 'jug mkhas pas 'khrul pa'i grub mtha' sun dbyung ba'i tshul
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.1. lung rigs kyis gnod tshul spyir bstan pa **146v, 3.487-492**
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.2. lung gis gnod tshul bye brag tu bshad
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.2.1. gzhan gyi lung gis 'gog mi nus pa **146v, 3.493-494**
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.2.2. rang gi lung gis 'gog nu pa **146v, 3.495-499**

---

[973] See above, p. 510, 3.2.2.1.2.1. (f. 24r).

3.2.2.1.3.2.2.2.3. de'i dper brjod gsal bar bshad pa **146v, 3.500-509**
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.2.4. des rigs can gzhan yang mtshon pa **147r, 3.510**
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.3. lung khas mi len pa la ji ltar bya
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.3.1. lung khas mi len pa gdod ma nas yod pa la ji ltar bya ba **147r, 3.511-513**
3.2.2.1.3.2.2.3.2. lung khas mi len pa glo bur du byas pa la ji ltar bya ba **147r, 3.514-516**
3.2.2.1.3.2.3. dgag sgrub kyi lung sbyor ji ltar bya ba'i tshul
3.2.2.1.3.2.3.1. skabs ma phyed pa'i lung sbyor blun po'i lugs su bstan pa **147r, 3.517**
3.2.2.1.3.2.3.2. skabs phyed pa'i lung sbyor gyi dpe brjod dgos pa
3.2.2.1.3.2.3.2.1. lta sgom spyod pa'i lung sbyor **147v, 3.518-522**
3.2.2.1.3.2.3.2.2. 'jig rten las 'das ma 'das kyi lung sbyor **147v, 3.523-525**
3.2.2.1.3.2.3.3. de gnyis la'i don bsdu ba **147v, 3.526**
3.2.2.1.3.2.3.4. mkhas rmongs kyi 'khrul pa'i khyad par dpes bstan pa **147v, 3.527-531**
3.2.2.1.3.3. glo bur gyi chos la brtag dpyad bya bar gdams pa
3.2.2.1.3.3.1. glo bur gyi man ngag la brtag dpyad bya ba **148r, 3.532-537**
3.2.2.1.3.3.2. glo bur gyi mdo rgyud la brtag dpyad bya ba **148r, 3.538-544**
3.2.2.1.3.3.3. glo bur gyi rten la brtag dpyad bya ba **149v, 3.545-549**
3.2.2.1.3.3.4. glo bur gyi ltas la brtag dpyad bya ba **150r, 3.550-555**
3.2.2.2. tshig la 'khrul pa dgag pa
3.2.2.2.1. dor bya nor ba'i bshad pa dgag pa
3.2.2.2.1.1. bod skad la bshad pa nor tshul **150r, 3.556-560**
3.2.2.2.1.2. rgya gar la bshad pa nor tshul **150v, 3.561-582**
3.2.2.2.2. blang bya ma nor ba'i bshad pa bsgrub pa **151r, 3.583-585**
3.2.3. bshad pa yongs su rdzogs pa'i bya ba
3.2.3.1. bstan bcos brtsam pa'i rgyu ngos bzung ba
3.2.3.1.1. dmigs rkyen bstan pa'i 'phel 'grib byung tshul
3.2.3.1.1.1. 'phags pa'i yul du 'phel 'grib byung tshul
3.2.3.1.1.1.1. nyan thos kyi bstan pa la bka' bsdu byung tshul
3.2.3.1.1.1.1.1. bka' bsdu dang po byung tshul **151v, 3.586**
3.2.3.1.1.1.1.2. bka' bsdu gnyis pa byung tshul **152r, 3.587-588**
3.2.3.1.1.1.1.3. bka' bsdu gsum pa byung tshul **152v, 3.589-599**
3.2.3.1.1.1.2. theg chen gyi bstan pa la 'phel 'grib byung tshul
3.2.3.1.1.1.2.1. 'grib pa'i tshul **153v, 3.600-601**
3.2.3.1.1.1.2.2. dar ba'i tshul **154r, 3.602**
3.2.3.1.1.1.2.3. de'i rjes su byung tshul **154r, 3.603**
3.2.3.1.1.2. bod kyi yul du 'phel 'grib byung tshul
3.2.3.1.1.2.1. bstan pa snga dar gyi byung tshul **154v, 3.604**
3.2.3.1.1.2.2. phyi dar gyi byung tshul **155r, 3.605-609**
3.2.3.1.1.2.3. skabs kyi dgag bya'i chos log byung tshul **155v, 3.610-612**
3.2.3.1.1.3. des na chos log sun dbyung dgos pa
3.2.3.1.1.3.1. phyogs chos bsgrub pa **155v, 3.613-614**

3.2.3.1.1.3.2. khyab pa bsgrub pa **155v, 3.615**
3.2.3.1.1.3.3. rtags 'god pa **155v, 3.616**
3.2.3.1.1.3.4. don bsdu ba **156r, 3.617**
3.2.3.1.1.4. gtan gyi bya ba brtags nas blangs pa
3.2.3.1.1.4.1. gtan gyi nyams len brtags nas blang ba **156r, 3.618-621**
3.2.3.1.1.4.2. gtan gyi skyabs gnas brtags nas blang ba **156r, 3.622-624**
3.2.3.1.2. kun slong zang zing med pa'i byams pa
3.2.3.1.2.1. phan par bsam pas zang zing med pa
3.2.3.1.2.1.1. mdor bstan pa **156r, 3.625-627**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2. rgyas par bshad pa
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.1. phan pa sdang sems yin na ha cang thal
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.1.1. bstan 'dzin la ha cang thal ba **156r, 3.628**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.1.2. ston pa la ha cang thal ba **156v, 3.629**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.1.3. long 'khrid la ha cang thal ba **156v, 3.630-631**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.1.4. sman pa la ha cang thal ba **156v, 3.632**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.1.5. don bsdu ba **156v, 3.633**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.2. bdud rigs pham pa sdang sems min par bstan pa **156v, 3.634-637**
3.2.3.1.2.1.2.3. kun slong zang zing med par bstan pa dngos **156v, 3.638-642**
3.2.3.1.2.2. by ba 'os pas zang zing med pa **156v, 3.643-647**
3.2.3.1.2.3. gzhan la bskul bas zang zing med pa **157r, 3.648-649**
3.2.3.1.3. bdag rkyen phyogs lhung med pa'i shes rab
3.2.3.1.3.1. tha snyad mang du thos pa **157r, 3.650**
3.2.3.1.3.2. mdo sde man du thos pa **157v, 3.651**
3.2.3.1.3.3. rgyud sde man du thos pa **157v, 3.652**
3.2.3.1.3.4. man ngag man du thos pa **158r, 3.653-659**
3.2.3.2. 'bras bu bstan bcos gzung bar gdams pa **159r, 3.660**
3.2.3.3. gzung bya'i chos kyi che ba brjod pa **159r, [4].1-2**
3.2.3.4. brtsams pa'i dge ba gzhan don du bsngo ba **159v, [4].3**
3.2.3.5. bka' drin rjes su dran pa'i phyag **159v, [4].4**
3.3. byas shes drin bzo bskyed pa'i ched du mdzad byang smos pa **159v, colophon**

Appendix C

Object, Volitional Impulse, Preparation, and [Post]-Completion

In the *Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*, four aspects of a complete action are found under the heading "the four branches of karma" (*las kyi yan lag bzhi*), namely *gzhi, bsam pa, sbyor ba,* and *mthar thug*, but this seems to be a later terminological usage, perhaps as late as the Tibetan commentarial literature. Before that one finds some of these terms in the *Abhidharmakoś'abhāṣya*, for example that in the case of "killing" the activity of killing must not miss the victim that is aimed for, i.e. the "basis" (Tib. *gzhi*), there must be a clear volitional impulse (*bsam pa*)—the murderer kills deliberately (Skt. *saṃcintya*, Tib. *ched su bsam nas*, for which see IV, 73ab), the preparations (*sbyor ba*) must be complete, that is, for example, someone desiring to kill an animal gets up to buy one, leads it home, etc., and finally raises the sword and beats it on the head. All this is "preparation" (Skt. *prayoga*). The stroke that actually deprives the animal of its life is the actual act (of killing) (Skt. *maula*). Anything he does after that—cooking, eating, praising the taste, etc.,—is the action of [post]-completion (Skt. *pṛṣṭha*). For these three, see *Abhidharmakośabhāśya*, after IV 68c, (Pradhan, 239, 11 ff., *P* vol. 115, 232a7 ff.).

Tibetan authors seem to refer mainly to the vinaya. Kong-sprul makes a few interesting remarks on these concepts in *Shes bya mdzod*, vol. 2, p. 52 ff. On pp. 53 f. he mentions nine branches: "introduction" (*gleng gzhi)*, "disadvantages" (*nyes dmigs)*, "result" (*'bras bu)*, (p. 54) "volitional impulse" (*bsam pa)*, "preparation" (*sbyor ba)*, "[post]-completion" (*mthar thug)*, "cure" (*sel ba)*, "without infraction" (*ltung med)*, and "training" (*bslab bya*). These are, according to him, to be known chiefly from five works:

1) Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364), *'Dul ba'i mdo rnam par 'byed pa*;
2) Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, Karma-pa VIII (1507-1554), *'Dul ba nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor*;
3) Lo-chen Dharmashrī, our present text;
4) 'Brug-chen Padma'-dkar-po (1527-1592), *sDom pa gsum gyi rgyan*;
5) "rJe-dbon Karma's *sDom gsum*," i.e. dPal-spungs dBon-rgan Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin? (See chapter 12).

In his account, however, Kong-sprul, too, describes in more detail only that which is "absolutely necessary to be known" (pp. 54-55), i.e. what is seemingly a summary of the above nine concepts from the great vinaya commentaries, namely the four *gzhi, bsam, sbyor ba,* and *mthar thug,* as we also find them in Lo-chen Dharmashrī's text. Padma-dkar-po, *sDom pa gsum gyi rgyan*, vol. 5, p. 102, also has a section

where he explains the four infractions entailing expulsion in detail. He begins the first, "unchastity" (*mi tshangs spyod pa*), with a detailed "introduction" (*gleng gzhi*, p. 102.4—it presents the reason why the rule was pronounced by the Buddha, i.e. the *bslab pa bca' ba'i rgyu*). On p. 108 he enumerates eleven (sub)-branches (*yan lag*) in total, but these are clearly based on our previous four (main?)-branches:
1. *gzhi'i yan lag*, which consists of two sub-branches, i.e. "support" and the "supported" (*rten dang brten gyi yan lag*), which again includes respectively, four and two sub-branches, i.e. a total of six sub-branches;
2. *bsam pa'i yan lag*, consisting of three sub-branches;
3. *sbyor ba'i yan lag*, and
4. *mthar thug gi yan lag*, each being without further sub-branches, i.e. eleven branches alltogether.
Of the other branches mentioned by Kong-sprul, I could so far only identify a short discussion on "disadvantages" (*nyes dmigs*) on p. 117. Instances of being without infraction (*ltung med*) are discussed throughout that passage without being a distinct topic.

The second infraction entailing expulsion, stealing (*ma byin pa len pa*), begins with the *gleng gzhi*-section on p. 119. On p. 122 ten(?) branches are listed, which are again based on the four (main?)-branches:
1. *gzhi'i yan lag*, which consists of five sub-branches;
2. *bsam pa'i yan lag*, which consists of three sub-branches;
3. *sbyor ba'i yan lag*, and finally
4. *mthar thug pa'i yan lag*, (without sub-branch?).
Thus Padma-dkar-po bases his explanation of the four infractions entailing expulsion (*phas pham pa*) on the same four branches that were later utilized also by Lo-chen Dharmashrī in order to explain the state of harmony of the vows of a Tantric ádept with the prātimokṣa vows. See also Bu-ston, *'Dul ba'i mdo rnam par 'byed pa*, p. 288 ff., and bDud-'joms Rinpoche, *sDom gsum rnam nges 'bru 'grel*, pp. 114/115.

Bibliography

1. Works of Modern Scholarship

Almogi, Orna (1997). *The Life and Work of Rong-zom Paṇḍita.* MA Thesis. Hamburg University.

Aziz, Barbara (1978). *Tibetan Frontier Families: Reflections of Three Generations from D'ing-ri.* New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House.

Bareau, André (1955). *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule.* Saigon, L'École Française D'Extrême-Orient.

Batchelor, Stephen (transl.) (1979). *A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life.* [Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*], English translation [of the Tibetan version]. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Bendall, C. and Rouse, W.H.D. (transl.) (1971). *Śikṣāsamuccaya, A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine, Compiled by Śāntideva.* New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Bendall, Cecil (ed.) (1902). *Śikṣāsamuccaya.* (Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1). St. Petersburg.

Bernhard, Franz (ed.) (1965). *Udānavarga. Einleitung, Beschreibung der Handschriften, Textausgabe, Bibliographie.* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden X, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 54, Bd. I) Göttingen, Vanderhoek & Ruprecht.

Beyer, Stephan (1973). *The Cult of Tārā, Magic and Ritual in Tibet.* (Hermeneutics, Studies in the History of Religions). University of California Press.

Bhattacharya, Vidhushekara (ed.) (1960). *Bodhicaryāvatāra.* (Bibliotheca Indica No. 280, Issue No. 1580). Calcutta, The Asiatic Society.

Broido, M. (1982). "Does Tibetan Hermeneutics Throw Any Light on *Sandhābhāṣa.*" *JTS* 2, pp. 5-40.

(1983). "*bShad thabs:* Some Tibetan Methods of Explaining the Tantras." In: E. Steinkellner (ed.), *Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy.* (Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Symposium, 1981). Wien, vol. 2, pp. 15-46.

(1984). "*Abhiprāya* and Implication in Tibetan Linguistics." *JIP 12,* pp. 1-33.

Bühnemann, Gudrun (1992). "Some Remarks on the Date of Abhayākaragupta and the

Chronology of His Works," *ZDMG*, Bd. 142, pp. 120-7.

Conze, Edward (1958?). *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. (Bibliotheca Indica). Calcutta, The Asiatic Society.

Cowell, E.B. and R.A. Neil eds. (1886). *Divyāvadāna*. Cambridge.

Cox, Colette (1995). *Disputed Dharmas. Early Buddhist Theories on Existence.* (Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XI). Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1995.

Chattopadhyaya, Alaka (1967). *Atiśa and Tibet: Life and Work of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna.* Calcutta, Indian Studies: Past and Present (distr.).

Dasgupta, S. B. (1958). *An Introduction to Tāntric(!) Buddhism.* Calcutta, University of Calcutta Press.

Davidson, Ronald Mark (1981). "The *Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī.*" in : *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques (Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein, XX)*, Michel Strickmann (ed.), Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, Bruxelles, vol. I, pp. 1-69.

(1985). *Buddhist Systems of Transformation: Āśraya-parivṛtti/-paravṛtti among the Yogācāra*. Berkeley, University of California, Ph.D. dissertation.

Dorje, Gyurme (1987). *The Guhyagarbha-tantra and its Commentary*. PhD thesis, SOAS, London, University of London.

(1991). "The rNying-ma Interpretation of Commitment and Vow." *The Buddhist Forum* 2, 71-95.

Dudjom Rinpoche (1991). *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism, Its Fundamentals and History*. 2 vols., Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein (transl.). Boston, Wisdom Publications.

Edgerton, Franklin (1985). *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary.* 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, reprint.

Ehrhard, Franz-Karl (1990). *Flügelschläge des Garuḍa: Literar- und Ideengeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu einer Liedersammlung des rDzogs-chen.* (Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan

Studies 3). Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Eichi Kaneko (1982). *Ko Tantora Zenshū Kaidai Mokuroku (Catalogue of the rNying-ma-pa rGyud 'bum)*. Tokyo, Kokusho Kankokei.

Eimer, H. (1978). *Bodhipathapradīpa: Atiśas Lehrgedicht in Tibetischer Überlieferung*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz.

Ferrari, Alfonsa (1958). *mKhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. (Serie Orientale Roma, XVI), L. Petech (ed. and completed). Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Finot, Louis (1901). *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā: Sūtra du Mahāyāna*. (Bibliotheca Budhica, 2). St. Petersburg.

Frauwallner, Ernst (1956). *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*. (Serie Orientale Roma VIII). Roma.

Gellner, David N. (1992). *Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual*. Cambridge University Press.

Griffiths, Paul J. [et. al.] (1989). *The Realm of Awakening: A Translation and Study of the Tenth Chapter of Asaṅga's Mahāyānasaṅgraha*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Guenther, Herbert V. (1975). *Kindly Bent to Ease Us*. Parts 1-3. Berkeley, Dharma Publishing.

(1955). "Dvags.po.lha.rje's 'Ornament of Liberation,'" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 75, pp. 90-96.

(transl.) (1959). *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*. London, Rider and Company.

Härtel, Herbert (1956). *Karmavācanā*. (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, III). Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

Hakamaya, N. (1989). See Paul J. Griffiths.

von Hinüber, Haiyan Hu (1994). *Das Poṣadhavastu: Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Monographie 13). Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen,

Reinbek.

von Hinüber, Oskar (1985). "Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien," in: *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, (Symposium zur Buddhismusforschung, III, 1), Heinz Bechert (publ.), part 1, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen.

Hirano, Takashi (1966). *An Index to the Bodhicaryāvatāra Pañjikā, Chapter IX*. Tokyo, Suzuki Research Foundation.

Hopkins, Jeffrey and Geshe Lhündub Söpa. See Lhündub Söpa.

Hopkins, Jeffrey (1975). *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra Vol. 1*. (The Wisdom of Tibet Series). Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass. Indian Reprint 1987.

Ishikawa, Mie (1990). *A Critical Edition of the sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa: An Old and Basic Commentary on the Mahāvyutpatti*. (Studia Tibetica no. 18), Material for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries, vol. 2. Tokyo, The Tōyō Bunko.

Jackson, David P. (1983). "Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Pandita." *The Tibet Journal*, VIII-3, pp. 3-23.

(1984). *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

(1987). *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III)*. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 17,1), 2 vols. Ernst Steinkellner (publ.), Wien.

(1989a). "Sources on the Chronology and Succession of the Abbots of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan." *Berliner Indologische Studien 4/5*, pp. 49-94.

(1989b). *The Early Abbots of 'Phan-po Na-lendra: The Vicissitudes of a Great Tibertan Monastery in the 15th Century*. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 23). Wien.

(1990). *Two Biographies of Śākyaśrībhadra: The Eulogy of Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba and Its "Commentary" by bSod-nams-dpal-bzang-po*. (Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 4). Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

(1994). *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-Sufficient White Remedy" (dkar po chig thub).* (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 12). Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

(1996). "The *bsTan rim* ("Stages of the Doctrine") and Similar Graded Expositions of the Bodhisattva's Path," in: *Tibetan Literature:Studies in Genre*, (Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism), pp. 229-243, J.I. Cabezón and R.R. Jackson (eds.), Snow Lion, Ithaca, New York.

Jampa Tsedroen, Bhikṣuṇī (Carola Roloff) (1992). *A Brief Survey of the Vinaya: Its Origin, Transmission and Arrangement from the Tibetan Point of View with Comparisons to the Theravāda and Dharmagupta Traditions.* (Foundation for Tibetan Buddhist Studies, Vinaya Research 1). Hamburg, dharma edition.

Jampal Zangpo, Ven. Tsering (1988). *A Garland of Immortal Wish-Fulfilling Trees*. Sangye Khandro (transl.). Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion.

Karmay, Samten G. (1979). "The Ordinance of Lha Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od." In: *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson.* (Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies). Michael Aris and Auung San Suu Kyi (eds.), Oxford.

(1980). *The Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*. London, Serindia Publications.

Keenan, John P. (1989). See Paul J. Griffiths.

Keown, Damien (1992). *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics*. London, Macmillan.

Klein, Anne Carolyn (1986). *Knowledge and Liberation*. Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion.

(1991). *Knowing, Naming and Negation: A Sourcebook on Tibetan Sautrāntika.* Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion.

Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé, Jamgön (1995). *Myriad Worlds: Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kālacakra, and Dzog-chen*. Translated and edited by the International Translation Committee founded by the V.V. Kalu Rinpoché, Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion Publications.

(1998). *Buddhist Ethics*. Translated and edited by The International Translation Committee founded by V.V. Kalu Rinpoché, Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion.

Kragh, Ulrich (1989). *Culture and Subculture: A Study of the Mahāmudrā Teachings of sGam-po-pa*. MA Thesis. Copenhagen, Copenhagen University.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. (1990). "On the *Lives* of Śākyaśrībhadra (?-?1225)." *JAOS* 114.4 (1994), 599-616.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. (1983). *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Epistemology from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century*, (Alt- und Neuindische Studien, No. 26), Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Lati Rinpoche (1980). *Mind in Tibetan Buddhism*. With E. Napper. Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion.

Leumann, Ernst (1933-1936). *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus: Text und Übersetzung*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band XX). Leipzig.

Lévi, Sylvain (1983). *Māhāyānasūtrālaṃkāra.* Tome 1, Paris 1907, reprint.

Lhündub Söpa, Geshe and Jeffrey Hopkins (1981). *Der tibetische Buddhismus*. Düsseldorf/Köln, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 2nd Edition.

Lamotte, Étienne (1973) *La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga (Mahāyānasaṃgraha).* (Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste De Louvain, 8). 2 vols., Louvain.

(1988). *History of Indian Buddhism.* (Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 36). English Translation.

La Vallée Poussin, Louis de (ed.) (1901-14). *Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva, with the Commentary of Prajñākaramati*. (Bibliotheca Indica No. 150). Calcutta.

(1980). *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu: Traduction et Annotations.* (Mélanges Chinois Boudhiques, vol. 16). Bruxelles.

Lang, Karen (1986). *Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka: On the Bodhisattva's Cultivation of Merit and Knowledge*. (Indiske Studier VII). Copenhagen.

Lessing, F. D., and A. Wayman (1968). *mKhas-grub-rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras: rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyas par brjod.* (Indo-Iranian

Monographs, vol. VIII). The Hague, Paris, Mouton.

Martin, Dan (1997a). *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. In collaboration with Yael Bentor. London, Serindia Publications.

(1997b). "Beyond Acceptance and Rejection?" *JIP* 25 (3), pp. 263-305.

Matsunaga, Yukei (1978). *The Guhyasamāja Tantra: A New Critical Edition*. Osaka, Toho Shuppan, Inc.

Meisezahl, R.O. (1985). *Die große Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus nach der alten Tradition*. (Monumenta Tibetica Historica 1,3). Sankt Augustin, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.

Nagao, G.M. (1884). *An Index to Asaṅga's Mahāyānasaṃgraha*. (Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series IX). 2 vols., Tokyo.

Ngari Panchen Pema Wangyi Gyalpo (1996). *Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three Vows. Commentary by His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche*. Khenpo Gyurme Samdrub and Sangye Khandro (transl.), Boston, Wisdom Publications.

Obermiller, E. (1931). *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 18). 2 vols., Heidelberg.

(1988). *Prajñāpāramitā in Tibetan Buddhism*. (Classic Indian Religion and Philosophy Series No. 3). Delhi, Classics India Publications, reprint.

(1991). *The Uttaratantra of Maitreya*. (Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica No. 79). Delhi, Indian Books Centre, reprint.

Onoda, Shunzo (1992). *Monastic Debate in Tibet: A Study on the History and Structures of bsdus-grwa Logic*. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 27). Wien.

Orofino, Giacomella (1992). "Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile found in the Kālacakra Literature." In: *Papers of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*. 2 vols. Fagernes, pp. 612-628.

Pachow, W. (1955). *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa*. The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan.

Pagel, Ulrich (1995). *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*. (Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua V). London, The Institute of Buddhist Studies.

Panglung, Jampa Losang (1981). *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Übersetzung*. (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series III). Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library.

Patel, P.B. (1949) *Cittavisuddhiprakarana of Aryadeva: Sanskit and Tibetan Texts*. (Visva-Bharati Studies 8). P.B. Patel (ed.). n. p.

Perdue, Daniel E. (1992). *Debate in Tibetan Buddhism*. Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion Publication.

Pradhan, P. (ed.) (1950). *Abhidharma Samuccaya of Asanga*. (Visva-Bharati Studies 12). Santiniketan.

(1967). *Abhidharmakoś́abhāṣya*. (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, vol. VIII). Patna, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Prebish, Charles S. (1974). *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, reprint 1996.

Rahula, Walpola (1971). *Le Compendium de la Super-Doctrine (Philosophie) (Abhidharmasamuccaya) D'Asaṅga*. (Publications de L'École Française D'Extrême-Orient, vol. 78). Paris.

Roerich, G.N. (transl.) (1976). *The Blue Annals*. 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, reprint.

Roloff, Carola. See Jampa Tsedroen.

Rossi Filibeck, Elena De (1988). *Two Tibetan Guide Books to Ti se and La phyi*. (Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Band 4). Bonn, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.

R. Sakaki (ed.) (1973). *Mahāvyutpatti*. Tokyo, 1915 (reprint).

Sakuma, Hidenori (1990). *Die Āśrayaparivṛtti-Theorie in der Yogācārabhūmi*. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, 40), 2 vols., Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Samuel, Geoffrey (1993). *Civilized Shamans, Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*. Washington and London, Smithsonian Institution Press.

Sanderson, Alexis (1990). "Vajrayāna Origin and Function." In: *Buddhism Into The Year 2000*. Photocopy of a lecture held at the International Conference, 7-9 February 1990, Sukhothai Thammathirat Conference Centre, Bangkok.

Schmithausen, Lambert (1986) "Critical Response," in: *Karma and Rebirth: Post Classical Developments*, R.W. Neufeldt (ed.), SUNY, State University of New York Press.

(1987). *Ālayavijñāna: On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy*. (Studia Philologica Buddhica IVa). Tokyo, International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Schuh, Dieter (1973). *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke sowie Tonbandaufnahmen tibetischer Erzählungen*. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XI, 5). Wiesbaden, 1973.

(1976). *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Teil 6*. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XI, 6). Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Seyfort Ruegg, D. (1969). *Le Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra: Études sur la Sotérologie et la Gnoséologie du Bouddhisme*. (Publications de L'École Française d'Extreme-Orient, vol. 70). Paris.

(1981). "Deux Problèmes d'exégèse et de pratique tantriques." In: *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A.Stein*. (Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. XX), 2 vols., Bruxelles, vol. 1, pp. 212-26.

(1985a). "Über die Nikāyas der Śrāvakas und den Ursprung der philosophischen Schulen des Buddhismus nach den tibetischen Quellen." In: *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*. (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, III, 1). Göttingen, pp. 111-126.

(1985b). "Purport, Implication and Presupposition: Sanskrit *Abhiprāya* and Tibetan *dgongs pa/dgongs gzhi* as Hermeneutical Concepts." *JIP 13*, pp. 309-325.

(1988). "An Indian Source for the Hermeneutical Term *dGongs gzhi* 'Intentional Ground.'" *JIP 16*, pp. 1-4.

(1989). *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective: On the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet.* (Jordan Lectures 1987). London, School of Oriental and African Studies.

(1989b). "Allusiveness and Obliqueness in Buddhist Texts: *Saṃdhā, saṃdhi, saṃdhyā* and *abhiusaṃdhi*. In: *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*. C. Caillat (ed.). Paris.

Sherburne, Richard S.J. (1983). *A Lamp for the Path and Commentary of Atīśa*. London, George Allen and Unwin.

Simonsson, N. (ed.) (1957): *Indo-tibetische Studien, I.* Uppsala.

Snellgrove, D.L. (1959). *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study*. (London Oriental Series, vol. 6), 2 vols. London, Oxford University Press.

(1980). See Tadeusz Skorupski.

Skorupski, Tadeusz and David N. Snellgrove (1980). *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*. Vol. 2: Zangskar and the Cave Temples of Ladakh. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House.

Skorupski, Tadeusz (1983). *The Sarvadurgatiparis'odhana Tantra: Elimination of All Evil Destinies*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich (1997). "Preliminary Remarks on the Three-Vow Theories (*sdom pa gsum*) of Tibetan Buddhism." In: *Tibetan Studies*. (Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the IATS, Graz 1995). Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 2, pp. 891-902.

Sonam Dragpa, Panchen (1996) *Overview of Buddhist Tantra: General Presentation of the Classes of Tantra, Captivating the Minds of the Fortuneate Ones*. English translation by Martin J. Boord and Losang Norbu Tsonawa. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Śrīpuṇḍarīka, Kalkin (1994) *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā of Kalkin Śrīpaṇḍarīka on Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas*. Vol. 3. (Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project). Samdhong Rinpoche (ed.). Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. Sarnath, Varanasi.

Staël-Holstein, Baron A. von (1926). *The Kāśyapaparivarta: A Mahāyānasūtra of the*

Ratnakūṭa Class.

Stearns, Cyrus (1996). "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra." *JIABS 19.1*, pp. 127-168.

Stein, R.A. (1972), *Tibetan Civilization*. London, Faber and Faber.

Steinkellner, Ernst (1978). "Remarks on Tantristic Hermeneutics." In: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium 1976*, (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, vol. XXIII), Budapest, pp. 445-458.

Suzuki, D.T. (1957). *Studies in the Lankavatarasutra*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., reprint.

Swanson, Paul L. (1989). See Paul J. Griffiths.

Szerb, János (1990). *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*. (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 569. Band) Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Tachibana, S. (1981). *The Ethics of Buddhism*. London, Curzon Press, University of Oxford, London, reprint.

Tajima, R. (1992). *The Enlightenment of Vairocana, Book II: Study of the Mahāvairocana-Sūtra (Dainichikyō)*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass. See also Wayman (1992).

Takasaki, Jikido (1966). *A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra), Being a Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism*. (Serie Orientale Roma, XXXIII). Roma.

Tatz, Mark (1982). *Candragomin's Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow and Its Commentary by Sakya Dragpa Gyaltsen*. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

(1985). *Difficult Beginnings: Three Works on the Bodhisattva Path [by] Candragomin*. Boston and London, Shambala.

(1986). *Asanga's Chapter on Ethics, With the Commentary of Tsong-Kha-Pa, The Basic Path to Awakening, The Complete Bodhisattva*. (Studies in Asian Thought and Religion, vol. IV). Lewiston/Queenston, The Edwin Mellen Press.

Tsuda, Shinīchi (1974) *The Saṃvarodaya-Tantra: Selected Chapters*. Tokyo, The Hokuseido Press.

Tucci, G. (1949). *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Roma, 3 vols. Reprinted in Kyoto, Rinsen Book Co., 1980, 2 vols.

Uebach, Helga (1987). *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-Tog Phreṅ-ba, Handschrift der Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Tibetischer Text in Faksimile, Transkription und Übersetzung*. München, Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Waldschmidt, Ernst (1926). *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*. (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft III). Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

Wayman, Alex (1968). See Lessing, F. D. and Wayman, A. (1968)

Wayman, Alex (1973). *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*. New York, Samuel Weiser.

(1977). *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

(1985). *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī: The Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts [with English translation]*, Shambhala, Boston and London.

(1992). *The Enlightenment of Vairocana, Book I: Study of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra.* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass. See also Tajima, R. (1992).

Weller, Friedrich (1966). *Die Sung-Fassung des Kāśyapaparivarta: Versuch einer Verdeutschung*. (Monumenta Serica Vol. XXV). reprint.

Wogihara, Unrai (ed.) (1930-36). *Bodhisattvabhūmi: Statement of the Whole Course of the Bodhisattva (Being the Fifteenth Section of Yogācārabhūmi)*. Tokyo, Taisho College.

Wylie, Turrell V. (1962). *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam ['Jam] gling rgyas bshad*. (Serie Orientale Roma, XXV). Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Yamamoto, Chikyo (1990). *Mahāvairocana-Sūtra*. (Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 359). New

Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture.

Yuyama, Akira (1979). *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit Literatur,Erster Teil: Vinaya Texte*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Zongtse, Champa Thupten (ed.) and Siglinde Dietz (Mitarb.) (1990). *Udānavarga*. (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden X, 3, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 187, Bd. III). Göttingen, Vanderhoek & Ruprecht.

2. Indian and Tibetan Works

a. Indian Works in Tibetan Translation

Atiśa Dīpaṃkara, *Bodhipathapradīpa* (*Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*), P vol. 103, no. 5343.

Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā (*Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma'i dka' 'grel*), P vol. 103, no. 5344.

Sarvasamayasamgraha (*Dam tshig thams cad bsdus pa*), P vol. 81, no. 4547.

Abhayākaragupta, *Bodhisattvasaṃvaragrahaṇavidhi* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa bzung ba'i cho ga*), P vol. 103, no. 5365.

Aśvaghoṣa, *Vajrayānamūlāpatti* (*rDo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba*), P vol. 69, no. 3308.

Asaṅga, *Yogacaryābhūminirṇayasaṃgraha* (*rNam par gtan la dbab pa*), P vol. 110-111, no. 5539.

Bodhibhadra, *Bodhisattvasaṃvaravidhi*, (*Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa'i cho ga*), P vol. 103, no. 5362.

Candrakīrti, *Madhyamakāvatāra,* edited by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, (1907-1912). *Madhyamakāvatāra par Candrakīrti*, (Bibliotheca Budhica, 9). St.Petersburg.

Līlavajra (sGeg-pa'i-rdo-rje), see Vilāsavajra.

Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa[bhāṣya]*, (*Chos mngon pa mdzod [kyi bshad pa]*), P vol. 115, no. 5591.

Vibhūticandra, *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālānāma*, (*sDom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*), P vol. 81, no. 4549, 214-3-4 / 215-4-2.

Vilāsavajra, *Dam tshig gsal bkra*, P vol. 83, no. 4744.

Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatārasaṃskāra* (*Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa*), P vol. 99, no. 5272.

Śikṣāsamuccaya (*bSlab pa kun las btus pa*), P vol. 102, no. 5336.

b. Tibetan Indigenous Works

Karma-rgyal-mtshan. *Kaṃ tshang yab sras dang dpal phungs dgon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar*

dad pa'i padma rgyas byed. Si khron mi rigs dpe sgrun khang, 1997.

Karma-nges-don-snying-po gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-dbang-phyug. *Rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po'i lam gyi cha lag sdom pa gsum rnam par nges pa'i bstan bcos kyi tshig don legs par 'grel pa 'jam dbyangs dgyes pa'i zhal lung*. Photocopy of a type-set text printed with movable types.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 54/4, xylograph, 103 fols., 8.2x44 cm.

Karma-nges-don-bstan-rgyas, sMan-sdong-mtshams pa. *sDom gsum rags bsdus byang chub mchog gi myu gu*. In: *The Collected Works*. Reproduced from the tracings from the collected blockprints impressed from the xylographs preserved at sMan dGon Thub-chen-bde-chen-gling. 3 vols, Bir (H.P.), Tsondu Senghe, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 1-13.

sDom gsum 'rags(!) bsdus byang chub mchog gi myu gu'i tshig don 'dus gsal du bkral ba lam mchog sgron ma. In: *The Collected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 14-122.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 126/4, Xylograph, 7+55 fols., 8.5x34cm.

Karma-nges-legs-bstan-'dzin, dPal-spungs dBon-rgan. *sDom gsum rnam par bstan pa nyer mkho'i bum bzang zhes bya ba rang 'dra'i rgyud la 'tshams par 'khril(!) ba'i bstan bcos*. Handwritten *dbu med* Ms (photocopy), found in the Drikung Kagyu Institute, Dehra Dun, India.

Karma-chags-med. *Ri chos mtshams kyi zhal gdams*. In: *rTsib ri spar ma*, (*dKar rnying skyes chen du ma'i phyag rdzogs kyi gdams ngag gnad bsdus nyer mkho rin po che'i gter mdzod*), vol. *A*, chapter *ca*, pp. 72-96: *sDom pa gsum gyi srung tshul mun sel nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor*.

Karma-'phrin-las-pa. *Dri lan drang ba dang nges pa'i don gyi snang byed ces bya ba ngo gro bla ma'i dris lan*. In: *The Songs of Esoteric Practice (mgur) and Replies to Doctrinal Questions (dris lan) of Karma-'phrin-las-pa*, Reproduced from Prints of the 1539 Rin-chen-ri-bo blocks, New Delhi, Ngawang Topgay, 1975, pp. 108-139.

Dri lan padma dkar po'i chun po zhes bya ba rgya ston dris lan. In: *The Songs of Esoteric Practice (mgur) and Replies to Doctrinal Questions (dris lan) of Karma-'phrin-las-pa*, Reproduced from Prints of the 1539 Rin-chen-ri-bo blocks, New Delhi, Ngawang Topgay, 1975, pp. 92-108.

Karma-sangs-rgyas-chos-'phel. *gZhung lugs bśad bya'i yan lag sdom gsum zur rgyan (bŚad bya'i zur rgyan)*. In: *rTsib ri spar ma*, (*dKar rnying skyes chen du ma'i phyag rdzogs kyi gdams ngag gnad bsdus nyer mkho rin po che'i gter mdzod*), vol. 19, pp. 319-322.

Ko-shul Grags-pa-'byung-gnas and rGyal-ba-blo-bzang. *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*. Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

Kong-ston dBang-phyug-grub. *Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa*. New Delhi, 1973.

Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas. *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod (Thig pa'i kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab)*. Vols. 1-3, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982.

Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture, Parts 1-3. (Śata-Piṭaka Series 80), Lokesh Chandra (ed.), New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1970.

Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer. *rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso*. In: *Ngal gso skor gsum, Rang grol skor gsum,* and *sNgags kyi spyi don*, Structured Presentations on Nyingmapa Dzochen Theory and Practice by Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, Reproduced from a set of prints from the A-'dzom 'Brug-pa Chos-sgar blocks, vol. 2, Gangtok, Ven. Dodrup Chen Rimpoche, 1973, marked *tha*, fols. 111-127, pp. 1-33.

rDzogs pa chen po bsam gtan ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta rnam par dag pa. In: *Ngal gso skor gsum, Rang grol skor gsum,* and *sNgags kyi spyi don*, Structured Presentations on Nyingmapa Dzochen Theory and Practice by Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, Reproduced from a set of prints from the A-'dzom 'Brug-pa Chos-sgar blocks, vol. 2, Gangtok, Ven. Dodrup Chen Rimpoche, 1973, marked *tha*, fols. 128-175, pp. 35-129.

dPal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa phyogs bcu'i mun pa thams cad rnam par sel ba. In: *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, A collection of teachings and initiations of the rNying-ma-pa tradition by H.H. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, vol. 26, pp. 5-683, Darjeeling (W.B.), Dupjung Lama, 1982-1983.

dKon-mchog-thub-bstan-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, rTogs-ldan-rin-po-che. *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i rnam bshad blo gsar dga' ba'i rna rgyan dbyar gyi rnga sgra*. In: *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum thor bu) of La-dwags rTogs-ldan Rin-po-che dKon-mchog-thub-bstan-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan*, Bir, D. Tsondu Senghe (publ.), 1985.

bKa' gdams glegs bam. Collected Teachings and Stories of Lord Atīśa and his Disciples on the Precious Practice of bKa'-gdams-pa Buddhism, from a Lhasa Edition, 2 vols., Legs-pa'i-shes-rab (ed.), Varanasi, Kalsang Lhundup, 1973.

Khenpo Appey. *dKar chag mthong bas yid 'phrog chos mdzod bye ba'i lde mig: A Biography of Sa-skya-pa Literature*. Ngawang Topgyal (publ.), New Delhi, 1987.

Khetsun Sangpo. *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.* 12 vols., Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973-1981.

mKha'-spyod-dbang-po, Zhva-dmar-pa II. *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan.* In: *Zhva dmar mkha' spyod dbang po'i bKa' 'bum,* (no ed., place and date mentioned), vol. *ka,* fols. 228-283.

Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge. *sDom gsum rab dbye'i spyi don yid bzhin nor bu.* In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, Tokyo, The Tōyō Bunko, 1969, vol. 14/4, pp. 199-240.

sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, vol. 14/4, pp. 119-199.

sDom gsum gyi bstan bcos la dris shing rtsod pa'i lan sdom gsum 'khrul spong zhes bya ba mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ges mdzad pa. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, vol. 14/4, pp. 240-273.

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. *Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa gsal bar ston pa shlo ka nyi shu pa'i rnam par bshad pa.* In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, Tokyo, The Tōyō Bunko, 1968, Vol. 4, no. 136, pp. 320-334.

dBang bskur ba'i cho ga. In: *The Sa-skya-pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, vol. 4/2, no. 87, pp. 86-91.

rTsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa gsal byed 'khrul spong. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, vol. 3/1, pp. 235-265.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no L 475/3, Xylograph, 48 fols., 7.9 x 48.2 cm.

Grub-pa'i-rdo-rje, dByangs can. *sDom pa gsum gyi mi mthun phyogs dran tshul.* Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. B 646/1, Xylograph, fol. no. and size unknown.

dGe-'dun-rin-chen, dGe-bshes Brag-phug. *sDom gsum rgyan gyi mchan 'grel pad dkar zhal lung.* In: *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of dGe-bshes Brag-phug dGe-'dun-rin-chen,* (Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Literature Serie vol. 125), Rewalsar, India, Sherab Gyaltsen Lama and Āchārya Shedup Tenzin, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 283-513.

dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po, mKhas-grub. *sDom gsum gyi rnam par bzhag pa mdor bsdus te gtan la dbab pa'i rab tu byed pa thub bstan rin po che'i byi dor*. In: *Collected Works (gSung 'bum)*, (Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series 126), New Delhi, Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1985, vol. 11, pp. 1-214.

dGe-bshes Brag-phug dGe-'dun-rin-chen. See dGe-'dun-rin-chen.

'Gos-lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal. *Deb ther sngon po*. 2 vols., Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.

sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen. *Collected Works* (*gSung 'bum*). Reproduced from the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul, 2 vols., Delhi, Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, 1975.

Dwags po thar rgyan. dPal ldan 'brug gzhung dpe mdzod khang, 162 fols.

Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-dbang-phyug, Zhwa-dmar-pa VI. *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i gsal byed*. Delhi, D. Tsondu Senghe, ca. 1995.

Ngag-dbang-dpal-ldan. *gSang chen rgyud sde bzhi'i sa lam rnam gzhag rgyud gzhung gsal byed*. In: *The Collected Works of Chos-rje Ngag-dbang-dpal-ldan of Urga*, vol. 2, Delhi, Lama Gurudeva, 1983.

Ngo-rje-ras-pa a.k.a. Zhe-sdang-rdo-rje. *bsTan snying yig cha* (*Theg chen bstan pa'i byung tshul* and *Theg chen bstan pa'i snying po*). A synthetic treatise on the essential concepts of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Reproduced from a manuscript tracing of a print from the 'Bri-gung-thil blocks belonging to Ven. rTogs-ldan-tshang, D. Tsondu Senghe (publ.), Bir, India, The Bir Tibetan Society, 1974.

mNga'-ris-paṇ-chen Padma dBang-rgyal. *Rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po'i lam gyi cha lag sdom pa gsum rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos*. In: *rNyiṅ ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, (*Gangs can bstan pa'i phyi mo snga 'gyur ba'i chos mdzod ring brgyad mnyams bka' ma'i gzhung*), vol. 37, ch. *ji*, pp. 5-41.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 37/5, xylograph, 15 fols., 9.5 x 54.5 cm.

lCangs-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje. *Grub pa'i mtha' rnam par bzhag pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan*. Buddhist Philosophical Systems. (Śatapiṭaka Series, vol. 233), New Delhi, 1977.

Chos-kyi-grags-pa, 'Bri-gung Rig-'dzin. *rJe rig 'dzin chos kyi grags pa'i gsung 'bum thor bu*. Collected Works, Bir, India, D. Tsondu Senge, 1985, vol. 1.

dGongs gcig 'grel ba nyi ma'i snang ba. Maryland, USA, Drikung Kagyu Meditation Center, 1995.

also published as *Dam pa'i chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i rnam bshad lung don gsal byed nyi ma'i snang ba*. In: *dGongs gcig and bsTan snying texts of the 'Bri-gung-pa tradition*. A collection of rare texts on the two special teachings of the school. Reproduced from tracings from the 'Bri-gung Thel prints from the library of the Ven. rTogs-ldan Rin-po-che, Bir (H.P.), D. Tsondu Senghe, 1977, pp. 1-397.

'Jig-rten-mgon-po. *sDom gsum gnad gcig*. Photocopy of a Manuscript from the private library of H.H. Drikung Chetsang Rinpoche, Dehra Dun, India.

sDom gsum gnad gcig. In: *'Bri gung thel Chos bDud rtsi'i Thigs pa*. A collection of highly esoteric instructions on various aspects of Buddhist practice, comprising the "sealed" or *bKa' rgya ma* portions of the collected writings (*gsung 'bum*) of 'Bri gung sKyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po. Reproduced from a rare set of manuscripts from the library of the Ven. rTogs ldan Rin po che of sGang sNong Monastery, (Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series, Volume 75), 2 vols., New Delhi, Tsering Dorma Gelek, 1975.

Collected writings of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal. Reproduced photographically from the 'Bri-gung Yang-re-sgar xylographic edition, 4 vols., New Delhi, Khangsar Tulku, 1969-71.

'Jigs-med-theg-mchog. *Rong bo dkon chen gyi gdan rabs rdzogs ldan gtam gyi rang sgra*. mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988.

Tāranātha. *rDo rje rnal 'byor gyi 'khrid yig mthong ba don ldan gyi lhan thabs 'od brgya 'bar*. In: *The Collected Works of Jo-nang rJe-btsun Tāranātha*, vol. 3, pp. 447-805, Leh, Smanrtsis Shesrig Dpemdzod, 1983.

bsTan-'dzin-chos-kyi-blo-gros, 34th throne holder of 'Bri-gung. *Gangs ri chen po ti se dang mtsho ma dros pa bcas kyi sngon byung gi lo rgyus mdor bsdus su brjod pa'i rab byed shel dkar me long*. Private photocopy, 63 fols. See also Rossi Filibeck.

bsTan-'dzin Padma'i-rgyal-mtshan, 'Bri-gung. *Nges don bstan pa'i snying po mgon po 'bri gung pa chen po'i gdan rabs chos kyi byung tshul gser gyi phreng ba*. Bod ljongs bod yig rnying dpe skrun khang, 1989.

Thub-bstan-nyi-ma. *Shes bya kun khyab kyi sa bcad*. Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990.

bDud-'joms-'jigs-'bral-ye-shes-rdo-rje. *sDom pa gsum rnam par nges pa'i bstan bcos kyi 'bru 'grel blo gros gsar bu'i yid kyi gdung sel legs bshad bdud rtsi'i za ma tog*. In: *rNyin ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, vol. 58, pp. 5-409, Delhi, Dupjung Lama, 1982-1983.

History of the Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism, (*Gangs ljongs rgyal bstan yongs*

rdzogs kyi phyi mo snga 'gyur rdo rje theg pa'i bstan pa rin po che'i ji ltar byung ba'i tshul dag cing gsal bar brjod pa lha dbang g.yul las rgyal ba'i rnga bo che'i sgra dbyangs). Delhi, India, Konchhog Lhadrepa, 1993.

rDo-rje-tshe-brtan (publ.). *Collected Biographical Material About Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po and his Subsequent Reembodiments*. A reproduction of a collection of manuscripts from the library of Dkyil Monastery in Spiti. Delhi, 1977.

rDo-rje-shes-rab. *dGongs gcig yig cha*. Detailed presentation of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's *dGongs gcig* precepts of Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy by dBon-po Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (1187-1241), 2 vols., Bir (H.P.), D. Tsondu Senghe, 1975.

Another edition of this is the reproduction from the 18th century manuscript collection from the library of Pha-jo-lding, 2 vols., Thimphu, Bhutan, Kunsang Topgey, 1976.

sDom gsum kha khong gi rnams bshad legs par bshad pa nor bu'i 'phreng ba bzhugs so/ dpyod ldan blo bsal dag gi rnams dpyod kyis bsngo gnas mdzod. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 15/5-16/1, Manuscript, 188 fols., 6 x 41 cm.

sDom gsum ldan pas nyin zhag phrugs gcig la nyams len ji ltar bya ba'i tsyhul nor bu rnam par bkra ba'i mdzes rgyan. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 43/8, Xylograph, 19 fols., 7.5 x 25.5cm.

sDom gsum rnam nges las 'phros pa zhi lam 'bras bu'i man ngag nges don grub mtha'i snying po. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 229/5-230/1, Xylograph, 42 fols., 9.5 x 42cm.

sDom gsum rnam par nges pa'i mchan 'grel rig pa 'dzin pa'i 'jug ngogs. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 230/3, Xylograph, 148 fols., 8.5 x 47cm.

Dharmabhadra, dNgul-chu. *sDom gsum gyi bslab bya'i sdom tshig*. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no B 645/2, Xylograph, 12 fols.

Nam-mkha'i-snying-po. See Lha-btsun Nam-mkha'i-snying-po.

Padma-gar-dbang. *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor las paṇ che sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje gsum gyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i rnga chen*. Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, running no. L 4703, reel no. L 450/6.

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. 2 Vols., Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, n.d.

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub. *'Dul ba'i mdo rnam par 'byed pa*. In: *Collected Works of Bu-ston*,

vol. 21, New Delhi, 1971.

bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod. Krung go bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang. Zi ling, 1988.

Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal. *Encyclopedia Tibetica*. (Tibet House Library Publications Series 1), 137 vols., Delhi, Tibet House, 1971.

Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo. 3 vols., Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.

Byams-pa-phrin-las. *Gangs rdzongs gso rig bstan pa'i nyin byed rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*. Beijing, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990.

dByangs can-grub-pa'i-rdo-rje. *sDom pa gsum gyi mi mthun phyogs dran tshul*. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. B 646/1, Xylograph, fol. no. and size unknown.

'Brug-chen Padma-dkar-po. *sDom pa gsum gyi rgyan*. In: *Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po*, vols. 5-7. Darjeeling, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973-1974.

sDom pa gsum gyi snying po. In: *rTsib ri spar ma*, (*dKar rnying skyes chen du ma'i phyag rdzogs kyi gdams ngag gnad bsdus nyer mkho rin po che'i gter mdzod*), vol. 1, pp. 517-623.

Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nying byed. Tibetan Chronicals of Padma dKar-po, (Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 75), Lokesh Chandra (ed.), New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968.

Rang zhin(!) rdzogs pa chen po'i lam gyi cha lag sdom pa gsum rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos. Authorship doubtful. Microfilm NGMPP, reel no L 477/9, dBu-med manuscript, 14 fols., 8.7 x 47cm.

Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, Karma-pa VIII. *'Jig rten gsum gyi mgon po 'bri gung pa chen po'i dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa'i tshoms dang po'i rnam bshad karma bka' brgyud kyi mkhyen pa rab gsal bka'i me long mchog tu 'bar ba*. Private photocopy, 330 fols.

Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa rgyas par spros pa grub bde'i dpyid 'jo. 2 vols., New Delhi, T. Tsephal Taikhang, 1975.

'Dul ba nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor. 4 vols., New Delhi, 1973-1976.

Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho, 'Jam-mgon-'ju. *sDom gsum ngo bo gcig tu sgrub pa*. In: *Collected Writings*, Gangtog, Sonam Topgay Kazi, 1976, vol. 7, pp. 137-155, *'Grel pa mchan 'grel sogs*.

mKhas 'jug. mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988.

sDom gsum ngo bo gcig tu sgrub pa la ldeb. In: *Collected Writings*. Comprising a collection of the works of the scholar-saint selected for their rarity from recently unpublished xylographyc prints and manuscripts from the libraries of Dudjom Rinpoche, Luding Khen Rinpoche, and oter religious teachers and laymen. Gangtok, Sonam Topgay Kazi, 1976, vol. 7, pp. 137-155.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no L 239/6, Xylograph, 10 fols., 9.5 x 52cm.

Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa. *Byang chub sems dpa'i tshul khrims kyi rnam bshad byang chub gzhung lam*. P vol. 154, no. 6145, pp. 113-3-4 - 152-3-2.

gSang sngags kyi tshul khrims kyi rnam bshad dngos grub kyi snye ma. In: *The Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of the Incomparable Lord Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa*. Vol. 1, New Delhi, 1978, p. 373-512.

Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje. *Deb ther dmar po rnams kyi dang po hu lan deb ther*. With Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las' *mChan 'grel*, Beijing?, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981.

mTsho-sna-pa Shes-rab-bzang-po. *'Dul ba mdo rtsa'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho*. Bruxa, 1960s?

'Dul ṭīk nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Rin-chen-phun-tshogs. *sPyan snga 'bri gung gling pa'i rnam thar snyan pa'i 'brug sgra*. In: *dGongs gcig yig cha*, vol. 1, p. 96-123. See rDo-rje-shes-rab.

The same work in an *dbu med* edition: *'Bri gung pa ratna'i ming can gyi skyes rabs mos gus drang pa'i lcags kyu*, and *Rje btsun rin chen phun tshogs kyi rnam thar smad cha dad pa'i gdung ba sel byed*, The autobiography of 'Bri-gung-pa Rin-chen-phun-tshogs (1509-1557) and its continuation by Rin-chen-dpal with Rin-chen-phun-tshogs' biographies of 'Bri-gung-gling-pa Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (1187-1241) and 'Bri-gung-pa Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475-1524), Bir (H.P.), D. Tsondu Senghe, 1985, p. 1-48.

Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, 3 vols., Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999.

Las-chen Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*. A Detailed Account of the Spread of the Kadampa Sect in Tibet, Reproduced from a Khampa dBu-med manuscript, 2 vols., New Delhi, Jamyang Norbu, 1972.

Lokesh Chandra (publ.). *Biography of Atīśa and His Disciples 'Brom-ston*. Old Tashilhunpo

Edition from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira, New Delhi, Lokesh Chandra, 1982.

Lo-chen Dharma-shrī. *sDom gsum rnam par nges pa'i 'grel pa legs bshad ngo mtshar dpag bsam gyi snye ma*. In: *rNyiṅ ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, (*Gangs can bstan pa'i phyi mo snga 'gyur ba'i chos mdzod ring brgyad mnyams bka' ma'i gzhung*), vol. 37, ch. *ji*, pp. 45-675.

Also in: *Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig*. Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Khro ru tshe rnam (comp.), 1989, vol. 12, *rNying ma pa'i grub mtha'*, pp. 352-365.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. L 241/13-242/1, Xylograph, 591 fols., 8.2x34cm.

Also: Microfilm NGMPP, reel no. l 353/2, Xylograph, 173 fols., 9x51.5cm.

Śākya-mchog-ldan. *sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos kyi 'bel gtam rnam par nges pa legs bshad gser gyi thur ma*. In: *The Complete Works (gSung 'bum)*. Thimphu, Bhutan, Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 6, pp. 439-648, (=chapters 1-2), and vol. 7, pp. 1-230, (=chapter 3).

'Khrul spong gi brgal lan rnam par nges pa'i dam tshig rab tu gsal ba. In: *The Complete Works (gSung 'bum)*. Thimphu, Bhutan, Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 23, pp. 105-296.

Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, dBon-po. *Dam chos dgongs pa gcig pa*. See rDo-rje-shes-rab.

rJe spyan snga rin po che'i bka' 'bum. 285+2 fols., *dbu med* script, NGMPP reel no. DD 8/3-9/1.

et. al., *'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos spyod rab gsal*. Bir (H.P.), D. Tsondu Senghe, n. d.

et. al., *'Bri gung thun mtshams chos spyod*. Liturgical texts for recitation during the long meditation retreat of the 'Bri-gung-pa tradition. Reproduced from a rare set of prints from the Sga blocks from the library of rTogs-ldan Rin-po-che of sGang-sngon Monastery, Bir (H.P.), D. Tsondu Senghe, 1981.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. *sDom pa gsum rab tu dbye ba*. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, Tokyo, The Tōyō Bunko, 1968, vol. 5, no. 24, pp. 297-30.

dBu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum,* The Complete Works of Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, vol. 5, no. 21, pp. 264-273.

Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, sDe-srid. *dPal ldan gso ba rig pa'i khog 'bugs legs bshad bai ḍūrya'i me long drang srong dgyes pa'i dga' ston*. Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, n.d.

Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs. *Abbatial History of Ngor*, (*dPal e waṃ chos ldan gyi gdan rabs nor bu'i phreng ba*). In: *The Tshogs bŚad Tradition of the Sa-skya-pa Lam 'bras*, vol. 4. Place and date not mentioned.

Si-tu Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas and 'Be-lo Tshe-dbang-kun-khyab. *History of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa Sect (sGrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu lta ba chu sel gyi phreng ba)*. 2 vols., New Delhi, D. Gyaltsan and Kesang Legshay, 1972.

bSod-nams-grags-pa, Paṇ-chen. *bKa' gdams gsar rnying gi chos 'byung yid kyi mdzes rgyan* (1529). In: *Two Histories of the bKa'-gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Burmiok Athing*, pp. 1-205, Gangtok, Sikkim, Gonpo Tseten, April 1977.

bSod-nams-chos-'grub. *sDom gsum gyi dris lan nyi 'od snang ba*. In: *The Collected Writings*. Delhi, Konchhog Lhadrepa, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 603-668.

bSod-nams-rtse-mo. *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma smin par byed pa'i cho ga dbang gi chu bo chen mo*. In: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, The Complete Works of bSod-nams-rtse-mo, The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, vol. 2, no. 20, pp. 366-393, Tokyo, The Tōyō Bunko, 1968.

bSod-nams-lha'i-dbang-po. *bKa' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong* (1484). In: *Two Histories of the bKa'-gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Burmiok Athing*, Gangtok, Sikkim, Gonpo Tseten (publ.), April 1977.

bSod-nams-lhun-grub Zla-'od-rgyal-mtshan, *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan sgam po pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che kun khyab snyan pa'i ba dan thar pa rin po che'i rgyan gyi mchog*. In: *Collected Works of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen*. Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin (ed.), Delhi, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 26-150. It exists also as a separate publication by the mTsho sngon grangs nyung mi rigs kyi gna' dpe'i tshogs, 1993.

Lha-btsun Nam-mkha'i-snying-po. *sNga 'gyur bstan pa 'dzin pa'i skyes bu rnams kyi bslab bya sdom gsum bstan pa'i snying po. A concise Explanation of the Theory and Practice of the Vows Related to the Three Vehicles of Buddhism.* Delhi, Konchog Lhadrepa, 1997.

1. English Terms and Sanskrit Proper Nouns and Terms

2. Tibetan Terms

3. Tibetan Proper Nouns

4. Tibetan Book Titles

5. Sanskrit Book Titles

6. Tibetan Book Titles in English Translation